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**U.S. Army
AREA HANDBOOK
for
COLOMBIA**

Second edition: 22 June 1964



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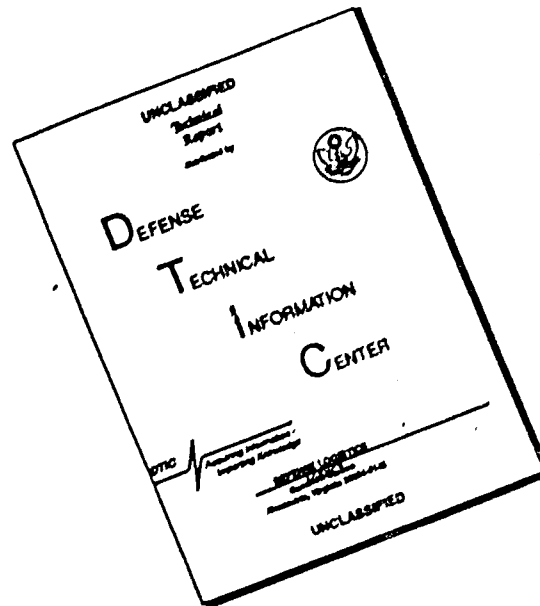
HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

JULY 1961

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FOREWORD

This book is one of a series of country handbooks designed for use by persons who have need for such background information. The emphasis is on objective description of contemporary national societies, focusing on basic social, economic and political institutions. Treatment is intended to be comprehensive rather than exhaustive. The studies are introductory, and it is expected that the reader will have recourse to many other sources for more detailed information in areas of special interest. Extensive bibliographies are included for this purpose.

The authors have reached certain conclusions concerning the character of the society today and the kinds and direction of change which appear possible or probable within the near future; interpretive judgments are their sole responsibility. The study is in no sense a plea for any special point of view, or a recommendation for any specific policy. Its contents represent the views of the Foreign Area Studies Division of the Special Operations Research Office, The American University, and should not be considered as having official or definitive Department of the Army approval either expressed or implied.

The users of this work should consider it not as a final product, but as a basis for further research to fill gaps in the present study. The authors' conclusions are subject to modification in the light of new developments and information. Readers are accordingly urged to submit comments correcting errors of fact or interpretation, filling or indicating gaps of information and suggesting changes as may be appropriate.

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PREFACE

Colombia's importance in Latin America results not merely from its strategic location but also from the weight which the country carries in hemispheric relations generally. Despite its traditionally withdrawn position with respect to international affairs, Colombia's intellectual and cultural leadership among countries sharing its hispanic heritage makes its status and stability especially significant to the rest of the hemisphere and, therewith, to the rest of the world.

Attention is focused upon the country's domestic affairs and its effort to achieve internal stability. The society has long been characterized by pronounced social cleavage and attendant civil strife, and the *modus operandi* agreed upon by the contending major political parties for alternation in office has not resolved the underlying reasons for disaffection and disunity. Although the government has been enabled to function in a stable manner for several years, hostility between classes and social groupings has continued to find expression in violence. And widespread receptivity to extreme measures aimed at counteracting the traditional monopoly of privilege and power—a receptivity exploited by Cuban propaganda as well as by domestic extremists—tends to make Colombia's internal order precarious. At the same time, the more optimistic signs implicit in an expanding economy and in official programs initiated to meet social and economic needs typical not only of Colombia but of the entire continent serve as reminders of the country's potential as a model for constructive social and economic development.

This book attempts to answer the need for a comprehensive study of the entire society of this pivotal country. The literature hitherto available on Colombia has consisted largely of specialized studies of certain aspects of the society or of rather sweeping and often impressionistic accounts. This book is not designed to supplant either type, although it has drawn on both, but rather to provide a maximum of information in a single volume covering the whole national society. Interpretations and judgments have not been avoided, but are offered tentatively as befits research done without benefit of field study.

English usage is based on *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language* (2d ed., unabridged). Spanish usage follows Velázquez, *A New Pronouncing Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1960). Spanish words and phrases have been employed in the text only where satisfactory English equivalents are lacking and are defined at their first appearance.

COLOMBIA

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Figure 1. Colombia.

SECTION I. SOCIOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

The Republic of Colombia, one of the independent states which emerged from the Spanish colonial empire, is located in the north-west part of the continent of South America in the region of the northern Andes. Its population of nearly 15 million is stratified along ethnic lines with white persons predominating at the top, persons of mixed white and Indian blood (*mestizos*) taking a middle position, and persons of mixed white and negro ancestry (*mulattoes*) and of mixed negro and Indian origin (*zambos*) occupying, with negroes and Indians, the lower levels. The population is concentrated in the western highlands and in the cities of the Atlantic coastal region.

The eastern plains (*llanos*) are largely unfriendly to human habitation and therefore sparsely settled. In their present state of technology, they afford comparatively little potential for economic exploitation.

Colombian culture has largely been molded by the Hispanic tradition and the dominant Roman Catholic faith. Nearly all the population belongs to the Catholic Church, and the powerful upper segment of society in particular is devoted to the preservation of the Hispanic cultural inheritance.

Spanish is the main language of the country. Some Indian languages are spoken by peripheral Indian peoples, and from their speech some elements have been added to the vocabulary of the national language. Indians have, however, increasingly adopted Spanish or have become bilingual.

The Republic has a unitary structure, established in 1886, as a product of the period after the achievement of independence in 1819, during which there were frequent alternations between various degrees of confederation and centralization. The pattern of governmental organization is an amalgam of European and United States models as well as of the colonial background. Throughout the country's history the Roman Catholic Church and its teachings have produced a body of common values. On the other hand, the issue of church-state relations has always been a divisive factor in national life.

Although some concessions have been made to democratizing influences in this century, the masses are dominated politically by the

white ruling class. A growing middle class is increasingly able to act as a bridge between an upper and lower levels, but the social order has been characterized by a great gap between a privileged group and the mass of the population.

A formal and static structure of society has resulted from the retention of authority over centuries by the same group of people, who trace their descent back to the conquistadores and to the leaders of the early explorations. Moreover, Colombians, whose principal centers of culture and economic interest were remote from the sea and difficult of access from neighboring colonies, have preserved a conservative cultural tradition, assuming the duty to maintain the purity of Spanish speech in the New World and their inherited Hispanic tradition.

Although recently increasing industrialization and expansion of transportation facilities have introduced a new dynamism into the national economy, it still remains heavily dependent on the growing of coffee. Coffee prices on the world market have a great effect on the Colombian money economy and on the sociopolitical forces acting upon the government. On the other hand, they have a relatively minor effect on the large number of subsistence farmers and agricultural workers who dominate the rural scene.

The need to change the pattern of land ownership, improve agricultural production methods and facilitate social and economic mobility has developed into a political factor which no government or political party can overlook. Similarly, further expansion and modernization of industry and transportation, better planning and coordination on a long-term basis for the entire economy have become essentials on which the success or failure of the government may depend.

Geography fragments the face of the country; social and economic generalizations seldom apply to the country as a whole. Regions differ culturally, ethnically and in their economic organization and condition. Persistent regional identities and rivalries involve intense feelings of competition and even strong resentment. The improvement of transportation and communication has only recently begun to have an effect on such intense regionalism.

At the cost of generations of civil strife the political unity of the country, relating region to region, group to group, and party to party, was reluctantly accepted. But political unity did not remove or overcome physical and social conditions of fragmentation.

Colombia has five contiguous neighbors: Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Brazil and Panama. Panama was a part of the Republic until 1913 when, by a revolution which the United States supported out of desire to build a canal, it gained its independence. The proximity

of the Panama Canal places Colombia very close to one of the key politico-geographical points on the globe.

Historical relations with Venezuela and Ecuador have been particularly close; their wars of liberation from Spain were closely related as parts of a single struggle led by Simón Bolívar. After liberation the three formed parts of a greater republic, but diversities of interests as well as barriers of geography caused them to separate.

Peru borders on Colombia for only a short distance along the Amazon River. The narrow projection of Colombian territory which reaches the river at this point was the cause of an armed conflict between the two countries in the early 1930's when Peru attempted to take the territory. This was only one episode in a history of relations less than cordial. The extended boundary which Colombia shares with Brazil runs through inhospitable territory and has seldom involved the two nations in close relations.

By virtue of its close economic and political relations with the Caribbean area, Colombia is vitally interested in the equilibrium of the region and sensitive to any threat to its security. In the economic sphere, for example, climatic and topographic factors make the Colombian economy both complementary and competitive with respect to other parts of the Caribbean area, and any upsetting development affects Colombia. Similarly, in the political realm, a danger such as that posed by Castro's Cuba is more keenly felt by many Colombians than by citizens of the more remote parts of Latin America.

Despite its position close to the strategic Isthmus of Panama and the Caribbean center of the western hemisphere, Colombia's active involvement in world affairs has been slight until recently. The government and people have preserved their detachment from global conflicts and opposed any disposition on the part of other powers to intervene in their internal affairs. The country maintained a policy of neutrality during World War I, of limited belligerency during World War II, and of direct involvement in the Korean War. This rising curve of participation in world events has been largely involuntary, but there is little inclination to shirk growing responsibilities in the United Nations and Organization of American States.

The country still seeks to preserve some of its former detachment, but competing ideologies increasingly reach the mass of its people. The threat of Cuba's foreign policy and the internal response to it have dramatized the possibility that outside influences may upset longstanding social arrangements and jeopardize the position of the present ruling class.

The ruling class is largely united as to values and interests, although a few of its members associate themselves with revolutionary

forces. Most of its members seem confident that only minor concessions need be made to growing demands for reform. The essential identity of their values and interests has frequently been revealed in the formation of interparty coalitions, most recently in the National Front Government, for the purpose of resisting an extra-constitutional, strong-man form of government or revolutionary threats from below.

Three main issues have engendered disagreements between the Liberal and Conservative Parties—the degree of intimacy of church-state relations, the degree of centralization of the political order, and the degree of government regulation of economic enterprise or reform of the economic order. The important fact is that the differences have been of degree and have never been sufficiently wide to outweigh the overriding consideration that the upper class maintain its dominant position.

Among the factors creating pressures within the traditional social order has been the development of industrialization which became increasingly significant after World War II. One effect has been an improvement in living standards for many people. Such an amelioration of conditions has had a beneficial effect on the nation's health and well-being, both physical and moral, but it has also had its negative consequences. The anticipations of the people have been quickened, making it more difficult to maintain the social controls that tradition has supported. Moreover, social imbalances occur as the dynamism of industrialization alters both the physical and social landscape.

Because industry has attracted many and because civil disorder has driven more into the cities, an underemployed urban proletariat has been growing. But unfavorable economic and social status make it susceptible to disruptive political influences. The growth of industry has accelerated the growth of what is, by economic standards, a middle class by making place for increased numbers of small entrepreneurs, shopkeepers, managers, and government and other white-collar workers. The upper economic stratum of the middle class, however, which includes professional people and some entrepreneurs, is founded on and has the social concepts and aspirations of the *criollo* elite (colonial-born whites), from whose less prosperous members it derived its beginnings. The recent and gradual, but increasing, entrance into economic middle-class status of members of the *mestizo* group is viewed with social suspicion and reluctantly accepted. Because of the social gap, the capacity of the middle class to create a new political consensus is limited. Without a social consensus, it runs the risk of disruption by leftist forces coming from the more intellectualized within its own ranks.

In this predominantly political society the presidency has a special significance as a symbol of national unity. At any given time it represents the particular arrangements that have been made to compose national differences. The executive is the most powerful political figure in the country. From the standpoint of party advantage, control of the office is imperative. When a single party has controlled the presidency, the office has often been used to crush the capacity of the opposition party to engage in political activity. Such attempts have always resulted in civil strife, usually concluded by a return to constitutional processes, sometimes by means of a coalition.

In late 1961, President Alberto Lleras Camargo was the symbol of the National Front, a coalition of Liberals and Conservatives formed to overcome the destructive forces of the civil strife which prevailed in the early 1950's (see ch. 2, Historical Setting; ch. 21, Political Dynamics). Alfonso López Michelsen, leader of the *Movimiento de Recuperación—MRL*—(Movement for Liberal Recovery) represented the leftist Liberals who tended to sympathize with Cuban *Fidelismo*. Such figures as Laureano Gómez and Mariano Ospina Pérez represented Conservative positions with respect to nationalism, programs of social reform and the desirability of the National Front.

The party structures which support the national executive, either in single-party governments or in coalitions, are dominated by an elite group but extend downward through the whole society. All classes and levels in the society are split by party allegiance. Persons are born on their particular party levels and, with some variations, assume that their party protects and serves their social interests regardless of status or class.

Only once has a man closely linked with the people been a serious contender for national executive power, Jorge Eliécer Gaitán who was assassinated on April 9, 1948. The murder set off the *Bogotazo*—violent riots and civil disturbances in Bogotá and other places. His name remains in the minds of Colombians as a reminder of the possibility that political power may in the future become more diffused. The political experiment of 1953 to 1957, directed by Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, began as an army decision to remove the dictatorship of Laureano Gómez but then evolved its own Peronist-fascist type of dictatorship linking the army and the people in an alliance against the elite. The reluctance of the military forces to participate in such political experiments, as well as the political gaucherie of Rojas, makes a repetition of his regime unlikely.

The central factor in Colombian life is the administrative system operating under the executive. In effect the traditional parties form part of this power structure and other social organizations, including the Church, reinforce it. Colombia achieves its unity mainly on

this basis. The elite preserves its status and the privilege of extracting the country's wealth for its own benefit through its manipulation of the administrative machinery. In this context, the armed forces (including the police), the Church and the educational system are all arms of this minority control.

The national legislature is subordinate to the national executive and administrative apparatus. Although it is important in the course of a political career to gain membership in it, as a body it has never acquired the prestige of many other legislative bodies in other constitutional systems. It has served on occasion as a sort of forum of violence, within which political rivals have been able to fight without resorting to the streets. A constitutional requirement that it meet once a year has symbolized an effort to maintain some control over the executive. But its power to enact legislation and constitutional amendments is, in fact, a power to formalize what has already been decided elsewhere. Its positive power to control the executive and administrative apparatus is strictly limited, although it may effectively obstruct.

At times in the country's history, in both colonial times and since independence, the Church has been in a position to exert a dominant influence within society. This was compatible with both Spanish tradition and Catholic doctrine. On the other hand, the Church has often been subject to attack when the Government has been controlled by those who believe in the separation of Church and state and in the secularization of education.

Colombia is a part of Christian, in particular Catholic, civilization, but the depth of religious conviction among many Colombians is very slight. Religion provides an environment of social manners. Although practically all regard themselves as good Catholics, many people, particularly of the upper class, are nominal Church members. They participate in religious holidays. They seek the Church's sacraments at birth, marriage, death and on other occasions. But they adhere only casually to its fundamental moral or doctrinal precepts.

The process of industrialization and economic expansion will continue at a relatively rapid pace; so will the population explosion. Despite some improvement in general living conditions, it is doubtful whether the beneficial effects of expanding economic activity can keep pace with the miseries that accompany rapid population growth unless the ruling class recognizes that the old, rigidly maintained social order does not permit a sufficiently rational and equitable distribution of human satisfactions. At the same time, unless the people accept evolutionary reform, their capacity for revolutionary change, to which their temper has always been responsive, will merely have been increased.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL SETTING

Present-day Colombia is the outgrowth of Spanish coastal settlements made soon after the discovery of the New World. The first Spaniards were led by Alonso de Ojeda (or, some contend, Rodrigo de Bastidas) who discovered the Guajira Peninsula in 1500 while traveling westward from what is now Venezuela. For some time thereafter, the process of discovery, conquest, and subsequent settlement continued westward along the coast. After the coastal bases were established, the conquest began of the rugged northern Andean hinterland which became the dominant physical influence in the development of the Kingdom of New Granada (Colombia). Although governed by Spain, this area remained one of the most isolated of all the Spanish territories in the New World. Even more than in New Spain (Mexico) and Peru, the population centers, except those on the coast, were located on isolated plateaus and in remote valleys (see fig. 2).

The area remained under Spanish rule until the Napoleonic assault on Spain provided the opportunity for movements seeking independence. Complete independence from Spain was at first sought only region by region; the province of Cartagena was the first to declare for complete separation from the mother country. Colombia's independence was confirmed, although pockets of resistance had subsequently to be overcome by the victory of Simón Bolívar's forces over the royalists at the battle of Boyacá (1819).

A dominant feature of the new country was the division of a small ruling class of *criollos* (people of Spanish descent born in the New World) from the great body of the nation, a cleavage which has persisted to the present time. For a time, it appeared that Colombia or New Granada might have common nationhood with Venezuela and Ecuador, but the centrifugal forces implicit in the history and social development of the area brought about their detachment and the reduction of Colombia to the size it maintained until 1903 when Panama, with the assistance of the United States, acquired independence.

The Colombians first adopted a constitution in 1831. The country had only short periods of calm until 1903 when the Conservative

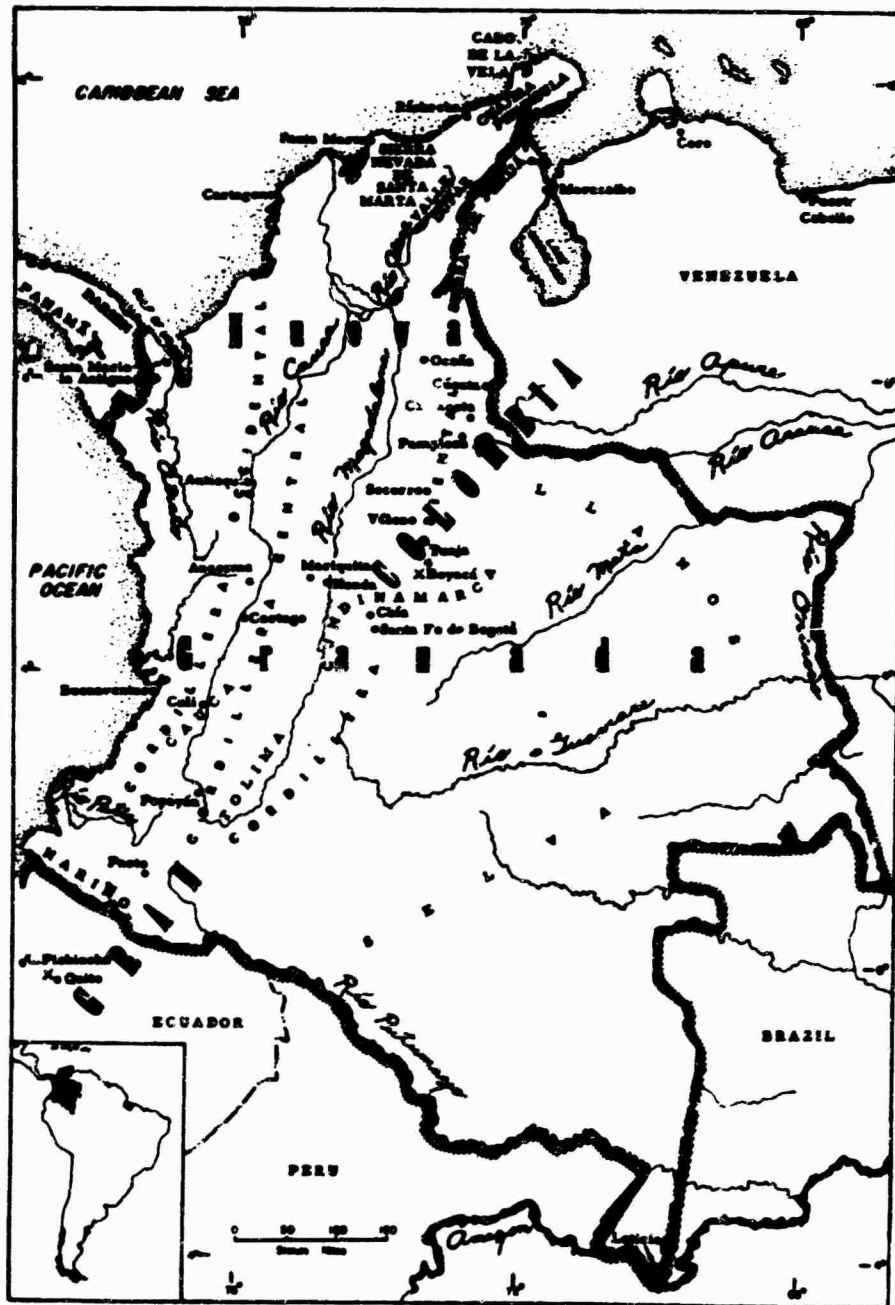


Figure 2. Historical map of Colombia.

party, which had brought about the adoption of a seventh constitution in 1886, succeeded in stabilizing its authority over the country (see ch. 19, The Constitutional System; ch. 21, Political Dynamics). Conservative rule lasted until 1930 when Enrique Olaya Herrera of the Liberal Party was elected President.

Since the 1890's but especially since the Herrera administration, Colombia has experienced a growing class struggle. Activist elements outside the ruling class have increasingly sought social improvement; they have tended to alternate between the hope that Leftist Liberals might destroy the upper class monopoly of power by peaceful means and the conviction that only more vigorous methods could bring about needed reforms. The class conflict has kept Leftist Liberals away from dynamic leadership, and has stimulated Conservative repression. It has led to Liberal-Conservative coalitions rooted in expediency or military leaders seeking both to repress violence and to exploit public discontent.

During the period of colonial rule, Spanish political, economic, social and cultural institutions were adapted to the new environment. A conscious effort was made to preserve the Spanish cultural heritage, partly from an impulse to maintain cultural purity in a new environment in which Indian influence might appear to pose a threat, and partly because isolation enhanced the value of the original heritage. The stress upon the European connection continued, especially among the white population.

Spanish political and economic institutions were modified to suit the necessities of imperial control or to maintain the domination of Spanish as opposed to *criollo* or native interests. Many of the political offices and organs of government transplanted from Spain were given a new role. The *criollos* were permitted to participate in the governing process only at the municipal level and therefore gained little experience. Trade was also kept in the hands of the Spanish government acting through *peninsulares* (those born in the Iberian Peninsula) who were its agents in the New World.

Colonial government was based on political and social inequality, beginning with the social distinction between *peninsulares* and *criollos* and continuing through the distinctions between *mestizos* (persons of mixed white and Indian blood), *mulattoes*, *Indians*, and *sambos* (persons of Indian and negro blood). Economic and social as well as racial factors came into play as criteria of group differentiation and often found expression in law (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups). From the earliest times Spanish law recognized and protected the institution of slavery, which was formally abolished only in May 1851. Its disappearance did not change the wide divergence between the many levels of the depressed unfranchised masses below and the few privileged who rule at the top.

Social stratifications and legal inequalities have been incompatible with the development of democratic political processes. Their most concrete expression has been the great gulf between the economic hardships of the lower class and the frequent opulence of life of the upper class.

Many members of the potential ruling group who led in the struggle for independence were deeply impressed by the principles of the American and French revolutions, but their material interests conflicted with, and often prevailed over, their intellectual principles when political strife appeared to threaten their social positions. Therefore, parliamentary forms, responsible ministries, written constitutions with guaranteed civil and political rights, and popular elections, have often been manipulated by the ruling oligarchy for the preservation of its own interests. The promises contained in the constitutional order have been means of keeping the ruled docile.

THE CONQUEST

The presence of Christopher Columbus in Spain seeking aid to find a new sea route to the Orient coincided with the release of Spanish energies after final victory over the Moors in Granada. During the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula, the Spaniards had come to think of martial adventure as in the normal order of things. The successful outcome of Columbus' voyage opened up a new avenue for such activity. Soldierly daring and bravery became the tools of the most determined greed, and all marched together with priestly solicitude, faith and examples of generosity. The Spanish government sought papal justification of the conquest and the policies pursued in its course. Pope Alexander VI drew a line from the North Pole to the South Pole (1493) to mark the division of the lands of discovery into Spanish and Portuguese spheres. Between 1493 and 1524 the Spanish kings established the Casa de Contratación (Chamber of Commerce) in Seville and the Consejo Supremo de Indios (Supreme Council of the Indies) as means of maintaining control over the vast new territories coming under the sovereignty of the Crown.

The Spaniards sought the riches of the New World and were also concerned with the Indian souls which might be saved by the Church with the aid of civil authorities. The Spanish system was extractive and exploitive. The predecessors of the present Colombian ruling class introduced a tradition of unconcern about the condition of the ruled. Their main purpose was to preserve the advantages they had originally sought and gained. Their acquisitive motivations were sufficiently strong to bring about the conquest of the empire and the preservation of a social order that has been greatly resistant to change into the twentieth century, even in the face of the greatest need for reform.

Earliest Settlements

In what became the Kingdom of New Granada, the first conquerors of importance explored and began the settlement of the coastal areas—Alonso de Ojeda, Rodrigo de Bastidas (*Las Bastidas*), Juan de la Cosa, Martín Fernández de Enciso, Vasco Núñez de Balboa, Francisco Pizarro, Pedro de Heredia. The first Ojeda expedition explored the coast from the Gulf of Paria to the Cabo de la Vela on the Guajira Peninsula and returned to Europe by way of Hispaniola (Santo Domingo) after having acquired gold and pearls. Rodrigo de Bastidas granted a concession by the royal government of one-fourth of the income to be derived from an expedition, explored the coast from Ríoacha (on the Guajira Peninsula) to Nombre de Dios (in present-day Panama), stopping at Galera Zarba, the locale of Cartagena. Juan de la Cosa, a member of the Bastidas expedition, was made *agüacil mayor* (high constable) of the Urabá coast and was commissioned by the royal government to explore the region.

The first settlements were established in South America beginning in 1500. King Ferdinand granted to Alonso de Ojeda a commission running for four years to govern the coast from Cabo de la Vela to the Gulf of Urabá. The government of Castillo de Oro, the land to the west of the gulf, was granted to Diego de Nicuesa. Ojeda arrived at an island off the Bay of Cartagena in November 1500. He landed and read a proclamation to the natives, a model for subsequent use, which stated the articles of the Christian faith, informed the Indians of the Pope's jurisdiction and of the grant of temporal jurisdiction to the King, and announced to the natives that they were required to become Catholic Christians or else become slaves and have their property taken. The Indians launched an attack which was repulsed by Ojeda.

Ojeda then established the settlement of San Sebastián de Urabá and left for Hispaniola to get supplies, leaving in charge Francisco Pizarro who decided to abandon the settlement.

After troubles and controversies, Vasco Núñez de Balboa emerged as the dominant leader. He discovered the Atrato River, then on September 25, 1513, the South Sea (Pacific Ocean). He sent the proper share of the booty to Spain along with the report of the discovery, was made *adelantado* (governor of a frontier province or advanced area) of the South Sea for life, and left in control of Santa María la Antigua. But, accused in Spain of being an usurper, he was replaced by a new governor, Pedro Arias Dávila (*Pedrarias*). Soon Balboa was accused of trying to establish his independence of the Crown, tried, found guilty, and, in January 1519, executed.

Despite having been previously deposed by the appointment of a new governor, in August 1519 Pedrarias and the inhabitants of Santa María la Antigua founded Panama where, in 1583, an *audiencia*

(a judicial tribunal often assuming governmental powers) was established. The city on the west bank of the Gulf of Urabá was soon abandoned. From Panama explorations southward along the coast were pursued under the leadership of Pascual de Andagoya, Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro.

Santa Marta and Cartagena

Santa Marta, later capital of the department of Magdalena and scene of the death of Simón Bolívar, was founded by Rodrigo de Bastidas in 1525. He initiated a policy of fair and peaceful treatment of the local Indians. After his death, however, the Spanish resorted to depredations and violence against the natives. But by this time the settlement's future was secure as the base from which the Spaniards could move inland and eventually conquer the Indians of the northern Andes region, especially the Chibchas of the plateaus and high valleys of the Eastern Cordillera around what is now Bogotá.

Governor García de Lerma was sent by Emperor Charles V with instructions to treat the Indians fairly. Arriving in 1529 with about 400 men, including Tomás Ortiz, a Dominican priest who became Bishop of Santa Marta, Lerma began the transformation of a military administration into one that was more nearly civil. He conducted a land survey, visited the neighboring Indian towns and appointed a commission of senior officials to distribute the Indians among the settlers or to determine the number of them that would pay tribute in gold to each *encomendero* (a person to whom a certain number of Indians was assigned or to whom a portion of the tribute of a number of Indians was paid). But he was unable to halt Spanish abuses of the Indians who, in this region, suffered great reduction in numbers.

Cartagena, now capital of the department of Bolívar, was founded in January or June 1533 by Pedro de Heredia. Establishing friendly relations with some Indian leaders, he nevertheless carried on profitable raiding expeditions into the interior. He explored the Sinú River and proceeded along the right bank of the Atrato River. Earlier his older brother, Alonso de Heredia, whom he had made Lieutenant-General, had reached the Cauca River.

The two brothers had to face charges brought before the *audiencia* in Santo Domingo that they had deprived the royal treasury of its due portion of the wealth gained from their expeditions. Finally acquitted, Pedro de Heredia returned years later to Cartagena with all his old rights and titles restored. By this time the settlement he had founded had become prosperous partly as a result of gold ob-

tained in raids and partly owing to its activities as the most frequently visited port in the region. Its security by land had been assured through the pacification of the local Indian tribes.

Conquest of the Interior

The conquest of the northern Andean interior region of Colombia took place within a remarkably short time despite the hazards presented by hostile Indians, a formidable terrain and a difficult climate. The Spaniards were moved to the achievement of the most heroic deeds by motives combining at once greed and constructive purpose. The conquest of the interior began in 1531. Its major achievements were accomplished by 1539; consolidation took a decade more. The means employed were several expeditions which converged upon the highlands and finally stabilized authority around a new settlement, the new City of Granada (known later as Santa Fé de Bogotá and finally as Bogotá), the present capital of the republic.

An exploration movement was carried on under the auspices of the Welsers, Augsburg bankers. The first leader was Ambrosius Alfinger who set out from Maracaibo in late 1531 and penetrated the Dupar Valley between the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and the Sierra de Perijá. From there he went south to the confluence of the César and Magdalena Rivers, south along the Magdalena, and then east across what is now the department of Norte de Santander. In the valley of Chinácota he died from the wound of a poisoned arrow. His successor, Georg Hehermuth of Spire, or Jorge de Spira, started out from Core in 1535 and traveled for a year in eastern Colombia along the foot of the Eastern Cordillera, reaching and crossing the Apure, Arauca, Meta and Guaviare rivers. The expedition overcame great obstacles, especially the resistance of hostile Indians, but it never succeeded in conquering the Eastern Cordillera itself and reaching the highland territory of the Chibchas.

The most distinguished of the German explorers was Nikolaus Federmann who crossed the Colombian llanos until he reached Nuestra Señora de la Fragua in the region of the upper Meta River. It is from this point that he continued on an extension of his explorations that brought him into conjunction with other major explorers of the central highlands.

Another exploration movement bore in upon the central highlands from the south under the general leadership of Sebastián de Belalcázar, founder of Quito, capital of Ecuador. He moved northward to explore the upper Cauca Valley and the valley of the Patía River and then, in 1536, founded Cali. Later in the same year, he established the town of Popayán, south of Cali which became a center of intellectual activity and the place of birth of a long roster of

figures important in the nation's political history. From Popayán he explored regions to the east and then those in which the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers rise.

An expedition led by Francisco César discovered the region of Antioquia, which then and now is both physically and psychologically separated from the rest of the country. César reached the Cauca Valley on the Cauca River side of the Sierra, where the invaders experienced their first resistance from the Indians who here were more numerous and engaged in more intensive and diversified agriculture than in any other area of Antioquia.

The most famous of the exploration movements of the interior was led by Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada who accomplished feats of endurance and perseverance which marked him as the greatest explorer in the country's history. Leaving Santa Marta in April 1536, he encountered energetic but ineffectual Indian resistance in the heart of the Chibcha territory. He reached the town of Chía by April 1537 about 15 miles north of the site of the present capital, Bogotá, which was then called Bacatá and was the chief Chibcha seat. By August 1538 he had founded a new Spanish settlement at Bacatá as the capital of a territory to be called the New Kingdom of Granada. A constructive type of colonization was decided upon, calling for the parceling out of land among the settlers so that the arts of a sound community could be pursued, and a new civil government of Bogotá was established. Meanwhile, Quesada sought in Spain a settlement of his claims against the competing ones of Federmann and Belalcázar.

Consolidation of Conquest

After the founding of Cali, Popayán and Bogotá, the consolidation of the conquest in New Granada went forward under the leadership of many men. It took the form of exploration of great reaches of difficult terrain mainly in the mountainous part of western Colombia, then of settlements by such leaders as Martín Galeano, founder of Velez; Gonzalo Suárez Rendón, founder of Tunja; Jorge Robledo, founder of Anserma, Cartago and Antioquia. Officials exercising authority granted by the government in Spain or its representatives in the New World often came into conflict with one another as to their respective jurisdictions, and the governorships of territories and settlements frequently changed hands among rival forces. In all the confusion, however, the consolidation continued with increasing success and was accomplished by the beginning of the 1550's. The Antioquian region was absorbed. The upper Magdalena River Valley was explored and settlements established in it. The land northeast of Bogotá along the western slopes of the Eastern Cordillera came within the purview of at least an embryonic government.

The Cauca River Valley south of Anserma and its adjacent valleys were settled. Finally, even the region around Buenaventura and the San Juan River near the Pacific coast came under rudimentary administration.

The cost in human life to the Spanish was great. The sacrifice of Indian lives was enormous. With some exceptions, the Indians responded to relatively humane treatment with some cooperation. The treatment given the Indians by the Spanish, however, was very often brutal, if not savage. The result was usually military conflict. The final victory of the conquering invaders was always assured, although the Indians occasionally achieved temporary successes. The worst result, from the standpoint of Spanish interests, was the reduction of the native population whose labor was essential to the development of the new settlements, especially since the Spanish did not soon devote themselves to industry and husbandry.

A system of distributing Indian labor was applied by the colonists; according to its principles an *encomendero* was granted an *encomienda* (a certain number of Indians granted to an *encomendero* to do work for him). The *encomendero* was in effect a deputy charged by the Crown with responsibility for the support of the Indians and their moral and religious welfare. Related to the premise that the land and its inhabitants were entirely at the disposal of the monarchy was the principle whereby the *encomiendas* were to be used as a means of administering humane and constructive policies precluding the enslavement of the Indians. But the *encomenderos* from the beginning had a private interest which came into conflict with both the public policy of the government in Spain and the welfare of the Indians. They sought to employ the Indians for their own purposes, often under conditions indistinguishable from slavery, and to maintain their *encomiendas* as a species of hereditary property to be held in perpetuity. Most *encomenderos* were private adventurers rather than agents of empire. The distance from the center of government enlarged their opportunity to violate their trust.

Under the influence of Church figures, especially the Dominican Fathers led by Bartolomé de las Casas, new laws were issued in November 1542 for the administration of the Spanish American empire and especially to remove the abuses connected with *encomiendas* and the general treatment of the Indians. The laws called for the strict enforcement of the regulations already in force, the freeing of enslaved Indians, and the abandonment of the practice of enslaving them (it placed them in the category of free subjects of the Crown). It further provided that *encomiendas* would be forfeited if the Indians concerned were mistreated, that the tribute paid by Indians being instructed in religion should be fixed and in

no case required in the form of personal service, that public officials, congregations, hospitals, and monasteries could not hold *encomiendas*. Additional provisions, which were especially resented by the *encomenderos*, prohibited the employment of Indians in the mines or for carrying burdens, forbade the granting of any future *encomiendas*, ordered their reduction in size, and terminated the rights of wives and children to inherit them.

The reactions of the colonists toward the royal government's attempts to enforce these regulations were extremely hostile. A formula was hit upon according to which, the laws would be "obeyed but not executed." The colonists also had the opportunity to send representatives to Spain to seek modifications of the laws—modifications that were eventually granted. The tensions between the royal authority and the colonists in the new empire were never entirely removed, but they were increasingly alleviated by the gradual improvement of imperial administration. When the legitimacy of that administration became challengeable during the Napoleonic regime in Spain, the tensions led to revolt and independence.

THE NATURE OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

The New Kingdom of Granada was less profitable to Spain than New Spain or Peru. It was, during most of its history, technically subordinate to Peru, but, for the most part, it functioned autonomously in relation to Lima, although it was as thoroughly subordinate to the royal authority as the other territories of the empire.

A decree signed by Charles V in July 1549 to provide for the establishment of the Audiencia de Santa Fé. The Audiencia Real, established in that city in 1550, gave to it and the Granadine territories, a collective body with political and administrative as well as judicial powers. A president of the New Kingdom of Granada was appointed in 1564. The presidency was maintained until 1718, after which (until independence) the territory was ruled under a separate viceroyalty, except for an interval between 1723 and 1739 during which the presidency was restored.

The pattern of government was the same, with minor variations, as that found elsewhere in Spanish America. The earliest authorities were the various *adelantados* (special designation by the King of Spain, given to the leaders of certain expeditions, which granted them full powers of government), whose status was gradually transformed into a more stable governorship under such titles as *gobernador* (governor), *corregidor* (corrector, town magistrate) or *alcalde mayor* (chief mayor). The jurisdiction of the governor was usually larger than that of the other two and less certainly associated with the government of a town. The early *adelantados* usually created

a *cabildo* or *ayuntamiento* (town council) as one of their first acts upon establishing a settlement. The municipal jurisdiction often stretched, except where it was impeded by rough terrain or wide stretches of wilderness or desert, for hundreds of miles until it became contiguous with the jurisdiction of another municipality.

The *gobernadores* and, particularly, the *corregidores* were associated in one degree or another with the *cabildos* and early were authorized to intervene in their affairs in the public interest. Widely separated from authority exercised from above, these officials more frequently than not exploited their opportunities to extract profit from their positions at the sacrifice of good government and often at the price of local oppression, especially of the Indians. The system of provincial administration in Spanish America was reformed late in the colonial period during the reign of Charles III by the establishment of *intendencias*, each under a *gobernador intendente* who was made responsible for the more centralized and efficient general, fiscal and judicial administration of areas larger than the old provinces. The system was not formally established in the New Kingdom because of opposition, but in fact a good deal of the terminology of the system and some of its substance appeared in the government.

The *cabildos* became the first effective agency of civil government, antedating the Colombian Audiencia Real as a means of regularizing the processes of government and tempering the authority of the governor, even though their membership was composed of his subordinates. They were made up of a varying number of *regidores* (magistrates or aldermen), depending on the size of the community, and two *alcaldes*. The functions of the town governments were particularly important in Spanish America, including Colombia, because these territories inherited from Spain a tradition which placed emphasis upon municipal rather than rural life. The towns were the centers of Spanish concern, and the countryside and its economy functioned to support them. The settlements were projected in advance and their layout and processes were planned. The town councils, therefore, early became the centers of power in the basic political entities in Latin America. They were themselves the only colonial institutions which were not mere creatures of the royal government, although later their powers became circumscribed by minute regulations imposed by that government.

The town councils exercised the conventional powers of town government in addition to those required by special circumstances. They were concerned with town building and improvement; public health and sanitation; provisioning; the protection of private property and the public peace; the control of artisan activity, including the quality and price of their products and the designation of masters; the

festering of Catholic worship; the fixing of boundaries and the allocation of lands; the safeguarding of forests; and the recording of cattle brands. On occasion, during times of crisis, the town citizens of importance might be invited to sit with the *cabildo* in what was called the *cabildo abierto* (open council). This type of body became a means of increasing participation in government and materially figured in the inauguration of movement leading to the wars of independence. The two *alcaldes* were elected annually and were initially concerned with acting as judges in courts of first instance with criminal and civil jurisdiction. Appeals from their decisions might be taken to the local governor or to a person functioning as his deputy and finally to the *audiencia* of jurisdiction.

The royal *audiencias* in Spanish America, unlike their counterparts in Spain, exercised administrative and political as well as judicial functions. They constituted the major check upon the arbitrary use of power on the part of the viceroy or any subordinate official in the New Kingdom or any other Spanish colony and also shared in other powers of government. Major *audiencias*, of which the viceroys, captains-general, or presidents were the presiding officers *ex officio*, existed in the viceregal or other major seats; subordinate *audiencias* existed in lesser places. *Audiencias* were made up of *oidores* (judges) often sitting in separate chambers and assisted by a number of associated officials. As courts of law they heard appeals from numerous inferior courts on strictly judicial as well as administrative matters. They were assigned the special function of protecting the interests of the Indians. They possessed original criminal jurisdiction in all cases arising in towns in which they resided, or within a specified radius of the town, over all cases involving royal officials or the Crown, over cases between ecclesiastics and secular persons, or over cases involving the clergy under the civil law. Appeals from the decisions of an *audiencia* could not be taken to any other *audiencia*, but only to the Council of the Indies in Spain. As time went by, the administration of justice below the level of the *audiencia* became greatly complicated by a proliferation of courts, but the function of the *audiencias* themselves remained essentially the same throughout the colonial period.

In the event of a vacancy in the executive, an *audiencia* could govern until a new executive could be appointed. They had some opportunity, in fact, to compete with viceroys and other executives and, when such contests took place, the outcome would often turn on the power of the personalities involved. Usually the viceroys or other executives held the dominant position, but the *audiencias* had an advantage in being continuous bodies. Moreover, every three years one of their number was designated to make an inspection.

tour of the *audiencia's* area of jurisdiction and was empowered to bring any situation within his parview and to take vigorous action to correct abuse.

Under the Council of the Indies, the viceroy, captains-general, and presidents, as the direct representatives of the sovereign, exercised the royal authority in all civil and military affairs, in the secular aspects of Church affairs, and in the supervision of the administration of justice. Subject to the over-all supervision of peninsular authorities, the executives also exercised a degree of legislative power. In practice, their powers were limited by three factors: higher authority also appointed all their subordinates; their powers of discretion were severely restricted by the multitude of regulations; they were required to share authority with the competing *audiencias*.

Spanish colonial administration included two additional governmental institutions—the *residencia* (public judicial inquiry) and the *visita* (secret investigation). The *residencia* was performed at the end of an official's term of office by a *jefe de residencia* who went to the chief seat of the jurisdiction of the official in question to hear anyone who wished to make charges or to offer testimony concerning the official's performance in office. Decisions were referred to the Council of the Indies or an *audiencia* as regulations might stipulate. The *visita* could take place at any time without warning during an official's tenure and was performed by a *visitador*. The *visitas* might be general, applying to large jurisdictions, or specific, applying to a small subordinate jurisdiction or to a single official. All local officials were required to render assistance to the *visitador* who might, in the performance of his task, sit with an *audiencia* in public hearings.

ASPECTS OF HISTORY IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Political

The first territories brought under the control of Santa Fé were those which are now included in the departments of Magdalena, Atlántico, Bolívar, Córdoba, Norte de Santander, Santander, Boyacá, Tolima, Cundinamarca and the Republic of Panama. Later Antioquia and the historic provinces of Venezuela were included. Of the many executives who successively held the presidency (so-called because the executive served as president of the *audiencia*), some were outstanding as contributors to political and social development, others detrimental to the welfare of the New Kingdom, still others merely obscure. The personality of the executive was always more important than any of the factional interests in determining the trend of administration. In many respects the politics of the New Kingdom during the colonial period, with a few outstanding excep-

tions, remained in a relatively dormant state. In some periods the history of the country was not so much social as personal.

During the first years of the presidency, the population decreased as a result of the many pressures bearing upon the Indians, including the ravages of European diseases. Although this trend was not reversed until the latter part of the seventeenth century, the spread of Spanish settlements continued to be the means by which the country was controlled and placed under political administration. The problems presented by the treatment accorded the Indians, often involving their declining numbers and consequent serious economic difficulties for the country, constituted one of the most important political questions of the colonial period, influencing intracolony relations and relations between the royal government and the colonials. In the longer perspective of history, some of the most respectfully remembered Spanish representatives, beginning with the first president, Venero de Leiva (1564-74), were those who directed their best efforts to improving the condition of the Indians. By the nature of the Conquest, the Indians were destined to be overcome by the sword and the cross, but they had to be preserved as elements essential to the colonial economy and social life.

The other areas of executive activity which provided opportunities for improving life in the New Kingdom included: the effective supervision of the administration of justice through the *audiencia*; the spreading of at least the rudiments of education, even among the Indians; the construction and maintenance of public works, especially roads and bridges; the exploitation of the country's mineral wealth; and the regularization of the administration of the public finances. To the extent that sound policies could be and were successfully carried out in these spheres, the country's political unity was strengthened.

Forces worked in the other direction, however, and the development of deeply felt regional loyalties became more apparent as the history of the New Kingdom lengthened. The periods of ineffective administration and those during which there was no unified executive (for example, when the *audiencias* strove to rule in the absence of a president or viceroy) allowed the regions to fall back on themselves. Regionalism became a force in the early periods; it was aided by the peculiar features of Colombian geography and has persisted as an exacerbating political factor down to modern times.

The history of this area of Spanish America was also marked by conflict between the rising British imperial sea power and Spanish imperial interests. With the cognizance and implied consent of the English government, Sir Francis Drake attacked Cartagena in February 1586, in effect held the town for ransom, and limited the

amount of destruction he wrought only upon payment of the equivalent of 100,000 pesos. In 1596 he destroyed both Riohacha and Santa Marta.

The colony suffered in the seventeenth century from the depredations of private adventurers who, in many respects, indirectly served anti-Spanish political interests. Among those who began raiding the coastal farms and settlements was Olonais who attacked Maracaibo and Puerto Cabello in what is now Venezuela but was then part of the New Kingdom. A more notorious buccannier was the Englishman, Henry Morgan, who accumulated a fortune through raids on the coast from Venezuela to Panama and then retired to Jamaica where he became governor for several terms. Other lesser figures preyed on the area, often attacking in fleets, they destroyed as much as possible and took away all the wealth they could conveniently carry.

Spanish control was also threatened by the attempts in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries of Scottish colonists to establish themselves in the region of the Gulf of Urabá under the leadership of William Paterson. These ventures failed because of the determined resistance of both the Spanish authorities and the local inhabitants. In 1739 Portobelo in Panama was taken by the English Admiral Edward Vernon but it did not long remain in English hands. In the two following years there were English attacks on Cartagena, but the city was able to withstand them.

A political development of major importance during the later colonial period was the expulsion of the Jesuits from the New Kingdom in 1767, by order of Charles III. The stated grounds were that they constituted a threat to social peace. The real reason was that the Jesuits, who took a special vow of obedience to the Pope, sided with the Pope and the Holy See authorities in their view of the relationship of Church and state. The expulsion reflected some fear of the Church as threatening to become a state within a state. From the beginning of the colonial period, civil authority had come into conflict with religious authority. The immediate effects of the expulsion included the forced closing of Jesuit schools, the abandonment of the cultivation of the agricultural holdings of the order, and the termination of its mission work among the Indians on the frontiers in the eastern part of the New Kingdom.

The accession in 1700 of the Bourbons to the Spanish throne in the person of Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV of France, brought about a strengthened administration in the overseas empire. More vigorous viceroys were appointed and steps were taken to increase royal authority. Increases in population, prosperity, and trade became apparent. Increased intellectual activity, stimulated by European influences, had a marked effect on a new group of *criollos* in

lower government positions. Benefits accrued to the New Kingdom, but many of the developments increased the resentment of the *criollo* elements who were at once defenders of traditional patterns and conditions and opposed to the exercise of more control from Spain. Their conservative resistance was expressed in the Comunero Rebellion of 1780-81, the most serious revolt against Spanish authority before the wars of independence.

The rebellion, involving many towns, was a spontaneous but diffuse movement giving expression to all types of resentments against the government. The most important uprising began and continued from Socorro (Santander). It was stimulated by the imposition of new taxes by the viceroy, Flórez, and later by actions of a regent *visitador*, Juan Francisco Gutiérrez de Piñeres. The rebels, almost without exception, expressed their loyalty to the King and the Church while calling for a repeal of the new taxes and a modification of government monopolies, especially on tobacco and rum. The government wanted new revenue to wage war with England. Its steps to clarify and regularize the collection of the revenues were understood as imposing new taxes.

The rebels at first appeared to win a victory by getting government representatives to agree to abolish the war tax and the taxes for the maintenance of the fleet, custom house permits, and the tobacco and playing card monopolies, and to reduce the tribute paid by the Indians and the taxes on liquor, commercial transactions, and salt. The rebels also asked that American-born inhabitants be given preference in the appointments to certain posts. However, the government negotiators later declared that they had acted under duress and that the viceroy would not honor the agreement. The leaders of the rebellion were subjected to the severest punishments, including death for the more prominent among them. The people, who had been moved by the spirit of rebellion, were subdued by the scenes of punishment. The rebels had not sought independence from Spain, but their rebellion against the King's administration and administrators, despite protestations of loyalty to the King himself, was not far removed from a fight for independence. In this light, the rebellion of the Comuneros was part of the prelude to the struggle for independence.

After the Comunero Rebellion the outlook of the local upper- and middle-class *criollo* changed; the ideas of the European Enlightenment slowly reduced their opposition to any change in the status quo and strengthened their desire to control their own situation. Antonio Nariño, the precursor and early advocate of independence, and Camilo Torres, who filled a similar role, came from their ranks. When Napoleon established Joseph Bonaparte in Madrid, they first vowed loyalty to Ferdinand VII, then conditioned such loyalty on

his ability personally to exercise his sovereignty in the New Kingdom, and finally sought independence against every effort at repression. The Spanish American found it difficult to collaborate even with the patriot forces in Spain because they refused to concede to the colonials equality of power and privilege. The disruption of legitimate authority in Spain was the occasion, rather than the cause, of the struggle for independence, which could not have been postponed for long in any event.

Religious

In some respects and on some occasions, particularly in dealings with the Indians, the Church and its representatives served during the colonial period as an arm of government; on other occasions, in the early period, they were in conflict with government. The Church desired an order, supported by the state, within which its proselytization might be continued; at the same time it opposed many of the secular aims of government which appeared to be in conflict with Christian morality, particularly with respect to the Indians.

The Church acted to restrain secular excesses and despotism, particularly those of the early conquistadors. The clergy, by their representations to Charles V, were behind the issuance of the New Laws in 1542. This work was carried forward by Juan de los Barrios, in 1563 appointed first Archbishop of Santa Fe, who earlier had presided over a synod which called for favorable treatment of the Indians.

In addition to bringing the Christian religion to the Indians, the Church spread the ideas and institutions of Western civilization; it was responsible for the establishment and maintenance of almost all the schools in existence during the colonial period. Priests often settled quarrels between the various conquistadors. Ecclesiastics were often themselves among the most intrepid explorers of new territory. They were the only ones in the early period to cross the South American continent and reach its most inaccessible regions.

The Franciscans, Dominicans, members of the Order of Mercy, and, at a later date, the Jesuits and Augustinians, were all important in the country's colonial history. The first two arrived in Santa Fe with the first judges; the Franciscans established convents in Vélez and Cartagena, the Dominicans in Santa Fe, Pamplona and Popayán. In 1563 the Dominicans established the first Chair of Grammar and, sometime later, one in philosophy. The first Jesuits arrived in Santa Fe in 1590 and nine years later undertook to open a college. The Dominican Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario was founded in 1653 by Cristóbal de Torres, great friend of the Indians.

Many Church leaders played important roles in the religious, social, cultural and political history of the colonial period; some were men of great distinction. Domingo de las Casas, cousin of Bartolomé de las Casas, accompanied Quesada on his hard journey into the interior and gave great assistance in pacifying the men and in establishing a peaceful accommodation among the rivals, Quesada, Federmann and Balalcázar. San Luis Beltrán, who worked tirelessly among the Indians in the Cartagena area, was made the patron of the New Kingdom of Granada in 1694. Hernando Arias de Ugarte was one of the most outstanding archbishops whose main work was directed toward protecting the Indians and reforming ecclesiastical discipline and usage. San Pedro Claver came to the New Kingdom in the beginning of the seventeenth century and for more than forty years carried on his mission among negro slaves. He became known as their apostle and was canonized by Leo XIII in 1888. Another illustrious archbishop, who also served as viceroy, was Antonio Caballero y Góngora. He was important for his intervention in the interest of peace in the Comunero Rebellion and for his vigorous efforts to reorganize the army; to promote education, missions, and mining enterprises; and to enforce the government's rule on the isthmus.

Social

The New Kingdom was, for most of the colonial period, a poverty-stricken, disease-ridden, largely remote portion of the Spanish Empire in America. The people who came from Spain brought with them a great disdain for manual labor. Most who had been artisans in the homeland had no desire to resume their old occupations in their new homes. The nobles not only disdained work, but also determinedly sought to prevent the social mixture of their own kind with any representatives of the artisan class. As a result it was, for the most part, a somnolent society with a static class stratification.

The only industrial activities were mining and the manufacture of cheap clothing. Medicine was almost entirely lacking; the little in existence was of a most rudimentary sort. Diseases were widely prevalent and ran their course unchecked. Among these were leprosy, smallpox, typhus, typhoid fever and paratyphoid. Two great smallpox epidemics swept the New Kingdom in 1566 and 1588, and the disease decimated the Indians. It was not until the third quarter of the eighteenth century, under the viceroyalty of Lieutenant-General Manuel Guirior, that two homes for the care of the poor were established.

The isolation of the colony was preserved by the failure to inaugurate a mail service until the eighteenth century; this did not become regular until 1750. Service was improved in 1757 when Cartagena

was designated as the entrepôt and the place where mail was gathered for shipment overseas.

Political power, social prestige and influence were held by the *peninsulares*. Below them were their American-born offspring and their descendants (the *criollos*). Next in importance, and the largest group in terms of numbers, were the mixed Spanish-Indian people (*mestizos*). The Indians gradually became almost completely absorbed linguistically or lost their separate identity through mixture with other peoples, leaving only fringe groups which remain to this day. The negroes, and those of mixed African-Indian parentage, were at the bottom of the social scale and counted for little except as a source of labor. For generations the *criollos* accepted a position of inferiority to the *peninsulares*, but in the late eighteenth century their respect was transformed into a resentment which ultimately led to revolution.

Economic

The economic development of the colony reflected, or ran parallel to, its social development. For a long time even agriculture was very limited, in many places restricted to providing the subsistence of colonial settlements which often moved on to new locations taking with them those who had provided their food and leaving a social void behind. The original interest of the colonists was the search for gold. Only after the return from gold became insufficient to supply the needs of life did settlements related to trade and other economic pursuits appear or become important. Thereafter the growth of a sense of community became possible.

Gradually even the centers of mining activity acquired aspects of settled life. By the latter part of the eighteenth century, Antioquia, for example, was developing rapidly. It became the center of government for its vicinity and had a school. Exchanging gold for merchandise, Antioquians began to engage in trade, especially with Popayán, Pasto, and Quito (Ecuador). Other less remote centers, such as Mariquita and Honda (Tolima) where goods were more available, developed as places of settlement and as sites of markets along commercial routes.

The government's policy of fostering trade in order to increase the prosperity of the New Kingdom itself, rather than that of the home country, was fully formulated and implemented only in the latter part of the eighteenth century, particularly during the tenure of Guirior as viceroy. Trade was then systematically encouraged by the repealing of duties and the removing of other restrictions.

The system of taxation maintained in the colony, both direct and indirect, was burdensome in varying degrees on individuals and

commerces. The government occasionally reacted to pressure by reducing taxes, but generally the trend of taxation was upward. Because the Spanish government was seeking revenue for itself, its goal finally came to be that of making the New Kingdom a going concern by encouraging its enterprises—certainly a required prelude to independence. The colonials resisted Spanish efforts to increase taxes, however, since at the time this aim naturally appeared only to serve the prosperity of the home country (see ch. 29, Public Finance).

Cultural

Although the Church, in its role as the patron of education, made a great contribution to the building of the New Kingdom as a community capable of developing a local spirit of independence, its patronage was intellectually and politically conservative in aim and motivation. In fact, Church and state combined their efforts to place the New Kingdom inhabitants in an intellectual straitjacket which became loosened only in the decades just before the achievement of independence. On the other hand, the educational development supported by the Church produced opposition to the maintenance of Spain's sovereignty over its American empire.

Throughout the eighteenth century the Church engaged in a bitter controversy with the country's leading intellectuals, influenced by the political ideas of the French Enlightenment, and the concepts of empirical scientific investigation; but the educational institutions maintained by the Church provided the educational groundwork of the intellectuals whose activities it opposed. Its contribution to the spread of education and information had been increased when the Jesuits founded the first printing press in Bogotá in 1738.

Slowly but certainly the artistic and intellectual life of the colony became more significant. Painters of note were active during the period, as well as numerous writers. The writing of historical works was the most important literary activity of the colonial period. A priest, Juan de Castellanos, wrote a poetic history of the conquest and another on the history of the New Kingdom in Granada. Others in a long succession of historians were Pedro Simón, Juan Rodríguez Freile, Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita, and Juan Flórez de Ocaña. Other prominent literary works were devoted to religious matters.

One of the major intellectual events in the colony's history was the arrival from Spain of José Celestina Mutis who began lecturing on mathematics and astronomy at the College of Rosario (1762) where, against the opposition of the Dominicans, he taught the heliocentric concept of the solar system for the first time in Colombia. Earlier, Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, respectively mem-

bers of the Paris and London Academies of Science, had come to Colombia to collaborate with French scientists in measuring a degree on the equator and to compare such a measurement with a degree measured in Europe and thus to improve calculations concerning the earth's size. Mutis became the leader of the Botanical Expedition which was later transformed into an Institute. First sponsored by the Archbishop-Viceroy Caballero y Góngora, its initial purpose was to organize Colombian, as opposed to foreign, exploration of the northern Andes region. During its life it developed a herbarium and a nursery; accumulated a collection of woods, shells, minerals and hides; established a manuscript library on plants, meteorology and mines; and maintained a collection of pictures of vegetable species. In 1817 most of these materials were transported to Madrid but some documents remain in the Colombian national archives.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, the question of whether or not a public university should be established became a public issue. Despite the opposition of the Dominicans, the Viceroy Messía de la Cerda and Manuel Grijor advised the Crown to support it. Archbishop-Viceroy Caballero y Góngora also supported such a plan and stressed the importance of teaching the useful and exact sciences. For a time some innovations were made in the methods and substance of instruction at San Bartolomé and El Rosario but did not last. Although a public university was never established under the Spanish, a new intellectual atmosphere began to emerge.

A new viceroy was appointed in 1789, José de Expelata y Galdeano. He was a patron of art and literature and, during his time, primary schools were opened in Santa Fe, the first periodicals were published, a theater was built in Bogotá, and clubs were formed which provided auspices for increased literary activity. It was in this atmosphere that Antonio Nariño received his conditioning and education. Born in Bogotá in 1765, he studied philosophy and jurisprudence at San Bartolomé and, more important, imported significant European literary works. As a result, he came under the influence of the new doctrines of intellectual and political liberty which were bringing a convulsion to Europe. He translated and published the part of the history of the French Constituent Assembly which related the Declaration of the Rights of Man. He preached, not only liberty, but also independence. He was arrested, tried by the *audiencia*, and received a sentence confiscating his property, exiling him from America, and imposing 10 years' imprisonment in Africa.

The various factors, political, religious, social, economic and cultural, that emerged as significant during the colonial period underwent a nationalistic development and consolidation after the achieve-

ment of independence. That was a natural consequence of the achievement of independent Colombian statehood. These factors as they have emerged in modern times form the basis of contemporary Colombian society.

INDEPENDENCE AND THE FORMATION OF THE NEW STATE

The invasion of Spain by the French produced, not only declarations of loyalty to legitimate Spanish sovereignty, but conflicts as to the best manner of reacting to the situation. The results were declarations of independence by the various political entities making up the New Kingdom (that of Bogotá on July 20, 1810, is commemorated as the country's independence day) except Santa Marta, Riohacha, Panama and Ecuador. From the beginning, disputes arose over whether the government should be centralized, as local political leaders and intellectuals who had been influenced by European experience usually desired, or federated, as advocated by those who were impressed by the example of the United States.

These conflicts facilitated a temporary return of Spanish political authority between 1814 and 1819 after initial rebel success. Under the pressure of such reverses and goaded by the terroristic excesses of the Spanish Pacificador (Pacificator), General Pablo Morillo, Colombian forces regrouped in the eastern llanos under General Francisco de Paula Santander. There they joined the forces under General Simón Bolívar (The Liberator) in the valley of the Orinoco River in Venezuela. Bolívar led the combined armies into New Granada and decisively defeated the loyalist forces at Boyacá on August 7, 1819. Thereafter Bolívar continued the struggle, finally achieving victory in Venezuela in 1821 and in Ecuador in 1822. Meantime Santander had remained in command in New Granada as acting political leader of the state.

In 1819 a constituent congress met at Angostura (now Ciudad Bolívar in Venezuela) and established the Republic of Grán Colombia which included Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador. The republic so established was more formally organized at the Congress of Cúcuta in July 1821. The government was divided into three branches, executive, legislative and judicial, and was designed to govern the old captain-generalcy of Venezuela and the viceroyalty of New Granada. It was provided that there would be at least six departments administratively dependent on the central government, and, below them, provinces and cantons. Bogotá was established as the provisional capital. The Congress also passed a law providing that the children of slaves should be free at birth. Other laws dealt with the organization of government, the press, weights and meas-

ures, customs duties and government lands. Bolívar and Santander were elected president and vice-president, respectively, and inaugurated on October 8.

The Cúcuta political arrangement was highly centralized and, during the war, strongly military. After the cessation of the military struggle in Grán Colombia, political rivalries and regional jealousies progressively weakened the authority of the new system. In 1826 General José Antonio Páez, a leader of Venezuelan *llaneros* (inhabitants of the southern and eastern llanos) who had fought in support of Bolívar to achieve independence, led a revolt in Venezuela seeking separation from Grán Colombia. Outbreaks and disturbances also took place elsewhere.

The return of Bolívar from Peru was barely sufficient to maintain his personal authority. A general convention was held at Ocaña beginning in April 1828 to reform the Constitution of Cúcuta. The convention broke up as a result of conflicting positions taken by the followers of Santander and Bolívar. Bolívar's followers supported more authoritarian and centralized government and many, especially those in Bogotá, called upon him to assume national authority until he deemed it wise to call a national assembly. This development was a natural consequence of the breakdown of the Ocaña convention and was in line with the Liberator's own ideas and temperament.

Bolívar assumed dictatorial powers and, in a decree, sought to regularize their use until a constitution, to be produced by a convention called for that purpose, could come into force in 1830. During the convention Bolívar resigned and died shortly afterwards. He had not promised liberty to the people, but rather their self-respect under a strong government. The divisive forces achieved a major triumph, however, and, in the year of his death, the Venezuelan and Ecuadorian portions of the republic seceded. The republic continued in its present size (except for Panama, subsequently lost).

The wars through which the present Republic of Colombia, and other areas of Spanish America, achieved independence are the most important events in the histories of these lands. In connection with them a mystique developed concerning the importance of independence and the romance of its achievement. The great liberator, Simón Bolívar, has achieved a position of vast prestige in the memories of Spanish Americans, and not least among Colombians.

THE STABILIZATION OF THE REPUBLIC: 1831-1903

The entire history of independent Colombia has been turbulent, but the period between 1831 and 1903 was especially chaotic. Although the adoption of the Constitution of 1886 (now in force along

with its amendments) was a victory for the Conservative Party, it was only after 1803 that the victory became consolidated and the party could undertake almost three decades of uninterrupted rule. The year 1803 marks the beginning of a period in which there was sufficient consensus within parties and between them, particularly as to the form of the state, that it was possible for one party to rule in relative agreement with the other as to its right to do so.

Appearance of Parties and Party Strife

In the long interval of disorder that preceded this relative stabilization, the substance and configuration of political parties emerged early. The two major political issues were the organization and power of national, as opposed to local, government, and the establishment of stable church-state relations in terms of acceptable republican principles. The parties' alignments with respect to them often depended on the relative advantages in terms of political power that could be gained from taking one position as opposed to another. A period of relative prosperity was interrupted by a widespread civil war in 1841-42 caused by the government's suppression, with the agreement of Church, of several convents in Pasto.

The government policy which caused the war and the prosecution of the struggle itself created bitter divisions among the members of the Liberal Party inside and outside the government. General Pedro Alcántara Herrán, who had commanded the government forces which suppressed the rebellion, was elected president at the end of the Márquez administration in May 1841 and assumed power in May 1842. His policy called for strengthening the executive power to permit more effective suppression of revolts and action in war. Such enlargements of the executive power were set forth in a new constitution issued on April 20, 1843. A group, denoted as Conservative, opposed such innovations and strongly supported the Church, thereby attracting Liberals who had been opposed to the government's religious policy. This Conservative Party shortly became the government party and, under the succeeding administration of General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera (1845-49), came to include his followers—"moderate liberals," "progressive patriots," those who had opposed the Herrán program, some of the old followers of Bolívar, a few dissident Liberals, and others.

The Liberals, the party in opposition since the Herrán administration, included those who had been revolutionists in the civil war of 1840, young men newly educated in the universities and cloisters and often strongly influenced by Benthamite doctrines and opposed to merely quiescent government. The civil war of 1840 had a catalytic effect in producing parties and forces which in their struggles an-

collisions kept the country in turmoil beyond the turn of the next century.

Even this period of distress produced achievements. Under Herrán, a census was taken, roads were improved, universities were organized and lower schools promoted, prisons were reformed, the mails were made more efficient, the tribute of the Indians was reduced, and the emancipation of children of slaves was reaffirmed. The Jesuits were readmitted in 1844 and placed in charge of education throughout the country. The Mosquera administration made similar improvements which affected transportation, government accounting and the monetary system.

The Deepening of Party Factionalism

The series of European revolutions in 1848 had a profound effect on Colombian politics. Many persons, especially young educated men of the upper class, became even more bitterly opposed to the Mosquera government. The election of his successor became such a violent contest that congress finally had to decide the election. After heated debate and the exertion of extreme popular pressure, especially that of artisans and radical college students organized in a Democratic Society, the Liberal candidate, General José Hilario López, was declared elected after the congressional scrutiny. He was inaugurated on April 1, 1849.

Although worthwhile measures, such as the abolition of the death penalty, were passed during this administration, its record was largely one of inflammatory political actions. The Democratic Society was vigorously opposed by a Conservative organization, the Sociedad Popular (Popular Society). The most serious conflict developed over the second expulsion of the Jesuits in 1850. This move by the government was inspired by European revolutionary developments and was followed by provisions requiring the abandonment of the official titles of magistrates, the abolition of slavery, the maintenance of freedom of the press and the establishment of secular control over church affairs. The civil strife that ensued resulted in the temporary defeat of the conservative factions.

When the Conservatives presented no candidate and abstained from voting, one of the Liberal Party candidates, General José María Obando, who was supported by members of the government, the army and the revolutionists of the civil war of 1840-42, was elected and inaugurated as president in early 1853. On May 21 of the same year a new constitution was adopted; it was the most liberal that had thus far been seen in Latin America, especially in its provisions defining the separation of Church and state and establishing universal suffrage. It was also notable for the autonomy that it allowed the provinces.

Immediately there ensued a period of extraordinarily complex factionalism, in which the main contenders were the members of the Democratic Society and artisans on the one hand, and the radical Christians and upper-class idealists on the other. The initial outcome of the confusion was a military coup on April 17, 1854, brought about by the first group led by General José María Melo and supported by Obando. A military dictatorship was attempted, but produced the united opposition of the outstanding leaders of both parties, and was overturned after seven months. A temperate Conservative regime came into existence in 1855 under Vice-President Manuel María Mallarino. Another Conservative, Mariano Ospina Rodríguez, was elected for the term 1857-61.

The Strengthening of Centrifugal Forces

The interparty, factional and class conflicts led to a gradual loosening of the ties of federation. For the Liberals, decentralization provided an opportunity to maintain largely autonomous federal political units as areas of Liberal control. The Conservatives, although not so enthusiastic, had similar reasons for at least not obstructing these developments. The first important step was the passage by the Congress of 1855 of a constitutional amendment expressly establishing Panama (and some additional territories) as "a sovereign federal state" and granting to Congress the right to establish additional states out of any portion of the national territory it might designate. Within a short time, six new states had been created. In May 1858 a new constitution establishing the Granadine Confederation formalized this arrangement.

Ospina's Conservative central administration symbolized a limitation on Liberal success, especially since he did not include men of both parties in his government as had been the practice. The result was the outbreak of civil war in 1860 in which the Liberals sought to achieve control of the central government and especially to oppose several centralizing measures the Ospina government had passed.

General Mosquera, a former Conservative, now Governor of Cauca, emerged as the most important Liberal figure, going so far as to threaten the secession of Cauca in the face of Conservative moves toward central control. The processes of government became almost completely obstructed. Elections could not be held as scheduled in 1861, but Mosquera captured Bogotá and took the title of "Provisional President of the United States of New Granada and Supreme Director of War." A congress of plenipotentiaries, chosen by the civil and military leaders of each state, met in the capital in September 1861 on the call of the provisional government and announced a Pact of Union, in effect an interim constitution for "The United

States of Colombia." Meantime the war continued until Mosquera defeated the Conservatives and finally brought it to an end by subduing the opposition in Antioquia in October 1863.

A convention, also called by the provisional government, met in Riónegro in February 1863. Representative only of Liberals, it proceeded to enact the Constitution of 1863, which was to last until 1885. All powers not given to the central government were reserved to the states. The Constitution contained fully defined human rights and guarantees made as nearly absolute as possible. Related to the power of the states in particular was the guarantee of the right to engage in commerce in arms and ammunition. The longstanding question of the status of religious organization was dealt with by a guarantee of the right to profess any religion. The term of the president was established as two years and his election was to be by states with each state having one vote.

This Liberal constitutional victory brought little peace and tranquility to the country for, subsequent to its enactment and before the next major constitutional change, the two party groups engaged in some 40 local conflicts and several major military struggles. Contention, moreover, persisted between the Liberal executive and the party extremists who went so far as to enact a measure prohibiting the central authority from suppressing a revolt against the government of any state. They also executed a coup against President Mosquera in 1867, leading to his imprisonment, trial before the Senate, and eventual exile from the country.

Not only did cleavages develop among the ruling Liberals, but the Conservatives found it increasingly difficult to accept the radical rationalism and antireligious provisions of the 1863 Constitution, especially after the fall of Mosquera which entrenched the radical Liberals in power even more firmly. Eventually the Conservatives in Tolima and Antioquia took to arms, thus initiating a major civil war in 1876-77. The Liberal national government put down the rebellion, but only with difficulty.

Strengthening the Center

In the early 1880's the economic and social conditions of the country became exceedingly precarious. President Rafael Núñez, who had been elected for the second time in February 1884 after a one-term interval, was authorized to take steps urgently required to improve economic conditions. He became the leader of a movement to reform the Constitution, attempting to accomplish it with the agreement of all groups. A revolution was begun by the radicals who feared that constitutional reform would benefit the Conservatives and the new group of Nationalists organized by Núñez from

disident radicals and old Conservatives. The revolution was put down by August 1885, and Núñez was able to proceed as the leader of the reform movement.

The most important result was the adoption of the Constitution of 1886 by a national council made up of two delegates from each state. This Constitution, with its amendments, remains in force today. Its chief principles were those recommended by Núñez: a national rather than a confederated system of government; clear lines of authority; and the reassertion of the power of the Catholic Church (see ch. 19, The Constitutional System; ch. 11, Religion).

Political disorder did not cease with the adoption of the new Constitution. Even the Conservatives, for whom it had been a political victory, were divided, and the Liberals began great agitation against the government. The supporters of the presidential incumbent, Miguel A. Caro, became divided into Nationalists and Conservatives; and the Liberals in early 1895 revolted against the government. Although this uprising was put down, tranquility was not yet established. The weakness of the national executive encouraged another Liberal attempt at revolution, which began in July 1899 and continued for three years until June 1903. This war cost the country great losses in lives and property, but its termination initiated a period of exceptional stability which withstood the political and psychological impact of the secession of Panama in 1903. This was supported by the United States, which was interested in control of the isthmian canal route (see ch. 23, Foreign Policies).

Progress Despite Chaos

Even with the chaotic conditions that accompanied the rise to power of the Liberals in the 1860's and persisted thereafter, some improvements in social conditions were accomplished. Railroad building was carried forward, river navigation was improved, roads were built, a national bank was established. The Church was able to make a continuing contribution to education and the national life. Except for a decline in the quality of medical education and practice in the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a general overall improvement in the quality of medicine; the most notable events were the incorporation of a school of medicine in the National University at Bogotá in 1867 and the establishment of a National Academy of Medicine in 1890. The natural sciences and other branches of science, including the social sciences, were also developed, even though the political situation was often unsuited to their pursuit. The cultivation of the fine arts was manifested in the foundation of a National Conservatory of Music in 1882 and the School of Fine Arts in 1886. The study and production of literature

became noteworthy after the 1840's, especially with the establishment of the Liceo Granadino, a literary club which was the predecessor of the Academia de la Lengua (see ch. 9, Artistic and Intellectual Expression).

THE CONSERVATIVES IN POWER

A Period of Reaction

At the end of the civil war in 1903 the Conservatives were victorious in their struggle to maintain a unified republic. Although the party affiliation of a Colombian, almost irrespective of his class, was determined by the traditions of his family and place of birth, some distinctions in principle between the two parties were apparent. On the other hand, the two parties had links and common interests, particularly on the level of the ruling class.

In the new era of predominantly Conservative control, the forces of constitutionalism were put to the test. General Rafael Reyes was elected president in 1904 and soon proved to be an executive determined, not only to accomplish material and constructive improvements, but also to prevent any obstacle, constitutional or other, from standing in his way. He imprisoned members of Congress who objected to his policies. On the basis of his own presumed prerogatives, he created a legislative body, or national assembly, composed of three representatives from each department selected by department officials appointed by him, to supplant the Congress of the Constitution. This body was designed to place its stamp of approval upon his decrees and to pass on constitutional amendments.

The policies of Reyes met with opposition and became the source of national disharmony. These conditions were dramatically expressed in an attempt upon his life in February 1906. The extra-constitutional legislature, containing members of both parties who were at least temporarily willing to conform to his purpose, agreed to the extension of his term from six to ten years dating from January 1, 1905. He continued to pursue his vigorous programs of reform, among the most important of which were: military, including army reorganization and the establishment of a new military school; educational, involving increasing educational opportunities for the lower classes; and fiscal, calling for systematic amortization of the national debt.

Also among his projects was that of achieving amicable treaty arrangements with the United States and Panama. Public consideration of these treaties by the assembly, beginning in February 1909, provided the opportunity for opposition to the dictatorship to develop and show itself. It took as its main form the organization of

a Republican Union made up of both Conservatives and Liberals. Its emergence was accompanied by heated public debate and demonstration, which resulted in an abortive attempt by Reyes to resign and the adoption of repressive measures under a state of siege (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). Soon, however, in a reversal which amounted to an implicit admission that his previous course had been not only unsuccessful but mistaken, he agreed to the calling of an extraordinary session of the constitutional congress to begin in July 1909; and the assembly announced that the Congress would meet in regular session in February 1910.

In June 1909 Reyes left the country and General Jorge Holguín, the *Designado* (President-Designate), declaring himself in support of constitutionality and the rule of law, succeeded to the exercise of the executive authority. After a short period of repression, occasioned by threats or rumors of revolution emanating from Barranquilla, the regular session of Congress was finally opened as scheduled. A new President, General Ramón González Valencia, was elected to fill out the original unexpired term of Reyes which had begun in 1904. The Congress of 1909 proceeded to repeal most of the repressive measures of the Reyes regime, especially those interfering with constitutional guarantees.

Constitutional Conservative Government

A constituent assembly, demanded by a majority of municipalities in the country, met in May 1910 and accomplished a number of constitutional reforms. Representing the principal Conservative and Liberal groups that opposed Reyes, its most important act was the election of Carlos E. Restrepo for a four-year term beginning on August 7, 1910. In addition, it enacted measures abolishing the death penalty, requiring the annual meeting of Congress, requiring the annual selection of a *designado* to exercise the executive authority in the absence of the president, and establishing prohibitions against the issuance of paper money.

During the Restrepo administration and its successors, other reform measures were passed. The Republican Union, except for a small group which had successfully opposed the Reyes government, disappeared; its members returned to their party of historic affiliation. The Conservatives continued to produce presidential candidates who gained ostensibly overwhelming public mandates. World War I seriously handicapped the Conservative government, however, in its attempts to pursue constructive public works. Financial difficulties were multiplied and it became necessary for the Conservative president to step down and allow the President-Designate, General Holguín, to assume the executive power. Although during the ex-

ecutive term 1918-22, Conservatives and Liberals collaborated in the Cabinet, an ardent Liberal Party under the leadership of General Benjamín Herrera developed to oppose the Conservative candidate in 1922. In spite of this opposition, and with the assistance of electoral irregularities, General Pedro Nel Ospina, the Conservative candidate, was elected by a large majority in that year.

The terms of General Nel Ospina (1922-26) and Dr. Miguel Abadía Méndez (1926-30), also a Conservative, ran their allotted time. The first administration was marked by significant but conservative reform. The administration of Abadía Méndez was notable for his early plea to the Liberal Party to allow its members to collaborate in the government. This gesture was recognition of growing Liberal strength and activity; and it anticipated, in fact, the Liberals' success in capturing the presidency through the election of their candidate, Enrique Olaya Herrera, in 1930. Some noteworthy reforms were accomplished under Abadía Méndez, but his term witnessed the end of a period of prosperity, which had begun during World War I, and the accumulation of numerous problems.

The Conservatives may have been willing to allow the Liberals to carry the main burden of meeting these problems, and, therefore, to permit the holding of a free election in 1930, thus allowing the Liberals to win. Equally important, however, was the fact that the Conservative Party in 1929 was almost equally divided in its support of two candidates, Guillermo Valencia and Vásquez Cobo. Long tenure in office had its almost inevitable end in a breakdown in Conservative Party cohesion, while the party in opposition became more efficient as it struggled for power.

The period of Conservative rule, brought to an end in 1930, had provided illustrations of certain principles operating in Colombian political life. One is that substantial numbers of both the Conservative and Liberal parties work together in opposition to an executive who is acting, or proposing to act, extraconstitutionally, as was illustrated in the formation of the Republican Union which finally succeeded in defeating President Reyes. Another is that a party in power often feels itself justified in maintaining itself in office through undemocratically rigged elections and through every available device to prevent the opposition from carrying on political activity. A corollary is that the opposition party is justified in resorting to force to overcome repression.

Changes: 1903-30

Constitutional changes of long-range importance were brought about as a result of a desire to prevent the recurrence of extra-constitutional government. In 1910, the presidential term was re-

duced to four years, the death penalty was abolished, the issuance of fiat paper money was prohibited, and annual meetings of Congress and the annual election of a President-Designate were required. In 1914 the consultative Council of State, made up of the Designate and six others, was reestablished. Four years later the national government was given the right to inspect industries and the performance of the professions to safeguard the morality, safety and public health of the community. In 1924, the Supreme Court of Justice was divided into a civil section and a criminal section.

During this period, particularly in its later phases, the tempo of national life quickened. Projects for the improvement of transportation, including mainly new railroads and highways, were completed, benefiting commerce, industry and the physical and social unity of the country. Between 1913 and 1928, for example, railroad mileage more than doubled and the volume of passengers and freight carried increased eight times. The population increased from about 5,000,000 in 1912 to about 8,000,000 in 1929.

This increased tempo was most apparent perhaps in the economic sphere (see ch. 26, Character and Structure of the Economy; ch. 28, Industrial Potential). The period witnessed innovations in fiscal conditions, administration and control. An income tax was established. During the 1920's, increased political stability, improved physical conditions, and the general world economic climate, resulted in the pouring of money into the development of the country's public enterprises, until, by the end of 1929, the public debt, national and local, amounted to over Col\$200 million. The purposes to which the inflowing capital was devoted were commendable, but it was too often employed without necessary integrated planning or sufficient regard for the possibilities of economic return—and without safeguards against inefficiency and graft. Added to the moneys poured into the country for public purposes were the private foreign investments which had, by the end of 1929, come to total around U.S.\$400 million. By this time the country had become overobligated. This situation damaged the party in power, which was further hurt by the world-wide depression.

AFTER 1930

The period which began with the accession of Olaya Herrera in 1930 gave promise of being one of stability, despite the deepening depression. One reason for initial optimism was the peaceful and free election of 1930. Moreover, Olaya spoke of his determination to conform to the highest administrative standards and seek worthy political ends. The main characteristic of his administration was cautious moderation. In meeting the crisis of the depression, Al-

fonso López (1934-38), his successor, undertook to press for the enactment of a series of social reform measures. They included progressive taxes on income and inheritance and their strict enforcement for the first time; the granting of rights to squatters on public and private land; and the granting of protection to labor in the exercise of rights to organize and strike. The separation of Church and state was declared, and the Church was divested of its control over education. The policy of the administration was most clearly indicated by a constitutional amendment which declared that "Property is a social function which implies obligations."

These reforms, and others embarked upon during the first López administration, had disastrous political consequences because of the reaction to them of moderate Liberal and Conservative forces. A moderate Liberal, Eduardo Santos, was elevated to the presidency for the term 1938-42. His administration did not attempt to undo what had been done but was determined to go no further. López was elected again for the following term (1942-46), but the Conservatives and some rightwing Liberals effectively organized a counterrevolution which, led by Laureano Gómez, successfully harried López from office.

After two interim executives, Mariano Ospina Pérez was elected to the presidency (1946-52). Beginning his term with professions of moderation and union and even of some forward-looking reforms, his administration nevertheless became an effective instrument of the counterrevolution, moved mainly by its principal figure, Gómez, the foreign minister. The Ospina administration soon changed its direction. Far from being a government of national union, one of its basic purposes came to be the removal of Liberal officials in the national, departmental and municipal governments.

Under the attack of the counterrevolution, the segment of the Liberal Party led by Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, became the engine of reform. Many people, becoming more politically conscious, looked upon Gaitán as the most effective, and only sincere, reform leader. Although he attempted to restrain his followers from attempting an outright challenge to the reaction, he served as the chief object of the reaction's hatred. His assassination on April 9, 1948, while the Inter-American Conference was in session in the capital, was the signal for the outbreak of extreme violence in Bogotá, which reduced the heart of the city to smoking ruin and destruction. This outburst, which spread to other parts of the country, became known as the Bogotazo. It was exploited by local Communists, who attempted to take charge of events, and by international communism as a means of embarrassing the Colombian government as the host government to an international conference.

The reaction stood firm. In fact, it now had an excuse for launching what was, in fact, a reign of terror against the opposition. This involved the use of the army in acts of violence against Liberal communities and the encouragement of a campaign of guerrilla activities in the countryside. Traditional Conservatives were ranged against traditional Liberals, and extremists of various types made use of a chaotic situation to serve their own purposes. Gómez became president in 1950 and initiated a period of ruthless dictatorship which permitted no legal contest of ideas and interests and, in effect, had as a major premise the rectitude of a particular Conservative body of principles.

The dictatorship resulted in, by means of a coup d'état, a military authoritarian regime, with some anti-oligarchic, Peronist aspects, under General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla (1953-57) as president. It lost prestige because of its corruption and ineptitude and was displaced by a military junta. The junta paved the way for a National Front government acting in accordance with a coalition arrangement worked out between the Liberals and the Conservatives, led respectively by Alberto Lleras Camargo and Laureano Gómez (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). Such coalition arrangements have frequently been employed in Colombia's history as a counter to extraconstitutional government and, more recently, to threats from the Left.

CHAPTER 3

GEOGRAPHY AND POPULATION

The Republic of Colombia comprises some 440,000 square miles on the northwestern corner of South America and has a population of about 14.5 million (see fig. 3). Its location, bordering on both the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, and its consequent proximity to the strategically important Panama Canal, combined with its economic potential, have given it a position of international importance disproportionate to its size and population (see ch. 2, Historical Setting). In addition to its frontier with Panama on the northwest, it shares frontiers with Ecuador and Peru on the south, with Brazil on the east, and with Venezuela on the north. The country's size is roughly comparable to the combined areas of Texas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico.

The great mountain chain of the Andes running northward along the western coast of the continent dominates the western two-fifths of Colombia and gives it a markedly different character from the remaining three-fifths in the east. Ninety-eight percent of the country's population is concentrated in the western region; the remaining two percent or so live in the Llanos Orientales, the considerably larger area east of the northern spur of the Andes. The population is densest on the plateaus and slopes of the mountains, where elevation reduces the adverse effects of the equatorial climate and is a contributing factor to the health and vigor of the people who dominate the political, cultural, and economic life of the country. The mountain ranges not only determine the settlement patterns by concentrating people in almost isolated pockets on high elevations, but also determine the lines of communication and travel, which run parallel to the ranges in a north-south direction.

The country occupies a segment of the great earthquake belt that lies along the areas bordering the Pacific Ocean from southeast Asia to the southern tip of South America. Occasional eruptions of volcanoes on land and off the coast, especially in the Caribbean Sea between the mouths of the Atrato and Magdalena rivers, have been recorded.

GEOGRAPHY

Western Colombia

The Highlands

The western part of the country presents an extraordinary diversity of elevation, climate, and types of land. The terminal ranges of the Andes divide here into three distinct chains, called "cordilleras," which extend from near the Ecuadorian border almost to the Caribbean Sea. Altitudes reach as high as 19,000 feet, and mountain peaks are permanently covered with snow. Elevated basins and plateaus of these ranges enjoy a moderate climate which provides not only pleasant living conditions but enables the farmer in many places to harvest twice a year. Torrential rivers on the slopes of the mountains produce a large hydroelectric power potential and add their volume to the navigable rivers in the valleys. The great majority of the population lives in these temperate mountainous regions where, before the appearance of the white man, Indians had developed a culture almost as complex and elaborate as that of the Incas to the south and the Aztecs to the north (see ch. 2, Historical Setting).

The three parallel chains of the Andes, the Western, Central, and Eastern Cordilleras (Cordillera Occidental, Cordillera Central, and Cordillera Oriental), present differing characteristics as they thrust themselves northward. The easternmost and longest range diverges from the central range some 100 miles north of Ecuador and thus provides a spacious valley or drainage area for the Magdalena River, which is fed by numerous mountain torrents originating high up in snow fields, where glaciers have been planing the surface of the folded and stratified rocks for millenia.

In this area in the Eastern Cordillera at elevations between 8,000 and 9,000 feet, a number of small and three large fertile basins provide suitable areas for settlement and intensive economic production. In the basin of Cundinamarca, where the Spaniards found the Chibchas, settled tribes of Indians practicing agriculture, the white invaders founded the town of Santa Fé (Bogotá) at an elevation of 8,660 feet above sea level. It has today become a metropolis of about 1 million inhabitants.

To the north of Bogotá, on the densely populated plateaus of Chiquinquirá and Boyacá, are found fertile fields, rich mines, and large industrial establishments which produce a great portion of the national wealth. Still farther north, where the Eastern Cordillera makes an abrupt turn to the northwest near the Venezuelan border, the highest point of this range, the Sierra Nevada de Cocuy, rises to about 18,310 feet above sea level. In the Department of Santander, the valleys become more spacious on the western slopes and

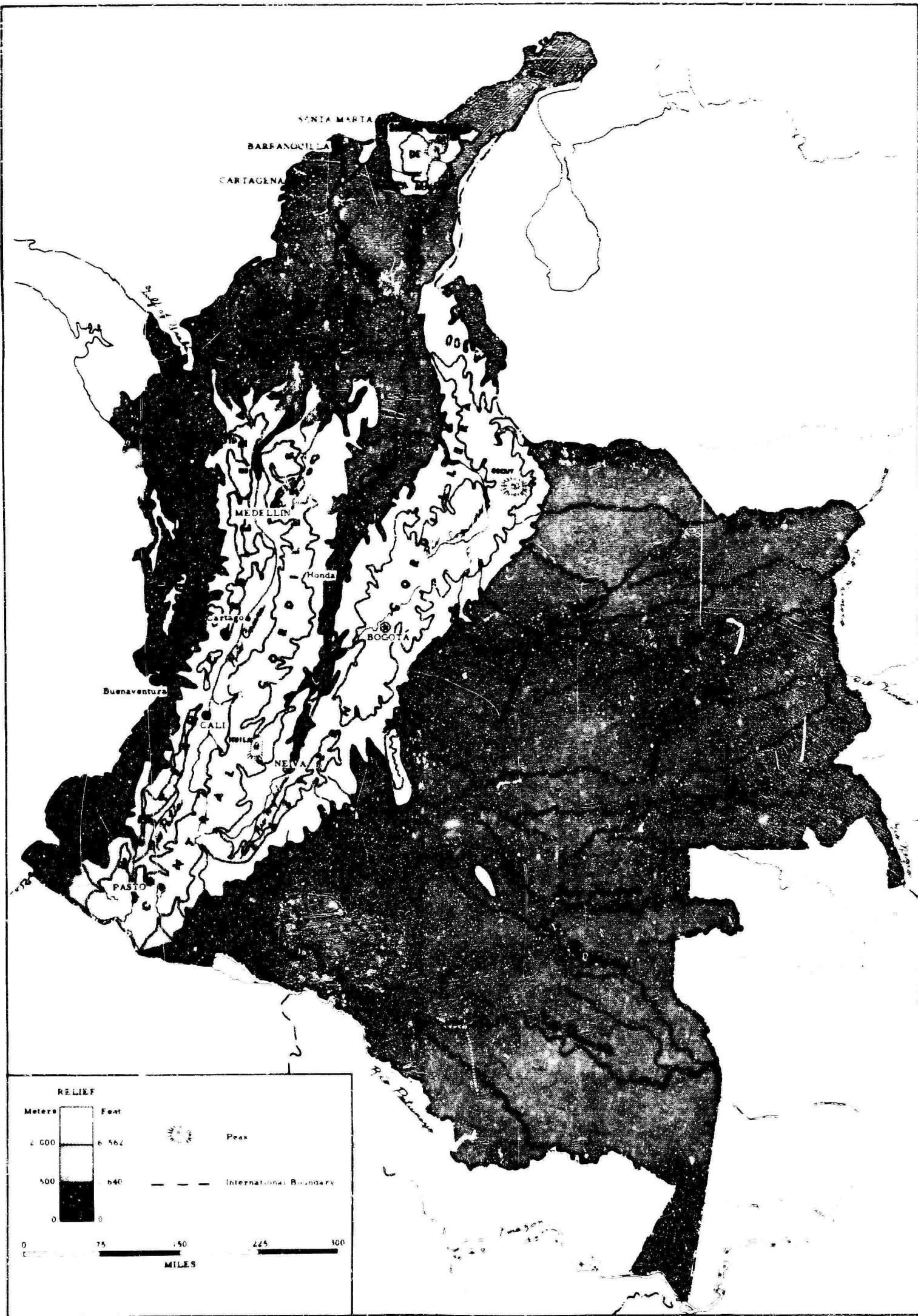


Figure 3. Physical features of Colombia

a particularly intensive agriculture is practiced in the region of Bucaramanga. The northernmost region of the range around Cúcuta and Ocaña again becomes so rugged that historically it has been found easier to maintain communication and transportation toward Venezuela than toward the adjacent parts of Colombia.

The Central Cordillera, also called Cordillera del Quindío, is the largest of the mountain system. Its crystalline rocks form a 500-mile-long towering wall dotted with snow-covered volcanoes. There are no plateaus in this range, and no passes cross it under 11,000 feet. The highest peak, the Nevado del Huila, reaches 18,865 feet above sea level. Toward its northern end, this cordillera becomes separated into several branches which descend toward the Caribbean Coast. At this point in a relatively small basin about 12 miles long is situated Medellín, the second largest city of Colombia, a center of dynamic population and economic growth.

The Western Cordillera is separated from the Central Cordillera by a deep rift, the Cauca River Valley; it is the lowest and the least populated of the three ranges and supports little economic activity. A pass about 5,000 feet above sea level provides Cali, the third largest city of the nation, with an outlet to the Pacific Ocean, but otherwise no river cuts through the range, and the only other means of communication to the Pacific lies to the north and is of rather recent construction. The relatively low elevation of the cordillera permits dense vegetation, which on the western slopes becomes truly tropical.

South of the point where the Eastern Cordillera branches off, the range is still divided by an extension of the Cauca River Valley. Although it continues to follow a north-south direction, it is drained in this region by the Patia River which cuts through the western range and empties into the Pacific Ocean. The path of the river is too narrow and steep to permit its use as a means of travel and communication; thus, the mountains still force the main travel and communications arteries to run in a north-south direction parallel to the ranges of the Andes, as they do farther north. The town of Pasto lies at an elevation of 8,500 feet in the center of the deeply dissected terraces of the area, to which it also gives its name.

From the standpoint of topography, the upper parts of the two valleys on either side of the Central Cordillera belong to the highlands, in which both the Magdalena and the Cauca rivers originate, north of the Pasto region. The two valleys in which they flow have become the main economic arteries of the nation. Below the upland plateaus of the valleys as they descend toward the north, the tributaries of the two rivers form spectacular falls and cut rifts in the steep slopes, thereby causing extensive soil erosion and limiting cultivation to isolated small patches. In the upper reaches of the Magdalena, approximately at the altitude of the town of Neiva,

where the river becomes navigable, and on patches bordering the valley, altitude and climate favor coffee growing. The upper reaches of the Cauca River Valley, up to a point just north of Cali, are filled with volcanic ash deeply dissected by the river and its tributaries.

North of Buenaventura along the Pacific coast runs the Serranía de Baudó, a chain of low and narrow, heavily eroded and rugged ridges, connected with the cordilleras only by a low transverse range. Its highest point is under 6,000 feet, and its vegetation is similar to that of the surrounding humid coastal jungle. At one point, between 7° and 8° of latitude, the mountains are so narrow that a canal connecting the two oceans and making use of the Atrato River has been contemplated.

The isolated Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta rises at the base of the Guajira Peninsula in northern Colombia. Its peaks reach a height of over 19,000 feet, and its steep slopes permit little cultivation.

The Lowlands

The lowlands embrace the lower parts of the Magdalena and Cauca river valleys and the Pacific and Caribbean coastal regions, including the Guajira Peninsula.

Although most population centers are closer to the Pacific coast than to the Caribbean Sea, the forbidding ranges of the Andes have channeled both rivers and human communication and movement into valleys running north and south and thus have caused them generally to move by long routes of access to the coastal regions and the sea. East-west communication has been much more limited in extent, and a large amount of what exists is of rather recent origin and has been brought about mainly by recent technical innovations in the field of transportation.

The main artery of the lowlands, in fact of the entire country, is the Magdalena River system. Almost every settlement, and certainly all principal settlements, have established links of one kind or another with this system. The Magdalena River, which is navigable for some 800 miles, interrupted only by the rapids at Honda, absorbs the Cauca, San Jorge, and César rivers north of the Central Cordillera and then proceeds through an area roughly triangular in shape and filled with swamps and lakes to the Caribbean Sea. Although it is often referred to as "the life stream of Colombia," sand bars at its mouth and along its lower reaches, as well as fluctuations of the water level as a result of sudden floods, produce serious hazards for navigation, which nevertheless has been the major factor in the development and prosperity of the city of Honda, for a long

time one of the principal commercial centers of the continent. The significance of the city has in recent years been reduced through the building of railroad lines that bypass it and the rapids to connect the lower river with settlement areas higher up.

Colombia's major port, Barranquilla, situated at the mouth of the Magdalena River, is of growing importance, but the ports of Santa Marta further north and Cartagena to the south compete with it for a leading commercial role. Behind these cities and adjacent to the seacoast spreads the vast flat land of swamps (*ciénagas*), hidden streams, and shallow lakes, which supports banana plantations, cotton farms, and cattle ranches on the small areas above the waters and hence not too frequently subject to flooding. Beyond the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta stretches the sparsely inhabited, arid desert of the Guajira Peninsula.

The Pacific coast region, bounded by the Western Cordillera and crossed by the San Juan River and many other streams running toward the ocean, is a sparsely inhabited tropical jungle region with a great and unexplored potential in natural resources. Midway between Panama and Ecuador on the coast is Buenaventura, Colombia's only port on the Pacific Ocean. Further north, where the Serranía de Baudó occupies the coast, the Atrato River provides drainage toward the Caribbean Sea for the low-lying jungle of the Chocó.

Eastern Colombia

The area east of the Andes comprises about 270,000 square miles or three-fifths of the country's total area, but Colombians refer to it and administer it almost as if it were a territory outside the main national territory. The name "Llanos Orientales" is often applied to it, although in the strict sense it can only be properly applied to the open plains (llanos) on which cattle raising is practiced near the eastern slopes of the Andes and in the north, mainly in the Department of Boyacá and the *comisaria* of Arauca. The rest of the area, especially in the southern part, is covered by dense and largely unexplored rain forest, the *selva*.

Drainage and lines of transportation are provided for the northern half of the territory by the tributaries of the Orinoco River, which runs northward on the Colombian-Venezuelan border. In the southern half, the humid forests are drained by the tributaries of the Amazon River. The Amazon runs along the Colombian-Peruvian border for about 70 miles and is navigable here and beyond. It is believed that the vast area drained by this system contains valuable reserves of natural resources, but their presence cannot be confirmed in detail nor their substance exploited because of the presence of health hazards and the lack of adequate means of transportation.

Islands

Colombia possesses a few islands in the Caribbean and some in the Pacific Ocean, the combined areas of which do not exceed 25 square miles. Off Nicaragua, about 400 miles northwest from the Colombian coast are some 13 small cays grouped around two larger islands and forming the San Andrés and Vieja Providencia archipelagoes. The sovereignty of some other islands in the same area, claimed by both Colombia and the United States, and in some instances by Nicaragua also, is as yet in dispute. Among them are the small islands, cays, or banks of Santa Catalina, Roncador, Quita Sueño, Serrana, and Serranilla. Off the coast south of Cartagena are several small islands, among them the islands of Rosario, San Bernardo, and Fuerte.

The Island of Malpelo lies in the Pacific Ocean about 270 miles west of Buenaventura, and nearer the coast south of the city there is the larger Gorgona Island, with the small Gorgonilla cay off its southern shore.

Climate and Vegetation

Colombia is a country of great variety in temperature and precipitation, and consequently also in vegetation. Variation exists mainly as the effect of elevation, and thus climate is often appropriately referred to in the country as a vertical phenomenon. On the other hand, the proximity of the Equator has a dual effect: it widens the range of temperature from very hot at sea level to relatively cold at high elevations, and it reduces the monthly changes on each respective level to a bare minimum. At Bogotá, for example, the average annual temperature is 58.1° F., and the difference between the average of the coldest and the warmest months of the year is only 18° F. More significant, however, is the daily variation in temperature which ranges from 40° F. at night to 63° F. during the day.

Colombians are accustomed to describe their country in terms of three, sometimes of five, climatic zones: the area under 3,000 feet is called the hot zone (*tierra caliente*); elevations between 3,000 and 6,500 feet above sea level are classed as in the temperate zone (*tierra templada*); and elevations from 6,500 feet to approximately 10,000 feet constitute the cold zone (*tierra fría*). The upper level of the *tierra fría* marks also the tree line and the approximate limit of human habitation. The treeless regions adjacent to the cold zone up to approximately 15,000 feet are usually referred to as the *páramos* (high, bleak area), above which begins the world of permanent snow (*nevado*).

About 75 percent of the country's total area lies in the hot zone, where the full impact of the Equatorial location can be felt. About 35 percent of the population lives in this zone. Temperatures, depending upon elevation, vary between 75° F. and 100° F., and there are alternating dry and wet seasons corresponding to summer and winter respectively. Rain falls most abundantly along the west coast and in the southern area of Eastern Colombia, where precipitation occurs almost daily, and tropical rain forests predominate. Breezes on the Caribbean coast, however, reduce both heat and precipitation (see table 1). The dry season in the hot zone usually lasts from October to May. Bananas, tobacco, rice, sugar cane, cotton, cacao, coconuts, and other tropical fruits are produced in these regions. Along the flood-plains of the Magdalena, Cauca, and Atrato rivers, the swamps are filled with bamboo and other tropical plant life; better-drained areas provide grass for pasture.

Table 1. Average Annual Rainfall and Temperature in Selected Areas of Colombia

		Rainfall (in millimeters)	Temperature (in ° F.)
West Coast.....	Quibdó.....	10,993	79
	Buenaventura.....	3,943	n.s.
Eastern Colombia.....	Villavicencio.....	4,295	78
Cordilleras.....	Popayán.....	1,870	65
	Medellín.....	1,450	68
	Bogotá.....	1,088	58
Caribbean Coast.....	Cartagena.....	865	80
	Uribe.....	439	82
	Santa Marta.....	383	82 (Aracataca)
San Andrés Islands.....	1,903	n.s.

Source: Adapted from Pablo Vila, *Nueva Geografía de Colombia* (New Geography of Colombia), p. 77; and Colombia, Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (National Department of Statistics), *Anuario General de Estadística* (General Statistical Yearbook), 1959, pp. 4-20.

The temperate zone covers about 16 percent of the country, and in it live about 40 percent of the population. This zone includes the lower slopes of the Eastern and Central cordilleras and most of the intermountain valleys. The important cities of Medellín (5,000 feet) and Cali (3,000 feet) are located in this zone, where the mean annual temperature varies between 65° F., and 75° F., depending on the elevation. This is also the zone where coffee, maize, yucca, plantains, sugar cane, sisal, citrus fruits, and orchids are grown. On the higher elevations of this zone the farmer benefits from two wet and

two dry seasons each year: January, February, March, July, August, and September are dry. These conditions also prevail in the cold zone.

The cold zone comprises about 10 percent of the total area, including the most densely populated plateaus and terraces of the Colombian Andean region, with about one-fourth of the country's total population. The mean temperature ranges between 50° F. and 65° F., and the wet seasons occur in April and May and from September to December. Forests cover most of the slopes of the mountains, and in the cultivated areas wheat, potatoes, barley, maize, beans, and such fruits as apples, cherries, and peaches are grown.

No complete survey is available, but some 7,000 species of plants have been identified in the country. The variety of climate and elevation is responsible for its rich flora. It ranges from tropical jungle plants to those typical of the bleak Alpine mountain regions. More than one-half of the country's area is covered by forests, ranging from the growth in the tropical mangrove swamps of the coastal lowlands to the mixed tropical forests on higher elevations and fine hardwoods in the temperate and cold zones. Mahogany, pine, brazilwood, walnut, oak, cedar, and eucalyptus are abundant. Forest products beside lumber include cinchona, rubber, vanilla, gums, balsams, tanning agents and dyewoods, and vegetable ivory. Some 130 species of palms are found, and about 700 different types of orchids grow wild in large quantities.

Because of the climatic diversity and the advantage of a large variety of soils, Colombia is able to grow a great variety of food plants. The hot tropical region produces tropical and semitropical fruits and on higher elevations a great variety of cereals, vegetables, and fruits common in the United States is produced (see ch. 27, Agricultural Potential).

Climate, vegetation, and topography are also reflected in the rich fauna of the country. Over 1,500 species of birds are known, among which hummingbirds and toucans are prominent. Many migratory birds spend their winter in the area; as a result, the bird population fluctuates according to the season.

The extensive forests give shelter to large flesh-eating mammals such as pumas, jaguars, a wide selection of other cats, raccoons, and carnivorous mammals of the musteline family. Bears, tapirs, peccaries, deer, and tropical rodents are also abundant. In the jungles of the Orinoco and Amazon rivers, as well as near the coasts, there are sloths, anteaters, opossums, and a wide variety of monkeys. The Magdalena River is crowded with crocodiles, and a multitude of other reptiles, such as turtles, lizards, and snakes in infinite varieties, can be found here and in other regions of the country. A few

species of salamanders, many frogs, and other amphibians are also known.

Fishing is little developed, but the rivers contain several varieties of fresh-water fishes. The abundance of the insect fauna is well established, but its composition is little known. An intensive study of mosquitoes has been in progress for some time (see ch. 16, Health and Sanitation).

Mineral Resources

Large areas of the country are not yet surveyed, and their natural resources have not been assessed. Moreover, a significant portion of the known mineral wealth represents only a potential asset until proper facilities for their exploitation, including transportation, can be developed. Most of the productive mines and oil wells are in an area within a radius of 150 miles of the city of Honda (see fig. 11). Coal deposits are found outside this area in the region of Cali and Pasto, and oil at Petrólea and El Difícil.

Gold has played the most decisive role in the history of the country as a factor influencing early settlement patterns and economic development. Colombia, in fact, still produces more gold than any other Latin American country. Three-fourths of it comes from the Antioquia region, the rest from the departments of Caldas, Chocó, Nariño, and Tolima. Platinum production also is centered in Antioquia and to a lesser extent in Chocó, Cauca, and Nariño. Antioquia also produces some 81 percent of the silver mined in the country. Other deposits are known and mined in Caldas and Tolima.

The presence of many small emerald deposits in different parts of the country have attracted prospectors since the coming of the white man, although the Indians had worked the deposits long before. Only those in Boyacá have produced economically significant quantities. The government holds a monopoly on the sale of these precious stones.

Promising deposits of coal and oil, many of which are practically untouched, are now of much more importance than gold in the country's economy. It is particularly important that such valuable fuel deposits are present in reasonable proximity to industrially valuable metals and other raw materials, so that they can be utilized economically in spite of existing difficulties in transportation. Coal has been found in great quantities, although its quality is not very high, in the departments of Antioquia, Cundinamarca, Boyaca, Valle del Cauca, Caldas, and to a lesser extent in Norte de Santander. Oil deposits are being tapped in Antioquia, Magdalena, Boyaca, Santander, Norte de Santander, and Bolívar. The volume of present

oil production has placed Colombia in second place among South American countries.

Iron ore deposits have been found in Boyacá and used in industry with the help of fuels present in the area. Deposits in Antioquia, Cundinamarca, Caldas, Huila, and Tolima have not been exploited in significant amounts. Mercury is mined in Tolima, where there also have been reported occurrences of antimony. Antimony is also found in Caldas. Zinc deposits have been reported in Caldas and Cundinamarca, and other industrially valuable minerals, such as barite, clay gypsum, limestone, and silica, have been mined in quantities satisfying domestic demand. Rock salt is mined in large quantities near Bogotá and in the Western Cordillera. There are reports of findings of marble, sulfur, mica, tin, graphite, and lead, but exploitation has either not yet been undertaken or is economically infeasible.

POPULATION

It has been estimated that the population in 1770 was about 806,000, and at the turn of the present century it had increased to about 3.9 million. During the subsequent 50 years it increased 186 percent, and the most recent census, that of May 9, 1951, showed a total population of 11.5 million (see table 2). Assuming a continuous annual increase of 2.2 percent, as was the case between 1938 and 1951, the total population in 1961 can be estimated as about 14.5 million.

The rapid population growth reflects the general trend in Latin America, which at present is experiencing the most rapid growth of any major region in the world. The causes are to be found not so much in immigration as in rapidly falling death rates and in the high birth rates which are built into the cultural patterns of this area and not restricted to lower socioeconomic classes of the country. The 1951 census shows a birth rate of 36.6 per thousand inhabitants, a death rate of 13.7, and an overall rate of growth of 22.3 per thousand (see ch. 16, Health and Sanitation).

Because of recent improvements in health and sanitary conditions and a consequent decrease in infant mortality, the population of Colombia is relatively young—44 percent of the population being under 15 years of age, and only about 11 percent over 50.

The density of population in terms of total area is a low 30 persons per square mile, but this figure is largely meaningless, for the density per arable square mile is 1,342 persons (1955). Whether this ratio can be maintained or held down to a reasonable level through the use of large areas now occupied by practically uninhabi-

ted forest is a socioeconomic problem of major significance, the full implications of which will be felt in the not too distant future.

One factor which may slow down population growth is the process of urbanization. Birth rates usually show a tendency to decline in cities, and Colombia is no exception. Although the population of urban areas increased at a rate of 4.2 percent between 1918 and 1951 and the rural population by only 1.2 percent, the differential was caused largely by internal migration and not by higher birth rates. On the contrary, the birth rates of urban areas have actually been lower than those of rural districts.

Urbanization has been following the general world-wide trend, and in Colombia it has changed the distribution of the population from an overwhelming rural majority of 79 percent in 1918 to 63.7 percent in 1951 and an estimated 56 percent in 1961. Urban growth has been accelerated during recent decades mainly because of the stimulus of voluminous industrial investment, greater labor mobility produced by the agrarian reform of 1936, and the search for the greater personal security found in the cities during the political upheaval of 1948-53 (see ch. 2, Historical Setting).

The growth of Bogotá, the capital city, with 6.2 percent of the country's population, and of Medellín and Cali has been spectacular. Although official Colombian estimates must be viewed with caution, the acceleration in growth of the urban population as revealed by the comparative figures of the last 30 years can be taken as illustrating the general pattern (see fig. 4).

Settlement Patterns

The distribution of the population is as diverse as is the topography of the country. Influenced by climatic and economic factors, as well as by topography, the concentration of ancient and modern settlements is found in the mountainous western part of the country, where at the present time 98 percent live, with the remaining 2 percent in the vast Llanos Orientales. The population is also extremely sparse in the humid, tropical Chocó region, in the swamplands of the lower Magdalena River, in the arid upper Magdalena Valley, and on the semiarid Guajira Peninsula.

In terms of settlement, the country can be divided into several broad regions, each of which has been rather isolated because of obstacles to travel, yet at the same time having a high degree of economic independence because of the presence of essential raw materials and fuel. Much of the regionalism still present in sociopolitical attitudes can be traced to the factors conditioning the early regional settlement patterns.

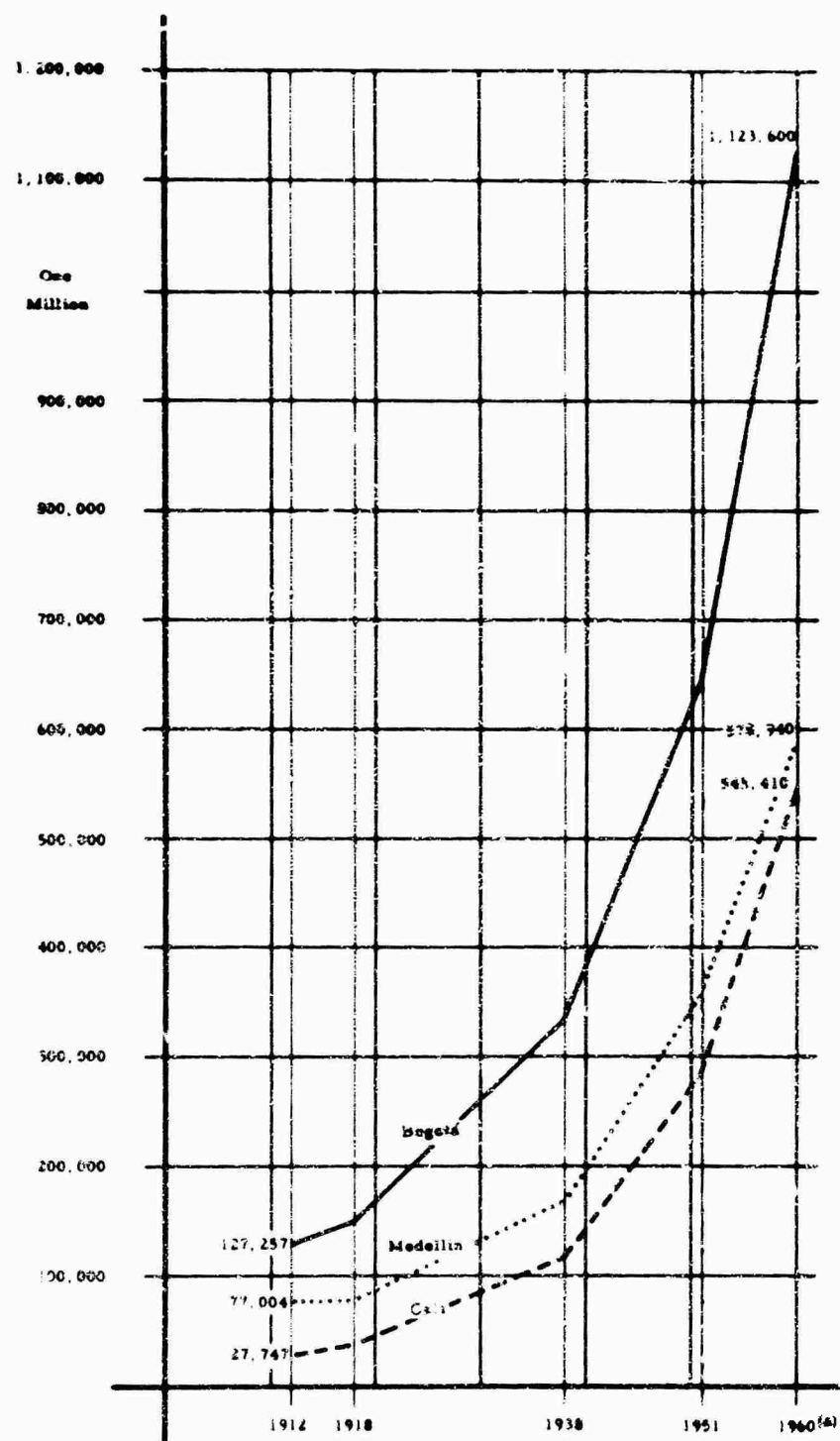
Table 2. Population Distribution in Colombia, by Administrative Division

Administrative division	1951 *	1959 estimate	Capital City	1951	1959 estimate
Departments:					
Antioquia	1, 570, 197	1, 857, 230	Medellín	358, 189	578, 940
Atlántico	428, 429	601, 340	Barranquilla	279, 627	411, 330
Bolívar	865, 195	780, 650	Cartagena	128, 877	167, 980
Boyacá	801, 436	837, 380	Tunja	27, 402	48, 130
Caldas	1, 068, 180	1, 303, 340	Manizales	126, 201	161, 000
Cauca	443, 439	505, 220	Popayán	44, 808	57, 770
Chocó	131, 101	144, 240	Quibdó	36, 558	41, 350
Córdoba	326, 263	377, 690	Montería	77, 057	96, 150
Cundinamarca	1, 624, 044	1, 977, 330	Bogotá	648, 324	1, 123, 600
Huila	293, 692	353, 090	Neiva	50, 494	71, 170
Magdalena	457, 393	480, 480	Santa Marta	47, 354	59, 290
Meta	67, 492	79, 080	Villavicencio	33, 342	39, 010
Nariño	547, 323	569, 490	Pasto	81, 103	110, 790
Norte de Santander	387, 450	412, 440	Cúcuta	95, 150	131, 410
Santander	747, 706	838, 310	Bucaramanga	112, 252	184, 680
Tolima	712, 490	834, 430	Ibagué	98, 695	133, 280
Valle del Cauca	1, 106, 327	1, 596, 570	Cali	284, 186	545, 410
Intendencias:					
Arauca	13, 221	14, 620	Arauca	8, 675	9, 690
Caqueta	46, 588	77, 510	Florencia	25, 129	26, 670
Guajira	52, 346	109, 500	Riohacha	13, 060	12, 350
San Andrés y Providencia	5, 676	8, 723	San Andrés	3, 705	5, 723

Comisarias:					
Amazonas					
Putumayo	7,619	8,500	Leticia	3,493	3,010
Vaupés	22,467	38,700	Mocoa	3,000	3,400
Vichada	9,169	10,190	Mitá	840	1,000
	12,330	14,960	Puerto Carreño	1,496	1,440
Total	11,548,172	13,831,013			

* Regrouped to meet territorial changes that occurred after 1961.
 b 1960 estimates.

Source: Adapted from Colombia, Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, *Censo de Población de Colombia, 1951, Resumen*, pp. 13-16; Colombia, Bank of the Republic, *Statistical Survey of the Economy of Colombia, 1963*, p. 19; and Colombia Instituto Colombiano de Opinión Pública, *Factores Colombianos*, pp. 78-80.



(a) Estimated.

Source: Adapted from E. E. Hagen, "Economic Growth in Colombia," p. 4 (unpublished manuscript), and Colombia, Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, *Censo de Población de Colombia, 1951, 1954*.

Figure 4 Population growth of principal cities in Colombia.

When the Spanish colonists entered this area they found a rather dense and well-organized Indian population on the plateaus and high valleys of the Eastern Cordillera (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups). A suitable climate and the presence of adequate natural resources and Indian labor allowed the development of the Cundinamarca-Boyacá area and parts of Tolima and Huila into an economic entity with the heaviest concentration of people in the country. At present the small independent farmers and the workers on the large plantations are mainly *mestizos* (persons of mixed white and Indian blood), and the urban population is mainly Spanish and *mestizo*. Here, Bogotá became the economic, political, and cultural center of the country. It still maintains the latter two qualities, but the proximity of coal to iron and other industrially valuable raw materials farther to the north and the development of other economic centers in the country have weakened its position in recent decades. In the Boyacá area several plateaus are densely populated and the distribution of the population is similar to that of the Bogotá area.

The northern end of the Eastern Cordillera has experienced a longer and more complete isolation than its southern end, for it was not until the export of cinchona bark became highly profitable in the early part of the nineteenth century that white settlers appeared in Santander and Norte de Santander in significant numbers. After their arrival, however, they came rapidly to outnumber the relatively small groups of indigenous people. Centers of settlement developed around Bucaramanga in Santander and around Cucuta and Ocaña in Norte de Santander. The early lines of communication with the Bogotá area were improved and extended when coffee replaced cinchona as the major product of the area in the second half of the last century, but even thereafter many settlements in the Norte de Santander region found it more convenient to maintain trade with Venezuelan than with Colombian communities. The rather recent discovery of oil and the growth of industry, particularly the textile industry, however, has stimulated the construction of pipelines and highways toward the Magdalena Valley and thus a strengthening of ties between this region and the rest of the country.

The next most important concentration of people developed in the area of the departments of Antioquia and Caldas, usually referred to as the Antioquian region. The original white settlement had its center around the little gold-mining town of Antioquia, but the center eventually shifted to rapidly growing Medellín, which has developed from a medium-size city of 88,000 inhabitants in 1924 to a dynamic industrial center of over 500,000. The region has the highest birth rate in the country and probably the strongest feelings

of local patriotism. Although their present ethnic composition does not differ significantly from that of other major regions, the people like to refer to themselves as *la raza antioqueña* (The Antioquian race).

The population pressure extending from this focus of population has been felt in the adjacent regions. The city of Manizales, for example, founded by Medellínians in 1848, now contains 161,000 inhabitants, and the neighboring areas of Valle del Cauca and Tolima have also been invaded by Antioquian settlers.

Farther to the south along the Cauca River another population center developed between Popayán and Cartago. Because of a relatively small indigenous Indian population, the white settlers imported negro slaves to work on sugar cane plantations and in tobacco fields. Although Popayán was at first the major settlement and center of economic activities related to farming in this area, after the completion of modern ties of communication and transportation with the port of Buenaventura on the Pacific coast, the city of Cali has come to supersede it in importance. The recently initiated Cauca Valley Corporation, patterned after the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the discovery of vast coal reserves promise an even greater concentration of population and eventual improvement of economic conditions.

The region south of the Cauca Valley in the Department of Nariño has a small concentration of people, mainly in the area of Pasto. The population on higher elevations consists mainly of Indians and *mestizos* who cultivate small patches of level land and trade their products with gold-mining negroes and mulattos settled on lower elevations along the lower region of the Patía River.

Along the approximately 500-mile-long Pacific coast, there is only one noteworthy center of population, that at Buenaventura. This port city has gained in significance since the establishment of modern means of transportation has permitted a closer link between the Cauca Valley, especially Cali, and the coast. The rest of the coastal area, particularly that of the Chocó with only a small cluster of people around Quibdó, is sparsely populated, partially by negroes who seem to adjust themselves even better to the hot, humid climate than do the indigenous Indians who live here in similarly sparse and scattered settlements.

As compared with the Pacific coast, the Caribbean coastal area contains a larger portion of the population, perhaps as much as 17 percent of the total. Three settlements stand out, Cartagena, Barranquilla, and Santa Marta; all three have been competing for the leading role as port cities for centuries. Cartagena, the southern-

most of the three, has doubled its population since World War II and seems to have regained the leading role that it once held in the colonial period when large cattle ranches in its hinterland, gold, platinum from Chocó, and abundant negro labor gave it an edge over its competitors.

Barranquilla and its port of Puerto Colombia some 10 miles west of the city represent a settlement of about 350,000 people. The main city itself is on the Magdalena River, somewhat inland from the coast, and has served for centuries as the northernmost river port of the Magdalena river system. The prosperity of its economy was for a long time based on the transfer of goods to and from ocean vessels that could not enter the shallow waters of the river. A road and railroad line connecting the seaport with the river port facilitated the transfer. During World War II the river bed was dredged so that now ships of up to 10,000 tons can enter the river. Nevertheless a relative loss of shipping business has been experienced as compared with Cartagena and Santa Marta; this loss has been compensated for by the building of new projects by the government and the development of industry based on imported goods.

Santa Marta is often referred to as "the banana port." Its hinterland contains the largest banana plantations of the country (see ch. 27, Agricultural Potential). Improvements in land transportation facilities and the development of closer ties with the economically important region in Norte de Santander which is changing its orientation from Venezuela toward the Colombian coast promise to give further impetus to the growth of this port of some 50,000 inhabitants.

There is no significant concentration of settlement in the lowland stretching behind the coastal area. West of the Magdalena River and also along the banks farmers, mainly negro and mulatto, produce sugar and cotton on small, scattered settlements. East of the river the land is practically uninhabited.

The semiarid Guajira Peninsula, with a total population of some 50,000 seminomadic Indians, is actually losing some of its inhabitants through migration. More attractive living conditions in other parts of the country, combined with improved means of transportation and communications, are facilitating the movement. Within the peninsula, migration toward the coastal urban settlements has been common in recent decades. The shift of the administrative center from Uribe to the small port on the Caribbean Sea, Río-hacha, reflected this trend.

The population of the islands of San Andrés and Providencia consists mainly of some 6,000 negroes settled on scattered farms producing bananas and cacao for a limited export.

The vast area of Eastern Colombia, administered as territories (two intendencias and four comisarias), is inhabited mostly by widely scattered Indian tribes. According to some observers, the number of indigenous peoples is underestimated in government statistics (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups). Whites and *mestizos* can be found in the few towns of any size as administrators or as pioneer farmers and cattlemen. The largest town is Villavicencio; it has a population of almost 40,000 and is the administrative center of Meta, the largest district of the Orient Reliabe.

CHAPTER 4

ETHNIC GROUPS

Among the countries of Latin America, Colombia is commonly described as a *mestizo* (mixed) nation rather than a white or an Indian one. In contrast to such countries as Argentina, where the population is predominantly of European stock, the society is composed of substantial proportions of people of diverse origin. These people have mingled to form a single national society in contrast with more "Indian" countries where as much as one-half the population remains outside the "nation."

Colombian writers often describe their society as triethnic, because whites and negroes have mingled with the original Indian inhabitants to form a new amalgam. This process of fusion has been taking place for nearly four centuries; most Colombians are of mixed origin, and the overwhelming majority regard themselves as participants in the same society.

Nevertheless, ethnic boundaries have not been completely erased. In their relations with one another, Colombians still attach importance to certain characteristics associated with the ancestral groups, although these no longer serve to demarcate distinct social categories. The attempt is still made, by Colombians as well as foreign observers, to classify the population in terms of racial heritage. These lists usually include the original groups of Indian, white, and negro, as well as groups resulting from mixtures: mulattoes, or the descendants of white and negroes, and *mestizos*, or the offspring of whites and Indians. *Zambos*, the children of negroes and Indians, were distinguished as a separate category during the colonial period but now generally as classified with one or another of the nonwhite groups, generally with the mulattoes.

The white elite is found mainly in the urban centers, especially in the capital and the growing cities of the highlands (see fig. 5). *Mestizos* live chiefly in the highlands, where the inhabitants of the Indian chiefdoms mixed with the Spanish conquerors. Whereas they have been predominantly a peasant group in the past, *mestizos* are increasingly moving into the cities to expand the working class. This trend also characterizes the negro and mulatto populations, which are distributed mainly along the coasts and in the lowlands surrounding the cordilleras, areas where few Indians lived or where they were eliminated in the course of the Spanish conquest.

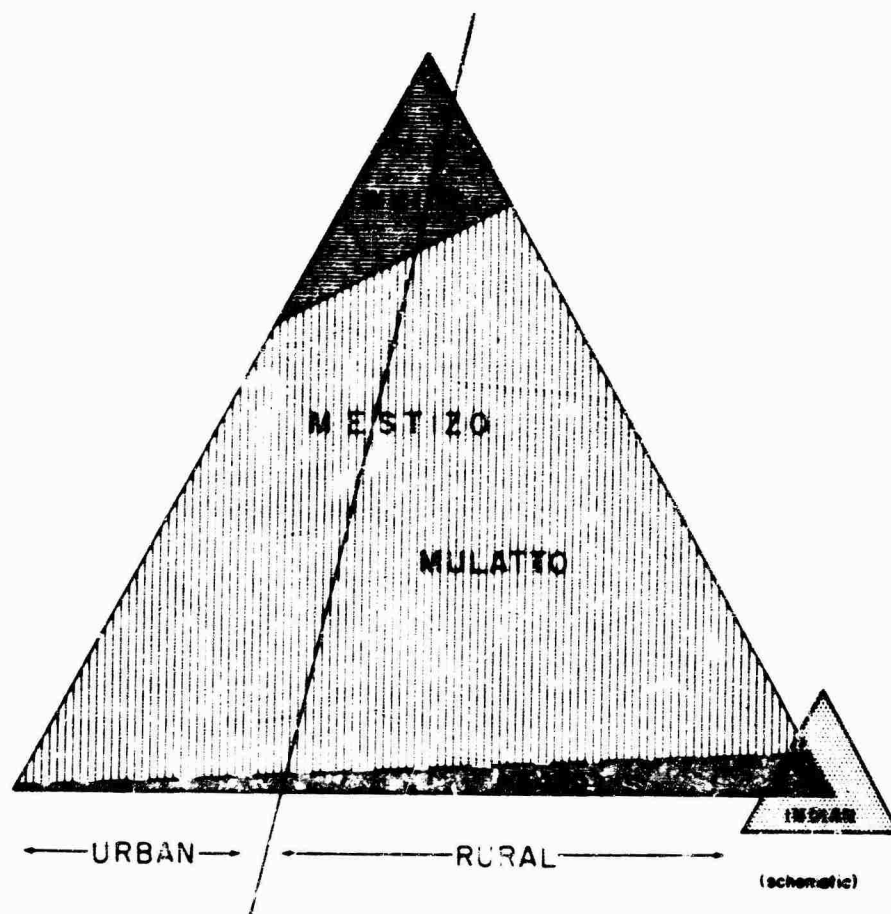


Figure 5. Stratification of ethnic groups in Colombia.

The remaining Indians are found in scattered groups in remote areas largely outside national society--at the higher elevations of the southern highlands, in the forests north and west of the cordilleras, in the arid Guajira Peninsula, and in the vast eastern plains and forests which few members of other groups have penetrated. Despite general agreement on the existence of these groups, there are no exact figures on their relative proportions. The most recent (1950-60) estimates are given in table 1.

Table 1. Ethnic Groups in the Population of Colombia

Group	Estimated percentages
Indians	1-15
Negroes	4-10
Mulattoes and Zambos	17-30
Mestizos	33-58
Whites	10-25

The figures may be too low for the predominantly rural negro and Indian groups, which suspect census takers of being agents of taxation. No accurate count has been obtained of the nomadic groups in the Indian population. The figures themselves show that most Colombians are of mixed origin. Until 1918, when the census dropped questions about race, people were classified according to the impressions of the census taker, who might take into account—in an inconsistent manner—social and economic criteria as well as physical characteristics.

Later estimates have been based on the 1918 figures plus varying estimates of the growth of each group. Most recent classifications have given up the attempt to classify *zambos* separately; some have even put *mestizos* and mulattoes together simply as people of mixed origin.

From the time of the Spanish conquest, both negroes and Indians began to adopt the ways of the dominant white group, the negroes more rapidly than the Indians. Sexual unions produced many offspring of mixed origin. These alliances were generally between Spanish men and negro or Indian women during the colonial period. In some cases, children were considered to be of mixed heritage, distinct from both of their ancestral groups. If the father chose to recognize them, they might be given some of the advantages of the upper status group, such as property and education, which would enable them or their descendants to gain acceptance as whites. They were sometimes brought up by the mother and assumed membership in her group. Although the separate categories continued to be recognized and racial labels applied to them, classification ceased in the course of time to be an accurate reflection of physical heritage.

Present-day (1961) attempts to place individuals do not necessarily represent their racial ancestry, even though the categories are formulated in these terms. Classification rests upon changeable cultural symbols and personal knowledge of a family's social standing. The ethnic divisions are largely coterminous with the criteria that determine the rigid class or caste structure of the nation; there is a class structure with ethnic labels. The various groups are viewed in a hierarchical order, and while upward mobility is rare, the transition from one class status to another may be synonymous with the alteration of an individual's ethnic classification.

At the top of the class or caste structure is a small, predominantly urban group of whites who control wealth and wield national power. They believe in, and place great value upon, the purity of their Spanish physical descent and cultural heritage, whether or not it can actually be proved. The white group is essentially a caste,

since its members do not marry Colombians of lower status, although they may assimilate foreign whites. In many respects, their outlook is more closely oriented to other nations than toward the other members of their own country.

Below the elite are the vast majority of Colombians, whose origins are assumed to be mixed. They view themselves as members of the national society, with a common language and culture, but are excluded from its positions of power. Instead of clear internal divisions there are subtle gradations of status differences. These determine whether or not an individual is considered as *mestizo*, mulatto, or negro rather than as white.

Physical characteristics play a part in fixing social position. Darker-skinned negroes and those with more Indian features tend to be at the bottom of the social ladder, but some persons with predominantly white physical characteristics find themselves at the same level because of their style of life. A few darker-skinned persons have achieved high social standing in national terms because other symbols of status place them closer to the white group. Among these other criteria of so-called "ethnic" membership, economic or occupational status is highly important.

In the urban centers, unskilled workers are in the lowest status group; tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and agricultural laborers occupy this position in the rural zones. Skilled workers, merchants, and other members of an emerging urban middle class have higher status, and their income enables them to maintain various aspects of a style of life that approximates the standards of the whites. They are much more likely than unskilled or rural negroes or *mestizos* to obtain education or participate in the political process.

In the cities, ethnic labels tend to be largely reflections of a class structure which has much in common with the stratification systems of many urban industrial societies. Colombians increasingly use such terms as "middle class" or "common people" in place of the old ethnic categories of *mestizo* or mulatto; the latter, although still used to denote the assumed origin of an individual, no longer are clearly correlated with his present social status.

In the rural areas, physical characteristics and status distinctions may also be correlated with certain cultural features. The term *campesino* (peasant), commonly used to refer to the rural population, carries the implication of ethnic differences. Such symbols as a different style of dress, the use of some Indian words, distinctive religious practices, and certain magical beliefs may serve to place people in one of the nonwhite social categories. Some differences may be Indian or African in origin; others reflect sixteenth-century Spanish customs which have long since disappeared from the urban areas.

A small portion of the population remains largely outside the national structure, both in its own view and in the eyes of other Colombians. This group is made up of diverse Indian societies, some of which are actually of mixed racial heritage, but all of which differ from the rest of the nation in major aspects of culture. Some speak languages other than Spanish. Most inhabit the more isolated rural or tropical forest zones of the country beyond the area of effective national control.

These dispersed Indian societies are the remnants of the original inhabitants of Colombia encountered by the Spaniards. The nature of their settlement patterns and social organization in different areas helped to determine Spanish policy at the time of the conquest and, as a result, shaped the composition of the modern population in various parts of the country.

INDIANS AND MESTIZOS

Indian Societies at the Beginning of the Colonial Period

The size of the Indian population at the time of the conquest has been variously estimated on the basis of reports given by the early Spanish chroniclers. Their reliability is open to serious question, because the conquerors may have exaggerated the size of the Indian nations that opposed them and because many of the inhabitants were killed off before they could be counted. On the other hand, in some areas such as Antioquia, archaeological evidence suggests a much larger native population than that reported by the chroniclers. Taking into account such discrepancies, a reasonable guess about the number of the aboriginal inhabitants of Colombia would probably fall somewhere between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000.

This population was extremely heterogeneous. The Indians belonged to many tribes and spoke mutually unintelligible dialects representing different major language families. The complexity of their social organization and technology varied tremendously from the stratified kingdoms or chiefdoms to the tropical farm villages and the nomadic hunting and gathering groups.

The chiefdoms occupied the highlands, the northern lowlands, and some areas of the river valleys. Their people spoke various languages of the Macro-Chibchan group, which extends over a substantial portion of Central America. The best known chiefdom was the Chibcha proper, the Muisca, which dominated a large area of the plateau of the Eastern Cordillera and formed the largest New World state outside of the Inca and Aztec nations.

The early history of these peoples is largely unknown because little archaeological work has been carried out and the finds that

have been uncovered so far represent numerous distinct local cultures. Some sites in southern Colombia suggest the influence of the pre-Inca societies of northern Peru which continued to affect those of Colombia into the historical period. The Middle American civilizations also affected the peoples of Colombia in the preconquest period.

By the time of the Spanish conquest, the chiefdoms of Colombia were carrying on fairly intensive agriculture that supported a large population which lived in dispersed settlements protected by forts in the highlands and in palisaded communities in the lowlands. The population centers of many groups had such features of public architecture as large temples, aqueducts, and settlements, generally connected by well-built roads and bridges. Agricultural surplus permitted trade between tribes in farm produce, fish, salt, gold objects, and finely worked precious stones. It also supported specialists who were engaged in craft production, religious duties, warfare, and political administration.

The ruling chiefs, some of whom were religious leaders as well (and at least one of whom was a woman), exercised influence over a number of communities, but none was able to achieve the complete domination that the Incas maintained further to the south. Their leadership appears to have been exercised mainly to carry on constant warfare against other tribes for captives who improved the status of the victor, were used as food, or were sacrificed to the state temple gods in ceremonies that resembled Aztec rites.

Tight political organization was achieved only in the southern highland zone of Colombia, where the local chiefdoms fell to the Inca Empire a few decades before the arrival of the Spaniards. Here the Incas exerted strict administrative control, imposed some aspects of their own culture, and largely replaced the local languages with Quechua, their national language.

Outside of the highland zones, the Indian population was much less dense. The tropical forest areas—to the east and west of the cordilleras and between them—were inhabited by farmers whose slash-and-burn type of agriculture limited the size of settlements so that they were seldom larger than a couple of hundred people. Most of the tribes were clustered along the rivers, since they also depended for subsistence upon fish and river life. Lack of surplus production prevented the development among the forest villagers of the social classes, the full-time specialists, the state organization, and the elaborate religious cult that characterized the chiefdoms, but, like them, they carried on constant warfare. They also differed linguistically—only a few of the forest peoples spoke Chibchan

dialects; most appear to have used languages of the Carib and Arawakan families that were widespread in northern South America and the Caribbean.

Further to the east, in the llanos of Colombia, were a few other tribes, speaking mainly Arawakan and Macro-Chibchan dialects, who were entirely nomadic and moved in small bands. Some inhabited the savannas and lived by hunting and gathering on land; others gained their subsistence along the rivers and traveled mainly by canoe. Unlike the other aboriginal inhabitants, the nomads of eastern Colombia appear to have been peaceful.

Modern Development of Indian and Mestizo Populations

The diversity of the Indian groups partly accounted for the varying effects of the Spanish conquest in different areas. The most drastic results were probably experienced by the dense populations of the agricultural chiefdoms. In the northern lowlands, most of the Indians were eliminated within a few years after the conquest. In that area, near the coast, it was relatively simple for the Spaniards to bring in reinforcements, and their cavalry was highly effective on the savannas. Furthermore, the concentration of the Indians in cities aided the spread of European diseases which contributed to the rapid extermination of the inhabitants. The few who survived rapidly adopted the ways of the conquerors; little trace of the original inhabitants can now be found in this area.

The Highlands

In the highland chiefdoms, the Spaniards achieved greater success in the imposition of various institutions designed to assure them control of the Indians and the utilization of their labor. By the end of the sixteenth century, political administration was organized and the church program of converting the Indians was well under way. The Indians were not regarded as slaves but as tributaries and were expected to make their contributions to the Spanish rulers both in produce and in the form of a labor draft, the *mita*, that employed them for public works and in mining. These types of taxation were not completely abolished until some time after Colombia had achieved independence.

Soon after the conquest, much of the land was absorbed into *encomiendas*, grants of land from the Spanish Crown to the conquerors permitting them the use of the labor of the Indians living on the lands. These estates were the forerunners of the modern haciendas, or large landholdings, which are still prevalent in some highland areas. Attempts were also made to protect the Indians from exploitation by the Spaniards by grouping them into re-

ducciones, concentrated communities where residence was forbidden to non-Indians and where they could more easily receive religious instruction.

In the early seventeenth century, the Crown expressed its concern for the Indians through the establishment of *resguardos* (communal land-holdings). The Indians enjoyed the right of use but not ownership and could not sell their plots. The struggle of the *resguardos* to protect their holdings from neighboring landlords continues to this day.

Through these institutions, the cultures of the highland Indians were soon altered. Some individuals fled, but, as farmers, most found it difficult to leave the areas of arable land and accepted the ways of the conquerors. Within a relatively short time, they adopted Spanish material culture (crops, animals, tools, dress, and house types), community political organization, religious practices, and language. They were also influenced, to a limited extent, by the Inca culture of the Peruvian Indians whom the Spaniards brought to Colombia as laborers and personal servants.

Frequent contacts between the Indians and the conquerors, most of whom came without wives, also led to the growth of a mixed population of which some individuals might be recognized as *mestizos* and others were absorbed into either the Indian or the white group. This mixing and the spread of Spanish culture were processes that occurred throughout the highlands during the colonial period; the end results differ somewhat from one area to another.

In the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the Indians resisted Spanish domination, and, in order to protect their own way of life, they retreated to the less accessible regions. They remained in isolation, and no mention was made of them by the Spaniards until the eighteenth century. In the modern period, the various tribes have reappeared as scattered groups of farmers with a material culture influenced by Spanish patterns; they still have limited contact with national society and have generally ignored missionary activity. These Indians, usually classified together under the name Arhuaco, now number about 3,000.

In the Eastern Cordillera, where the Chibchas had ruled, the conquest was relatively peaceful, and adoption of Spanish ways was rapid. By the end of the colonial period, the population, physically mixed and with a predominantly Spanish language and culture, had been transformed into a *mestizo* society. Nevertheless, the nativistic Indian movement that developed in the late eighteenth century gained some support here (see ch. 2. Historical Setting). In the nineteenth century, as most of the *resguardos* were converted into individual holdings, the term "Indian" was dropped.

The rural inhabitants of the area are now part of the national mixed population and in many situations are referred to as *campesinos* rather than as *mestizos*. They preserve only a few agricultural practices, folk beliefs, and Indian words to link them to their Chibcha ancestors. Recognizing that these symbols identify them with a lower-status ethnic group, rural villagers drop such customs when they migrate to the urban areas.

To the west, in the Antioquia area, the process of *mestizaje* was somewhat different. The people of this region, often referred to as the *la raza antioqueña*, are commonly regarded as predominantly of white origin, even though the modern inhabitants have a substantial Indian physical heritage. What seems to have occurred here was the individual assimilation of Indians into other status categories, rather than the gradual transformation of a settled native population into a *mestizo* society.

Large numbers of Indians were killed in the first years of the colonial period through warfare, disease, and starvation. Many Indian groups of this area incurred heavy losses in resisting the conquest. Those who remained were drafted for labor in gold mining, which in the Antioquia area was a greater attraction for the Spaniards than the landed estates that dominated the economy of other highland regions. Engaged in mine work, away from their rural communities, the Indians were in relatively close contact with Spaniards and negroes and soon mixed with and adopted the ways of the conquerors. By the end of the colonial period, the inhabitants of the few *resguardos* remaining at that time were estimated at 5,000, and this figure included *mestizos* and mulattoes married to reservation Indians. Almost no trace of the Indian background remains in Antioquia at present.

In the region south of Antioquia, particularly in the departments of Cauca, and Nariño, the highland Indian cultures have been preserved to the greatest extent known in modern Colombia. In this part of the highlands, relatively isolated from the nation during much of its history, pacification of certain Indians was not completed until the end of the colonial era. Some aboriginal groups wearied of fighting and descended to the forests southeast of the Cordillera, and some residents of comparatively isolated villages were relatively undisturbed by the conquest. However, others continued to defend themselves as they retreated to the higher elevations, and the Spaniards did not pursue them there.

Possibly as many as 125,000 Indians have managed to remain insulated in more than 100 *resguardos* in this district. They have adopted various aspects of Spanish culture and probably have some white physical ancestry; most speak Spanish. Nevertheless, they

maintain a distinctive way of life, wearing homespun Indian dress, carrying on the *minka* tradition of cooperative labor, and using a number of Quechua words--practices that link their culture to that of the modern Ecuadorean and Peruvian descendants of the Incas to the south of them. The *resguardo* inhabitants are self-conscious about their status as Indians, and they distinguish neighboring residents as *mestizos*. They remain largely outside the conduct of national affairs.

At the present time, however, many of these Indians can no longer gain adequate subsistence on the land of the *resguardos*; they are moving to the cities to take up unskilled work or entering the fields of neighboring landlords as tenant farmers, sharecroppers, or agricultural laborers. Furthermore, the *resguardos* themselves are under pressure from the landlords, and some have been losing their land.

These communities have been the subject of most Indian legislation, and the laws have tended to favor the dissolution of the *resguardos*. In the independence period, political leaders were strongly influenced by the individualistic political philosophy of the time and sought to divide the land of the Indian communities in order to create a class of small independent landholders. A series of laws, spanning the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, provided for the division of *resguardo* lands among the Indians.

The earlier decrees included safeguards to insure that the land went only to the Indians and that they could not sell their parcels for a certain period of years. But such restrictions were lifted in 1850, and, as a result much *resguardo* land was absorbed into the *latifundios* (large estates). Subsequent legislation, from 1890 to the 1940's, specified procedures for dividing up the land under the supervision of government commissions. The process of division continued until 1958, when policy toward the *resguardo* Indians changed because of the new political climate and the increased concern with Indian affairs that had been developing since the 1940's.

In 1943, the Instituto Indigenista Nacional (National Indian Institute) was founded as a private body. Four years later, it was attached to the National University and also made an advisory body to the section of the Ministry of Economy (later the Jefatura de Resguardos Indigenas—Directorate of Indian Reservations—in the Ministry of Agriculture) which dealt with those communities. The Institute was charged with conducting studies of the *resguardos* of the western plateau.

In 1958, it was reorganized to include representatives of several ministries concerned with Indians, such as Education, Labor, and Health, as well as representatives of the Colombian Institute of

Anthropology. The directorship of the Institute was filled by the head of the Jefatura de Resguardos Indígenas, who immediately suspended the division of *resguardo* lands, as far as possible, and embarked upon a program of community development and incorporation of the Indians into national society.

To further these aims, the Jefatura de Resguardos Indígenas was reorganized in July 1960 as the División de Asuntos Indígenas (Division of Indian Affairs), was given a larger budget, and, with the Instituto Indigenista Nacional, was transferred to the Ministry of Government. In October, the head of the division announced the start of a development program for the *resguardos* of Cauca under the direction of the United Nations Andean Commission, which has been functioning in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador since 1952.

The activities of the Andean Commission and the Division of Indian Affairs are specifically concerned with the Indians living on *resguardos* or those whose reservations have been dissolved. These bodies do not deal with the Indians who were defined as "savages" outside civilization in the terms of 1890 law. Such tribes, which were tropical forest village units or nomadic bands in the lowlands at the time of the conquest, have had a very different history from that of the farmers of the highland chiefdoms.

Lowland Groups

Many Indians who lived along the coast or the major waterways, where the Spaniards came in great numbers, were killed; they were not well organized for resistance, although some fought bitterly. Disease eliminated many others. A few were enslaved. It is possible that some were individually assimilated into the society of the conquerors. These Indians did not preserve their original way of life under Spanish domination, nor did they become a class of laborers, as did many of the highland Indians. The small, scattered groups that remained in the area after the conquest disappeared early in the colonial period.

Some tribes escaped extermination or assimilation by retreating before the conquerors into the less accessible or attractive areas of the nation, where they still survive. It was relatively easy for the forest villagers and nomads to maintain their independence in these zones, since they were mobile populations and their household units were economically self-sufficient, in contrast with the social organization of the highlands.

In the savannas and tropical rain forests south and east of the cordilleras, in the Chocó area to the west, and in the arid Guajira Peninsula, a number of tribes remain outside the national society. Each maintains a distinct language and way of life; the frequency

of their contact with Colombians varies. In the past, their relations with outsiders have most commonly been with missionaries.

Probably the largest of such groups is the Guajira tribe, which inhabits both Colombian and Venezuelan territory in the northeastern peninsula. Its members are estimated at from 80,000 to 130,000. They have adopted European livestock raising from the Spaniards and are predominantly nomadic herders. In recent years, they have become highly active in trade and smuggling with various Caribbean islands and across the Colombian-Venezuelan border, where they can take advantage of differences in the value of the currency of the two countries. It is also reported that they continue to sell persons into slavery in Venezuela.

In relation to national society, the Guajiras have had relatively high status. Men who have married into the tribe, and their children, have often adopted the Indian language and style of life, a practice that is not common when intermarriage occurs elsewhere in Colombia. In the last decade or two, these Indians have been plagued by drought and a considerable number have been leaving the peninsula to work around Lake Maracaibo in Venezuela or on the cattle ranches of the Sierra de Motilones.

Further to the west, in the Sinú country and the Pacific watershed, the various groups of Chocó Indians are in contact primarily with negroes and mulattoes, who are gradually pushing them into the more remote areas of the forests. Some Chocós inhabited Pacific coastal areas at the time of the conquest, but after an early period of contact with missionaries and conquerors, most began to retreat inland along the riverways. In the course of the colonial period and into the present time, the negro population of the forest areas has increased, and the Indians have continued to move upstream in order to avoid intermarriage and assimilation.

At present, the Chocó groups, numbering perhaps 10,000, practice slash-and-burn agriculture in isolated areas. They continue to avoid contact with outsiders and their ways, reserving special derogatory terms for the dark-skinned negroes they encounter. In turn, the negroes, as Colombians and as Christians, look down on the Indians as uncivilized.

The other surviving Indians of Colombia have even less contact with members of the national society. Located in the vast savanna and rain forest areas, east and south of the cordilleras, they are isolated groups of tropical farmers and nomadic hunters and gatherers. Most have only sporadic relations with missionaries, traders, and other occasional travelers, and information is still lacking about many of these tribes. The Motilones, a group which inhabits the

Colombian-Venezuelan border area west of Lake Maracaiibo, still maintain open hostilities against all outsiders and attempt to kill oil company employees who penetrate their area.

In general, the government has not attempted to legislate in matters affecting the forest Indians. During much of the colonial period, the Spanish crown granted jurisdiction over them to the missions. Following this practice, a series of agreements extending from the concordat of 1887 to a decision of 1953, entrusted the evangelization and education of the Indians to the missions, with the financial support of the government. The missions were coordinated with the government's División de Protección Indígena (Division of Indian Protection) through a representative in the Instituto Indigenista Nacional. Then, in 1960, the secretary of the Instituto Indigenista Nacional became the chief of the Sección de Protección Indígena in the Ministry of Government, with specific responsibility for the Indians of the peripheral regions of the nation.

In 1921, Congress passed a law prohibiting free labor by the Indians. In 1934, Colombia signed a treaty with Peru guaranteeing the welfare of forest-dwelling Indians and recommending such measures as the establishment of schools and the founding of medical centers for their benefit. In 1952, Congress appropriated funds for the drilling of wells in the Guajira Peninsula. Finally, in recent years, the Colombian Air Force attempted to end the hostile actions of the Motilones, marking one of the last specific measures to deal with these Indians until the measures of 1960.

The forest-dwelling Indians have contributed little to national culture and have been affected by it only in a few, limited ways. They have not had enough contact with persons outside their own group to have accepted the Colombians' view that they are inferior. For the most part, they look down upon both whites and negroes, preferring to avoid close relations with them.

In contrast, most highland Indians at first preserved their original settlements under the administration of the Spaniards, but their communities were gradually transformed; the members were absorbed into the national society, usually with lower status. The bulk of *mestizo* society emerged in these areas.

The tropical forest villagers and nomadic tribes, on the other hand, occupied the less hospitable areas or retreated to these zones from the path of the Spanish conquerors. Withdrawal of some lowland tribes from the coastal areas and the extermination of others left the Spaniards without a labor supply in these zones and caused them to begin importing negroes. Many isolated groups of Indians have managed to retain their aboriginal culture in a relatively undisturbed state and have retained their identity as Indians.

NEGROES, MULATTOES, AND ZAMBOS

From the earliest years of the conquest, negroes accompanied the Spaniards. In the first decades, they came in small numbers and some may have been free members of the expeditions. As time went on, more and more slaves were brought in to meet the labor needs of the conquerors where Indians were lacking.

A few negroes were taken to the highland areas and many were reported in Bogotá in the early seventeenth century. Many were put to work as field hands and domestic servants on the plantations of the coast and the lower elevations of the Cauca Valley. In the early seventeenth century, large numbers began to enter the region of Antioquia for work in the mines. Some negroes were employed as rowers on the major waterways and as pearl fishers in the Río Chacha area.

The slaves were brought from several areas of Africa; most came from Angola, the Congo, and Nigeria directly to the slave market at Cartagena.

Some arrived after periods spent on one of the islands of the Caribbean. The trade was of enormous proportions. One seventeenth-century priest estimated that in 40 years he had baptized about 300,000 slaves in Cartagena. In addition to these, other negroes who had escaped from the plantations of Panama and nearby islands entered Colombia along the Pacific coast.

Some negroes died through exposure to European diseases and to the severe working conditions of the mines and plantations. In Antioquia, some apparently died of starvation.

The negro slaves were at the bottom of the social structure, often directly under the private control of their owners. Relations between Spaniards and negroes were frequently close, particularly when the negroes worked as domestic servants. Therefore many slaves were exposed to the ways of the Spaniards to a much greater degree than were the Indians. Furthermore, unlike the Indians, the negroes could not remain within their own community; they did not arrive in organized social units and, coming from widely separated areas of Africa, had no common culture.

As a result, the negroes became part of Colombian society from the beginning. They learned Spanish immediately and took on all the ways of the Spaniards permitted them. They thought of themselves as Colombians and from this point of view could look down on the Indians, who were nominally free and occupied higher status.

The status of the negroes altered as the free population grew. From the earliest years of the colonial period, mixture with the Indians and whites occurred; in the mining areas, mulattoes soon came to outnumber *mestizos*, Indians, and whites. The *zambos*

tended to be absorbed into either the Indian or mulatto group. Sexual relations between whites and negroes, as between whites and Indians, were seldom formalized; the offspring, although not accepted into the upper level of the society, were free. The proportion of white ancestry became an important measure of status among mulattoes, and each degree of mixture was recognized as a distinct social category.

At the same time, many negroes of unmixed ancestry left slave status. By the eighteenth century, censuses included a separate category for free negroes, and at the end of that century, some areas of Antioquia had more free negroes than slaves. Some negroes were awarded freedom by their owners. A negro working in the mines was sometimes given his freedom as a reward for finding a rich vein. In the Antioquia region, women were more likely to be freed. In some cases, slaves were able to purchase their liberty.

Probably a higher proportion of negroes achieved free status by escaping from slavery. A number of revolts occurred, especially in the Cauca Valley, and left groups of liberated slaves in their wake. Some who gained freedom moved into Indian communities, and their *zambo* children were assimilated into the aboriginal group. Others founded their own settlements. Some towns, such as Palenque in northern Antioquia and Uré in southern Córdoba, keep alive the history of revolt in their oral traditions. In the Chocó area, along the Pacific, it is probable that many of the communities remained relatively unmixed, since there were few whites and the Indians became increasingly resistant to assimilation. Such regions as the Magdalena Valley have considerable white and Indian mixture.

Those who remained in slavery finally achieved freedom after Colombia gained independence. In 1821, the children of slaves were declared to be free upon reaching the age of eighteen. All slaves were freed in 1851. With this act, their membership in the nation was formally recognized, and their incorporation into Colombian society proceeded. As citizens, negroes ceased to be special subjects of national policy.

At present, the national distribution of the negro and mulatto population reflects their location during the colonial period. They are found in the greatest numbers in the lowland areas on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and along the Cauca and Magdalena rivers. In the Chocó region, they have largely replaced the Indians and constitute a majority of the total population. In contrast, negroes and mulattoes in the Antioquia region appear to be losing numerical strength in relation to the whites or those considered white.

On the Caribbean islands of San Andrés and Providencia, which Colombia acquired from England at the end of the colonial period,

there are some 6,000 additional negroes. Despite the length of time during which Colombia has had jurisdiction over them, most of these people are still Protestants, speak English, and regard themselves as a special group to be distinguished from mainland residents.

There are substantial cultural differences among the negro communities located in different areas of the country and between the rural settlements and the negro districts of the urban centers. In almost all areas, the darker-skinned people tend to have low economic status. The exception is found on the islands of San Andrés and Providencia, where the standard of living has been somewhat higher than that of mainland residents. The activities of the various groups include farming, petty trade, panning for gold (in the Antioquia region), and various unskilled occupations.

Individuals continue to move out of their original status group. The mixture of negroes with other groups has been considerable, and the process continues, particularly in urban areas, where some individuals with negro ancestry are moving upward, although not into the highest groups. There seems to be a trend toward the disappearance of wholly negro settlements. Not only are some of the inhabitants moving to the urban centers, but many such communities are being penetrated by the surrounding white and mixed population. Some negroes have had considerable education, and, in the coastal areas, a number are achieving comfortable economic status, particularly through the acquisition of land.

Social exclusion of those identifiable as negroes or mulattoes continues to exist in many situations, but cultural assimilation into Colombian society appears to be virtually complete. Descendants of slaves have preserved less of their African heritage or identification with Africa in Colombia than in other Latin American areas. Apart from religion and magic, only a few vestiges remain of African culture, such as hair styles, certain physical movements observed in dancing or in the carrying of burdens, and the musical instruments that have been accepted by the larger Colombian population. Some distinctive customs found in rural negro communities may be of African origin; these are quickly given up when rural inhabitants move to the cities.

With the possible exception of the community of Palenque in Antioquia, where the inhabitants foster traditions of their origin in Angola, negroes are quick to repudiate anything that identifies them with their African background. As members of Colombian society, they have long accepted the values of the top social group and deprecate the less sophisticated negroes who still maintain distinctive customs in such areas as music and dance. They also display a preference for lighter skin and straighter hair in marriage partners, both for prestige reasons and because it is felt that lighter-skinned

children will have better economic and educational opportunities. The hope of individual upward mobility within the national population is also reflected in the fact that negroes have not formed any organizations to promote their advancement as a group. In common with the dominant white group, they express contempt for the Indian groups that remain outside the boundaries of civilization.

WHITES

The Settlers of New Granada

From the beginning of the colonial period, the small group recognized as white has set the standard for behavior patterns and value goals. They have held the positions of power and prestige since the days when the policies of the Spanish Crown encouraged the maintenance of rigid social stratification.

Some Colombian geographers maintain that New Granada was colonized mainly by persons from the central and southern parts of Spain, along with a small number of Basques and a few Catalans who clustered along the coast. It is likely that their heritage was already more varied than that of other Spanish settlers in the New World, because they came from the regions of the homeland that had been dominated by the Moors.

The Crown sought to insure the loyalty of its colonists by prohibiting foreigners from entering its New World territories. In special cases, it granted permission for the entry of Europeans from other countries, and some entered illegally, but there is no evidence that many came to New Granada. When the Crown ordered the expulsion of all foreigners in 1720, relatively few were found. Nor is there any evidence that the Colombian colonists included many Jews or Jewish converts to Christianity, whom the Crown also barred from the New World in an effort to guarantee the orthodoxy of its subjects.

In the first years of the conquest, immigrants included a high proportion of adventurers lacking education or any of the attributes of high status at home; some probably had spent time in prison. In later years, they were joined by the younger sons of the nobility and others who found economic and political power unavailable at home. Although some worked as artisans and small businessmen, most sought to make their fortunes through the mining of precious metals and to validate their new positions through the acquisition of large estates worked by native labor.

Others came to the New World specifically to carry out the policies of the Crown, including the maintenance of strict political control. Most of the administrators continued to be sent out from Spain

throughout the colonial period. Some of the higher political officials were educated members of aristocratic families. Another policy of the Spanish government was the conversion of the natives to Catholicism; missionaries accompanied the settlers from the early years of the colonial period. The clergy and the political officials were entrusted with the protection of the Indians against the abuses of the settlers, a task that they could not always fulfill.

The Spanish colonists in New Granada soon occupied the Caribbean coastal zones, the highland plateaus, and the areas along the major rivers. They never succeeded in settling the Chocó and the eastern llanos, where colonization attempts by whites repeatedly failed; up to the present day only a few white officials, traders, and missionaries are found.

In all the effectively occupied portions of New Granada, the Spanish settlers soon created a highly stratified society, in which the distribution of ethnic groups closely paralleled differences of wealth, social status, and power. Many of these distinctions were embodied in law. At the bottom were the negro slaves, and in the general view, mulattoes and *zambos* shared the lowest position with them. By law, Indians occupied a higher status as nominally free peoples, and their chiefs were permitted such privileges as the use of the title of "don," the right to have servants, and exemption from tribute. *Mestizos* also had none of the obligations of tribute.

But all these groups were excluded from holding political office, a prerogative reserved to the whites, and, as time went on, they were barred from membership in many religious orders and were denied admission to institutions of higher education. All these areas of participation, as well as the ownership of large estates, were exclusively the property of those who were recognized as whites.

Nevertheless, these privileges were not equally available to all whites. From the early years of the colonial era until its end, there was a division between *criollos* or New World-born Spanish, and *peninsulares*, those born in the Iberian Peninsula. Crown policy regarded the latter as more loyal to its interests; with rare exceptions, this group occupied all high political and religious offices and monopolized trade. Furthermore, the *peninsulares* always had the social advantage of an unmixed racial heritage, while the *criollos*, in contrast, might often be suspected of having some portion of negro or Indian ancestry.

The *criollos* reacted to the discrimination against them in ways that still affect the outlook of the modern white group in Colombian society. Since they could not gain acceptance into the highest social category or occupy positions of power, they resorted to emphasizing all the characteristics that would serve to dissociate them from the

lower status groups. One thing they stressed was their avoidance of manual labor, even though some were eventually reduced to it. Their preferred means of existence was to live from the income of large landholdings, and even those who made fortunes in mining sought to gain control of such estates.

Other marks of distinction cherished by the *criollos* were light skin color and a Spanish surname; these characteristics might be used as criteria in the selection of marriage partners. Name and skin color were particularly stressed by persons who had fallen to low economic positions and had no other measures of high status. Despite the insistence on racial purity, however, the *criollo* group came to include those individuals of mixed background who purchased certification of white ancestry from the Crown. Furthermore, while avoiding marriage with members of the lower groups, *criollo* men, like the *peninsulares*, continued to maintain informal sexual unions with women of these groups.

Another way in which whites born in the New World sought to achieve recognition was by copying the living standards of the *peninsulares*. The social life of the *criollos* in the urban centers of the New World exhibited careful imitation of the manners and dress of the Spanish court; considerable effort was made to reproduce the style of life of the Spanish aristocracy in as many ways as possible. *Criollo* attempts to follow the lead of the homeland also influenced literary and artistic activities and resulted in their insistence upon maintaining the purity of the Spanish language.

Although such features characterized *criollo* society in most areas of Latin America, they appear to have been particularly striking in New Granada, especially in the capital and in such provincial seats of colonial aristocracy as the city of Popayán. Some observers have suggested that the internal geographical barriers of Colombia left the *criollos* in relatively isolated groups, so that their attempts to preserve Spanish ways constituted a reaction to the predominance of a non-European population. Others have pointed out that Colombia did not have the mineral wealth yielded by other colonies and, as a result, placed emphasis upon its Spanish cultural life. Another contributing cause may have been that Colombia did not become a viceroyalty until the eighteenth century. It had only its social life to offer in rivaling such seats of political and economic power as Lima.

Whatever the primary cause, the vast majority of those of Spanish descent developed and maintained a tradition of the purity of their racial and cultural heritage in almost all areas of New Granada.

The one exception was the Antioquia region. Early in the colonial period, it was established as a major producer of gold in the New

World, and Spaniards who settled there placed less emphasis on the acquisition of large estates. To help them in mining the gold, the settlers used some Indian labor and also brought in increasingly large numbers of negro slaves.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, however, the mines were reduced to numerous small workings that could not support a large labor force. Furthermore, the settlers lacked the capital to buy slaves, and the Indians had been greatly reduced in number. Many whites were forced to carry on the manual work of mining operations by themselves, while a few turned to trade and others engaged in farming. Their involvement in such activities did not mean that the Antioqueños gave up their identification with *criollo* society or that they rejected the goals of this group. They still preferred to avoid manual labor, and the few who succeeded economically purchased large estates; however, most Antioqueños could not achieve wealth. By the end of the colonial era, they were generally regarded as a poverty-stricken group, in comparison with residents of other areas where the *criollos* were better able to maintain their traditional way of life.

Since independence, much of this heritage has been preserved. The small white group at the top of the social structure still expresses disdain for manual labor and considers the ownership of large estates to be an important index of status. Members of the upper caste still stress the purity of their racial heritage, particularly in the home area of the speaker. Great importance is still attached to the maintenance of Spanish cultural traditions and the cultivation of pure language patterns.

In many respects, the achievement of independence left this group relatively unaffected. The *peninsulares* were replaced by *criollos* in the positions of power, and Colombians were temporarily estranged from Spain and Spanish influence. But the patterns of living of the whites were left undisturbed, and they maintained the same positions of dominance over the other groups of Colombian society.

There has been no formal discrimination since independence, a fact that is frequently cited by Colombians. Nevertheless, opportunities are often limited for the darker-skinned residents of the country; it is nearly impossible for them to move into the top layer of society, which remains an almost closed group.

The members of the upper caste still perceive their national society in terms of its ethnic categories. In their eyes, the identifiable nonwhite groups still retain the low positions that they occupied during the colonial era, with the possible exception of the Indians. Since the aboriginal population has continued to shrink in size, it is

now possible for some Colombians to regard the Indians from a distance with a romanticized point of view that eulogizes the aboriginal way of life. Such an outlook is deplored by persons concerned with the realistic solution of Indian problems, members of the still very small group of social scientists who have recently begun to examine modern Colombian society.

Although the attitudes of the white group toward other Colombians still preserve much of the colonial heritage, this outlook is now faced with the inevitability of change. One fact that has emerged in the last decade or so has been the increasing dissatisfaction of the lower status groups with their position (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics; ch. 6, Social Structure). It is unlikely that the whites will be able to maintain the position of dominance.

At the same time, the whole structure of Colombian society is facing the changes brought about by the growing process of industrialization. In the urban areas where this has begun—and where relations between people are more impersonal—it has become less feasible to make social identifications and distinctions on the basis of ethnic classification. Individuals still may not achieve social acceptance at the highest level, but they can gain employment on the basis of ethnic classification. Individuals still may not achieve social acceptance at the highest level, but they can gain employment on the basis of skill and education rather than family affiliation. It is likely that membership in the new upper class of the nation will increasingly rest on wealth rather than ancestry, even though the two are still closely related; those who now achieve economic success in the new industrial centers still point to family backgrounds in the older colonial cities.

At present, this change has proceeded furthest in the region of Antioquia, where it has centered in Medellín. This city has witnessed a remarkable development of industrialization since the beginning of the twentieth century, probably attributable to the tradition of manual labor, a reaction to the poverty of the colonial era, and a tremendous growth of population in the nineteenth century. The success of Antioqueños in business and industry has given rise to several myths of their origin as a distinct ethnic group, and it is sometimes asserted that they are of almost entirely unmixed white ancestry, despite clear historical evidence to the contrary. It is true that ethnic distinctions have somewhat less importance in this area at present, but it is more likely these have lost meaning since social distinctions have come to rest on economic achievement. Neither does any evidence indicate a high proportion of Jewish ancestors among the Antioqueños, nor of hard working Basque forebears.

Modern Immigrants

Colombia as a whole has experienced relatively little foreign influence or immigration, in comparison with other countries of Latin America. During the colonial period, Spain discouraged the admittance of foreigners to the colonies. After independence, Colombia had few economic attractions to offer immigrants, and the long period of civil war was another deterrent. The country has generally lacked a clear immigration policy but has never favored it on a large scale. Those who have entered from abroad have generally come as individuals or small family units. In recent years, they have been few in number.

The laws of Colombia provide for the admission of immigrants who do not jeopardize the social order for personal, ethnic, or racial reasons. A 1941 act specifically barred gypsies from the country. In 1953, the Institute of Land Settlement and Immigration was set up to direct the colonization of the underdeveloped lands and was given the power to organize immigration for this purpose. In addition, after World War II, Colombia expressed a policy of encouraging the immigration of skilled technicians, and in 1958, procedures were specified for the admission of refugees. However, little has been done to implement these measures. Current reports state that more people leave each year than enter the country to settle.

Exact immigration statistics are lacking. The 1951 census included data on persons born abroad for ten departments of the country; these gave a figure of 3.5 percent (27,032) of the population surveyed, but those covered by the total include Colombians born abroad as well as foreigners. Of those defined as immigrants by the census (those planning to stay more than one year), Europeans comprised the largest group, while people from the United States and Canada occupied second place.

There are several identifiable ethnic groups of foreign origin in Colombia, all of them small. The Jewish population is estimated at 25,000. There has been a constant trickle of Spanish immigrants, many of them members of the clergy. The group of United States residents appears to be composed mainly of businessmen and missionaries. Germans, Italians, and Lebanese (usually referred to as Turks or Syrians because they came from the Lebanese part of Syria which formerly belonged to Turkey) are reported to be active in commerce, particularly in the port cities of Barranquilla, Cartagena, and Buenaventura. The Germans, who are also found in the urban centers of the highlands, were the founders of the SCADTA airline in 1920, the first regular commercial airline in the Western Hemisphere. Although they were estimated at less than 3,000 in 1941, many Germans were regarded as a danger because of their active Nazi sym-

pathies. These attitudes, including antisemitism, brought them the support of some right-wing Colombian conservatives who find racist attitudes congenial.

The Germans, as well as other foreigners, have found acceptance in the upper class and have frequently married into the white group. It is also reported that some Lebanese have also married into the Guajira Indian tribe, but immigrants have generally been most closely associated with the white upper class which has often been more receptive to ties with foreigners than to alliances with other Colombian groups.

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGES

Colombia, in common with the majority of the Latin American nations, acquired as its national language the Spanish of the conquerors. In this part of the New World, Spanish replaced an enormous array of Indian tongues, representing most of the major language families of South America. The process of replacement was far more rapid in Colombia than in the neighboring Andean countries, where substantial numbers of the population still do not speak Spanish. Colombia also assimilated large numbers of negroes, who gave up their African languages soon after arriving in the New World.

The speech of Colombia thus reflects the processes of assimilation which have made almost all her inhabitants participants in the same national society (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups). The primary exceptions are members of the small remaining Indian groups who still retain their aboriginal languages, and, at the present time (1961) these groups are becoming increasingly bilingual.

As the various groups have adopted Spanish, they, in turn, have contributed to the vocabulary of the language. The contributions from the Indian languages have been particularly large, including those from some languages not spoken within the borders of the country at the time of the conquest. In contrast, African immigrants absorbed into Colombian society appear to have added relatively little to the national vocabulary. In recent years, a new source has gained importance in the expansion of Spanish vocabulary, without actual immigration as a vehicle; the vocabulary of technology, especially from English sources, is entering the language as Colombia becomes increasingly industrialized.

Despite such foreign influence on their speech, Colombians tend to think of themselves as special guardians of the Spanish language. Educated people, in particular, express an interest in Spanish that appears to be unparalleled in the other countries of Latin America. The interest is displayed in concern for proper usage, in attempts to create standards for the rest of the Spanish-speaking world, and in linguistic research into the processes affecting the language.

INDIAN LANGUAGES

Aboriginal Languages at the Time of the Conquest

Since the conquest, the use of Spanish has spread so that aboriginal tongues are now found only in the more remote areas of the country. At the present time, probably fewer than 200,000 Colombians speak one of the Indian languages as their native speech.

When the Spaniards arrived in the New World, they encountered a greater number of languages in Colombia than in any other area of comparable size in South America. It is not known just how many languages there were or how they were related to each other in terms of the larger language families of the continent. Many of the speakers were either exterminated or assimilated early in the colonial period, and the evidence of the Spanish chroniclers is insufficient to permit analysis of the language of these groups. Some Indians were not encountered until long after the conquest, when they had migrated long distances or had adopted the language of other tribes, factors which contributed to the difficulties of classification. Moreover, there are still some tribes along the upper Amazon and in the llanos to the east with whom contacts have been so infrequent that it is not known even today what languages they speak.

Knowledge of the culture of the various Indian groups, either those now extinct or those who still survive, does not clarify the situation, since it provides no clue to language. Diverse language stocks were represented among the highland chiefdoms, and an even greater variety was found among the farm villagers and nomads of the forest areas. Because of the generally confused situation, there is considerable disagreement as to the appropriate scheme of the classification of Colombian Indian languages; any such scheme must still be regarded as provisional.

The chiefdoms of the highland zones and the northern lowlands for the most part spoke languages of the Macro-Chibchan family. This stock, composed of dialects of Chibchan proper, found mainly in the Eastern Cordillera, and Paezan languages, which were spoken farther west, has been the Indian language family most commonly identified with Colombia. It probably spread from this area to the north, for it is found in a considerable area of Central America. Nevertheless, there has been a suggestion that Chibchan replaced earlier languages of the Arawakan stock in Colombia. Arawak and Carib, both wide-spread in northern South America and the islands of the Caribbean, were also represented among the highland chiefdoms, along with some dialects that it has not been possible to classify and some that remain completely unknown. In the southern highlands, a few decades before the arrival of the Spaniards, some

of the languages were replaced by Quechua, the Andean language imposed by the Incas as they extended their empire.

Among the villagers of the areas surrounding the highlands, various language stocks were represented. Most of the residents of the Pacific coastal area and the Sinú country north of the cordilleras, including the Chocó peoples, spoke Chibchan languages. However, there was an enclave of people on the southwestern coast speaking Yurumango, a tongue that may not yet be extinct. This dialect has been identified with the Hokan or Sioux family which was widespread in North America, providing an interesting basis for speculation about the origins of the group.

In the northeastern part of the country, adjoining the northern section of the Eastern Cordillera, there was a substantial block of tribes speaking dialects of the Carib group. Further to the northeast, the Arawakan stock was represented in the Guajira Peninsula. This language group was also widely distributed in the eastern plains and forests of Colombia, along with a smaller number of dialects of other major families—Carib, Andean, Chibchan, Tucanoan, Tupi—and some languages that it has not been possible to classify. It has been pointed out that for this area, and for South America as a whole, a limited number of language families are represented over an extremely large area inhabited by forest villagers. This suggests a rather recent and rapid migration of these peoples over the northern part of South America, since there has not been time for them to become separated from each other and for their languages to diverge.

In contrast, the nomadic tribes of the plains and forests appear as small isolated groups speaking languages of all the major stocks of South America and some tongues that at present seem to be completely independent. This indicates that the nomads were probably early migrants to the area who were separated by the arrival of later groups. In Colombia, they speak Andean, Chibchan, and other languages, some of which are still unknown.

Indian Languages Today

The Indian tongues of Colombia were affected by the Spanish conquest in various ways. Many languages were simply obliterated as the groups that spoke them were exterminated, and the few survivors adopted the language and culture of the Spaniards. This was true of the chiefdoms of the northern lowlands, those along the Cauca River, and some in the southern highlands. Through the same process, most of the languages of the villages bordering the northeastern zone of the cordilleras, those on the coasts and the major waterways, and some in the eastern plains were also eliminated.

In other areas, where large settled groups of Indians came under Spanish domination, they gradually gave up their original languages and adopted the language of the conquerors. This occurred in the Eastern Cordillera, the region of the Chibcha proper, or Muisca, where the population was gradually transformed into a *mestizo* (mixed) society in the course of the colonial period. In fact, the Muisca were noteworthy among all the agricultural populations of Latin America for the speed with which they adopted Spanish. It was reported to be the language of the marketplace by the end of the sixteenth century, and the Muisca tongue was considered to be completely extinct by the late eighteenth century.

In the southern highlands, Spanish was also rapidly acquired by the Pasto and Quillacinga peoples, tribes that earlier had been conquered by the Incas. Like the Muisca, they submitted to the Spaniards quickly and experienced a fairly peaceful conquest. Since they have remained relatively isolated in their *resguardos* or reservations, the Pasto and Quillacinga are still regarded as Indians, despite their use of Spanish.

Elsewhere, in the more remote areas of the country, Indian languages are still spoken, and in these zones, native speech has great social importance. The use of an aboriginal tongue is actually a major element in the definition of Indian status, since these people generally do not participate in national society if they lack knowledge of Spanish. Of the Macro-Chibchan family, dialects of Chibchan proper survive today among the Indians of the Santa Marta area, while Paezan languages are spoken by the inhabitants of some *resguardos* of the southern highlands as well as by the Chocó Indians of the Pacific forest area. An Arawak language is preserved among the Guajiras. In the vast eastern plains and forests, various speech families are still found, including the Carib of the Motilones and others—Tucanoan, Arawak, Chibchan, and Andean, and apparently isolated languages that have never been studied. In many instances, it is not clear whether or not languages identified earlier have become extinct.

There is no clear trend that can describe the future prospects of all the Indian languages. In some instances in which all outside contact is still resisted, as among the Motilones, it is likely that the native tongue will be preserved for some time. Elsewhere, particularly in the southeastern portion of Colombia, members of certain Indian groups appear to be giving up their original dialects only to replace them by the speech of other tribes. Apart from the occurrence of this practice in pre-Colombian times, the process has actually been in operation since the early years of the colonial period, as the result of the actions of missionaries. They have sometimes

selected one language to serve as a general one for use in dealing with the Indians of various tribes. Thus, the Franciscans spread Sioní, a Tucanoan language, as the general medium of communication through much of the Putumayo region. More commonly, the general Indian language has been the Quechua of the Andean highlands, and this language continues to spread among the forest tribes, either through missionary action or through other types of contacts.

For most speakers of Indian languages, however, the trend is probably toward the adoption of Spanish. Those who live in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta are gradually developing more frequent contacts with outsiders, particularly in the southern area. The *resguardo* dwellers in the highlands of Nariño and Cauca are increasingly drifting toward the towns to work, and they may have more frequent contacts with outsiders if proposed development programs are put into effect (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups). The Guajiras, too, are moving to the urban centers in increasing numbers. For the forest villagers and nomads, contacts with Spanish speakers are generally much less frequent, but some groups are gradually adopting the national language. For these people, as well as for the highland Indian farmers, the long-range prospect is toward the use of Spanish, further extending the process that has been in operation since the conquest.

SPANISH

Variations of Colombian Spanish

The Spaniards who settled Colombia came from different sections of the mother country, and their speech reflected these regional variations. It was also affected to some degree by contact with other languages, such as Portuguese. These differences tended to mingle in a common language as settlers from distinct regions came into contact with each other in New Granada; but in time, varying speech patterns emerged in local areas of the nation.

At present, the speech of the educated upper class, centered in the cities, appears to be fairly standard throughout the country. It provides the model for those seeking to raise their status and the example to which grammarians point with approval.

The greatest variation in language habits is found in rural areas. Certain speech patterns are commonly identified with the peasant population and, as migration to the cities continues, with the laboring class of the urban areas.

Some shifts in pronunciation have been identified with particular sections of the country. The departments of Cundinamarca and

Boyacá are marked by the alteration of *rr* in such words as *hierro* so that the sound appears to be somewhat slurred. The Cauca Valley is noted for the substitution of *æ* for *a* so that, for example, *también* sounds like *tambiæn*. In Caldas, the final *e* changes to *i* and the final *o* to *u* so that *ese* becomes *esi* and *esto* is spoken as *estu*. Speech in the coastal regions is characterized by the suppression of the letter *s* and the final *d*, with *fósforo* and *bondad* pronounced as *fóforo* and *bondá*. It also frequently shows sound shifts of *d* to *r*, so that *dos* becomes *ros* and *después* becomes *repué*. The last patterns have sometimes been traced to the speech of Andalucía in Spain, but they are more frequently attributed to African influence. They are also characteristic of other parts of the Caribbean area, especially Cuba, where the population was composed of large groups from both Andalucía and Africa.

There appear to be very few patterns of speech that mark the speech of Colombia as a whole, and these are also encountered elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking world. Thus, the confusion of *ll* with *y* is also found in other parts of Latin America, as well as in northern Spain. The grammatical shift involving the use of *vos* instead of *tú*, *ti*, or *vosotros*, the pronouns for the person or persons addressed in the familiar form, is also not unique to Colombia.

The same is also true of vocabulary. Various rural areas of the country have developed their own words and phrases over the last four centuries. However, some expressions that diverge from modern urban speech can also be heard in certain other sections of the New World or the Iberian Peninsula. Many of these, in fact, represent the speech of sixteenth-century Spain, usages that were carried to the Western Hemisphere by the conquerors and preserved in the rural areas after they died out in the cities. Among such expressions encountered in the communities of the Eastern Cordillera are *a prima noche* (early in the evening) and *Su Merced* (Your Grace), the polite form for the person addressed that long ago became *Usted* in general usage.

The processes that have shaped modern Colombian speech thus involve both the development of new patterns of Spanish in specific areas and, at the same time, the preservation of archaic forms. Another major force in shaping the language has been the borrowing of words from other languages encountered after the Spanish conquest.

The Influence of Other Languages on Colombian Spanish

Throughout the colonial period, the Spanish of New Granada probably received the largest contributions to its vocabulary from the Indian languages of the New World. Some of these were

adopted generally in the speech of Latin America. This was particularly true of the Arawak words encountered in Cuba and Hispaniola, since these islands constituted the staging area for many of the expeditions setting out for the mainland. Such words as *hamaca* (hammock), *barbacoa* (barbecue), *cabuya* (a type of hemp), and *tabaco* (tobacco) entered the language from this area. After their conquest, the Aztecs of Mexico contributed *aguacate* (avocado), *tomate* (tomato), and others. The Indians of Venezuela added *butaca* (stool).

In comparison, the Indians who lived in Colombia at the time of the conquest contributed remarkably little to the Spanish language as a whole or even to the national speech of Colombia. In the Eastern Cordillera, Chibcha has left many place names, such as Bogotá, Turmequé, and Nemocón. It also has supplied some other terms, mainly for things that were unknown to the Spaniards, including *chiguicá* (an herb) and *chiza* from the Chibcha *sisá* (worm), but these are not actually common in national usage. In the southern highlands, some family and place names have been identified with the languages that were displaced by the Incas. At present, however, the major use of Indian words that is found in Colombian Spanish as a whole appears to be in the adoption by sports teams of the names of tribes noted for their ferocity in resisting conquest, as, for example, the Pijaos of the southern highlands.

What is striking in Colombian speech is the use of many words taken from Quechua, the tongue that has been the major Indian language of Peru and Ecuador for some five centuries. A number of these words—such as *huaca* (sacred place or shrine), *minka* from the Quechua *minka* (cooperative work group), or *choclo* (ear of corn)—have entered the Spanish of America as a whole. At the same time, there are many other terms that appear to be in use only in Colombia. Among these are *pisco* (turkey) and *ñapango* or *ñapanga* from the Quechua *llapanko* (barefoot), which is used in Colombia as a synonym for *mestizo* and mulatto.

In connection with the introduction of Indian words into Colombian Spanish, it is important to note that a section of the southern highland was conquered by the Incas; for much of the colonial period, this region was part of the Viceroyalty of Peru, in which the majority of the population spoke Quechua. This background, as well as proximity of the region to the modern Quechua speakers of Ecuador, is reflected in the fact that the use of Quechua words is most frequent in the southern highlands. Nevertheless, many phrases of the Inca language are also heard throughout Colombia. This can be explained in part by the action of early missionaries who adopted Quechua as the medium through which to spread

Christianity. Another factor was the introduction into Colombia in the early colonial period of many *yanaconas* (personal servants and laborers) from Peru. These workers brought some words that supplanted the Chibchan terms still in use by Indian groups at the time.

Throughout Colombian history, only one other group entered the country in large numbers. These were the slaves brought from Africa. From this background, some words have been preserved among small, local groups of Negroes who came from the same section of Africa. Many of these words have to do with the practices of *velorios*, or religious ceremonies. It has been possible to identify a number of them with the languages of Angola.

On the other hand, the slaves appear to have contributed virtually nothing to the national language, although a few words of undetermined origin may in fact be African. The lack of influence of these tongues is quite probably due to the fact that they never actually served as media of communication for groups of any size in the New World. The Africans came from different regions, the patterns of life in Colombia served as their common culture, and Spanish was adopted as their common language (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups). Furthermore, their languages could not contribute terms for items native to the New World, a function that the Indian languages could fulfill.

Since the arrival of the slaves from Africa, no other group has entered Colombia in substantial numbers. The nation has drawn, however, on the culture of other countries and the language has been affected accordingly. During much of the nineteenth century, educated Colombians looked to Europe as the center of learning, and French became the language of prestige to be acquired as a second tongue by members of the upper class.

More recently, English has been affecting the language. It has now largely replaced French as the secondary language learned by the educated. This is partly because, since industrial technology has begun to assume great importance in Colombia, members of the upper class have turned to the United States for education in such professions as engineering and architecture.

A small group in Colombia has English as its native tongue. This portion of the population is made up of the more than five thousand negro residents of San Andrés and Providencia, islands which formerly belonged to England. Perhaps of greatest importance has been the importation of the techniques of industrial society. This has involved the direct introduction of related words to a much larger portion of the population. The construction of factories has resulted in the use of *boicotear* (to boycott), *guachimán* (watchman),

concreto (here: reinforced cement), and *lockout* (lockout). Automobile parts have become familiar as *frenos* (brakes), *clutch* (clutch), and *choke* (choke), and it is customary to *parquear* (park) a car.

United States influence has also been felt in the *field* (field) of sports, where it is possible to encounter a *handicapper*, *jockey* (jockey), or *referee* (referee) or to witness *knockouts* (knockouts) and *home runs* (home runs). In this area, the English have also made some contributions such as *rugby* and *cricket* (cricket).

Many areas of Colombian speech have also been affected by the importation or imitation of consumer goods such as *nylon* (nylon) or *slacks*. Finally, in recent decades, the widespread distribution of movies made in the United States has familiarized Colombian audiences with *trailers* (here: previews), *gángsteres*, *moneda* (money), and many other terms taken from American idiomatic speech.

Of course, the spread of these aspects of our culture, and the words associated with them, has not been limited to Colombia; many of the terms presented above have entered the Spanish language as a whole or, at least, the Spanish of the New World.

Attitudes Toward Language

Despite the substantial contributions of other tongues to their speech, many Colombians, especially educated people, express the idea that Colombia has a special role in the preservation of the Spanish language. This may stem partly from the attempts of the *criollos* (people of Spanish descent born in the New World) during the colonial period to imitate the language and customs of the Spanish aristocracy as closely as possible, an effort that was even more marked in New Granada than in other parts of the New World (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups).

Aside from this factor, impetus was given to a concern with language by the work of several Colombian philologists, grammarians, and linguists of the nineteenth century. One of these was Miguel Antonio Caro, a philologist, Latinist, and Spanish grammarian, who was a founder of the Academia Colombiana de la Lengua (Colombian Academy of Language). One of his collaborators, and probably the most famous Colombian who has worked in the field of language, was Rufino José Cuervo. He became interested in the Spanish language as a child, studied various other languages, and, as an adult, settled in Paris, where he could maintain close contact with the philologists and linguists of Europe. Over a period of more than 40 years, he collaborated on several periodicals and produced a number of books. Among his works,

still frequently quoted by Colombians, is the *Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje Bogotano* (Critical Notes on the Language of Bogotá) which was first published in the early 1870's. This book was a linguistic analysis of Spanish as a whole, taking account of variations among all its speakers, including even the Sephardic Jews of the Middle East. It also covered historical development, with frequent references to classical Spanish authors and the Latin background of the language. In the study, Cuervo established a number of principles that still guide the linguistic work of Colombians. Thus, he did not hesitate to recommend certain speech patterns, either in terms of the pattern of their development from Latin or with an eye to maintaining understanding between Spanish speakers employing different regional variations. At the same time, he was emphatic in stressing that language is constantly in a state of flux and in holding that current usage is the important criterion of what is acceptable. His successors have continued to try to balance between these absolute and relative principles, sometimes with less ease than Cuervo. They have also tended to accept the dicta of the Royal Academy of Spain, with which he did not hesitate to disagree.

Another of his books was the unfinished *Diccionario de construcción y régimen* (Dictionary of Construction and Rules). Two volumes, covering the letters A through D, each nearly 1,000 pages, were published in the late 1880's and early 1890's. The work was conceived as a revision of the eighteenth-century *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Dictionary of Authorities), the first work issued by the Spanish Royal Academy. This was a detailed compilation of all the words of the time with the citation of "authorities," or famous authors, to support usage. It was later reduced to the Official Dictionary, issued by the Spanish Academy at intervals up to the present. While Cuervo was unable to finish his work to replace the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, the effort has recently again been undertaken in Colombia.

In 1941, the Minister of Education, Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, founded the *Ateneo Nacional de Altos Estudios* (National Athenaeum of Higher Studies), including a philology section which had several responsibilities among which was the continuation of Cuervo's work. Shortly afterward, this body was reorganized as the Instituto Caro y Cuervo (Caro and Cuervo Institute). It has carried on various programs in the field of language, including the publication of Cuervo's unedited work and, since 1945, the issuance of *Boletín*, a linguistic bulletin, called *Thesaurus* in recent years. Since 1956, when an agreement was signed between this organization, the Ministry of Education, and the Pan-American Union (which has given

financial support), the Institute has been working to complete Cervo's *Diccionario de construcción y régimen*. In 1954, as the result of a resolution passed by the Tenth Inter-American Conference in Caracas, a new section of the Institute was organized. This is the Seminario Andrés Bello (Andrés Bello Seminar), named after the Latin American grammarian and philologist. Since 1958, it has been conducting a program to train teachers of Spanish in linguistics and philology for research and teaching in Colombia and in other areas of Latin America.

Recently, the activities of the Institute have reflected a shift in emphasis from philology to linguistic studies. The major work in the latter area has been the construction of a *Linguistic Atlas of Colombia*, a project that has been underway for several years. Its purpose is to indicate the Spanish spoken in various regions of the nation, the relations of this Spanish to the language of Spain and other Latin American countries, and the influences on it of the Indian languages. A team of trained investigators has been visiting different areas, administering a questionnaire that covers pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, and local ballads.

The Institute has not been the only agency active in the field of language. The Colombian Academy of Language recently organized a contest among students for the analysis of the usage of Spanish expressions. In 1960, the Ministry of Education decided to hold a contest to determine the best text for teaching Spanish in the country's secondary schools.

One of the most widely acclaimed recent actions of the government was the passage of the Law for the Defense of the Language (*Ley de Defensa del Idioma*) on August 6, 1960, the last day of the Third Congress of Academies of the Spanish Language. It provides that all official documents and names, teaching, advertising, business, industry, arts, styles, or sports in the public domain will be written or carried on in Spanish, with the exception of words that cannot be translated because they are proper names or foreign industrial names. In the case of patented trade marks, there should be an indication of pronunciation, an explanation of the object in Spanish, and, if possible, a translation of the name. The law also defines the role of the Colombian Academy of Language as a consultative body of the government in all matters related to national language and literature, exempts it from taxation, and provides for government support of its library. Finally, the measure provides for the annual commemoration by educational institutions of April 23, the anniversary of the death of Cervantes.

All these activities in the field of language are fully reported in the Colombian press in news items, columns on language and gram-

mar, and special articles in the Sunday supplements. Some of the writers are linguists. In their newspaper contributions, articles in *El Esmeraldo*, and recent books, Colombian language specialists frequently express a number of themes. In general, following Cuervo, they have adopted the objective position of modern linguistics which holds that no speech is to be evaluated as good or bad and that all forms should be examined as manifestations of linguistic processes. At the same time, they are concerned with the preservation of "good" Spanish and recommend the forms that are most generally accepted among educated people. These writers also frequently express concern over the use of foreign words when Spanish equivalents are available. Finally, they often remind their readers of the special role of Colombians with regard to the Spanish language. Great stress is placed on the close association of national speech with the language of the mother country. Writers on language frequently refer to the Spanish Royal Academy, and Colombian newspapers proudly reported the favorable coverage of the Law for the Defense of the Language in the press of Madrid. Stress is also placed on the responsibility of Colombians for the maintenance of high standards of speech among American speakers of Spanish. Thus, readers are reminded that the occurrence of certain usages in other countries of the New World does not mean that they are acceptable in Colombia. On the contrary, Spanish speakers of other nations and foreigners learning the language are sometimes advised to adopt as their guide the standards expressed by Colombian authorities.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The structure of society, strongly based in durable traditions deriving from sixteenth-century Spain, has rigid lines of class membership and pronounced differences in status. Despite the effects of growing industrialization, the great gulf separating the upper and lower classes remains only imperfectly bridged by a middle class. The concentration of an inordinate amount of social and political power at the upper levels enables the ruling class to cling tenaciously and effectively to its privileged position and to resist the growing forces of change.

The determinants of class status are primarily lineage, racial derivation and wealth. The upper class is predominantly composed of rich, white-skinned *criollo* aristocrats. Great wealth may overcome the liability of *mestizo* ancestry; and impeccable lineage (*abolengo*) may preserve status for some time after wealth has been lost. But such exceptions are still comparatively rare.

The middle class, which is being strengthened gradually by the increasing opportunities for commercial success and intellectual distinction, still has little of the independent motive force which early projected the bourgeoisie into the forefront of political development in most of Western Europe. At least until very recently, it formed a passive social element composed mainly of people who had dropped out of the aristocracy through loss of wealth or who had accumulated enough money to graduate from the lower class without yet qualifying as members of the highest stratum. Scholars still argue whether or not the country has a genuine, full-fledged middle class.

The lower class, comprising the bulk of the population, includes most Indian and negro elements in the population. Greater economic opportunity makes it possible for an increasing number of them to improve their status. Although skin color usually imposes a limitation on their upward advancement, they may secure increasing access to other instruments, mainly educational, for the further improvement of class status.

The most mobile element in the society is the large *mestizo* segment of mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry. *Mestizos* are found

at all levels of the social ladder and constitute most of the exceptions to racial limitations on advancing social status.

A secondary set of indices to class status includes educational attainment, refinement of manner, intellectual distinction, network of friendships and associations and style of dress. Most frequently these characteristics are emblems of class status already attained; but in a borderline case, possession or lack of such identifying traits may prove decisive as to an individual's acceptance or rejection at a higher social level. The great emphasis on these characteristics is, in any case, significant of the traditional nature of the society and of the built-in impediments to mobility.

Recent trends toward more rapid industrialization, urbanization and increasingly responsible governmental performance have affected the prevailing social patterns. They have created a sharper cleavage between a relatively fluid urban and an inflexible rural social structure. Modernization is making the upper class more aware of the need to loosen its grip on political power and economic privilege, and the lower class more aware of the extent to which it has been excluded from access to improved living conditions and political influence by the aristocratic monopoly.

The future shape of society will be determined in large measure by the outcome of the race between these two relatively new forces of change. Either the demands of the hitherto oppressed will be satisfied by the ameliorative efforts of the privileged minority, in which case a more dynamic and open society may result; or these demands will outrun the willingness of the favored few to impair their privileges, in which event the social structure is likely to be shattered rather than merely modified by a sudden flare of destructive resentment.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The social structure of the colonial period derived from that of Spain, with a small upper class composed of landowning nobility, military and clergy and a large lower class of peasants living in serfdom. Between the two stood a thin layer of small landowners, skilled artisans and free propertyless individuals.

This social structure was imported by the Spanish colonizers; the Indians already there and the negro slaves brought to the New World to work the mines and the vast land acreages formed the lowest stratum. Partly because of the dependence of the colonial economy on the mines and land for revenue, the feudal social system adapted from the Spanish pattern was carefully preserved. The principal change was that the serfs were Indian and negro rather than white Spaniards.

The colonial social system was dominated by an aristocracy of *abolengo*—a society where social position was defined by birth rather than by individual merit or achievement. Separated by a vast gulf from the other classes the upper-class elite jealously guarded its privileges and discouraged any ambitions on the part of the unfavored masses. Class solidarity among the elite was high and entry into the upper class from below was almost impossible.

At the top of the colonial social ladder were the Catholic Spaniards, men of wealth, called *peninsulares*. Slightly below them were the *criollos*, born in America of Spanish parents. Both segments of the upper class prided themselves on their Spanish heritage and on the purity of their blood.

In addition to the *peninsulares* and *criollos*, the *caciques*, the Indian aristocracy which occupied a special position among the ruling elite, assisted the Spanish rulers in governing and exploiting the Indians. The power and status of the ruling elite was assured by royal charters, known as *fueros*, granted to the nobility, those holding decorations from the Crown, military officers, mine owners, merchants and the Indian *caciques*.

In the eyes of the law the *peninsulares* and the *criollos* were equal; in practice they were not. The *peninsular* held the native-born American, the *criollo*, in contempt. Many commercial posts were closed to the *criollo*, particularly in the lucrative trade monopolies sanctioned by the Crown, and many colonial business establishments refused to allow *criollos* to reach a high position; and available vacancies were instead filled by newly arrived Spaniards. Closed off from the influential posts of the administration and the monopolies, the *criollo* turned to the professions, to retailing and to illegal activities. Inevitably, tensions arose between the *peninsular* and the *criollo* and led ultimately to the drive for independence from Spain in the early part of the nineteenth century.

A thin layer of free propertyless individuals and skilled artisans formed a middle stratum of persons who had, by their special abilities or skills, managed to raise themselves above the lower class. In a similar position was an emerging social stratum, the *mestizos*, who were the result of the contact between the white colonialists and the Indians.

The social distance was great between the *mestizo* and both the upper and lower class. Unlike the Indian or the negro, the *mestizo* was recognized by the white elite as a rational person and therefore endowed with the rights and privileges of responsible adulthood. Although the *mestizo* was legally excluded from the priesthood or from receiving academic degrees, other avenues of enterprise were open to him. Some *mestizos* became small farmers, small-scale busi-

nessmen or administrative employees. The rest formed the mass of workers and artisans who served in the guilds with only the smallest possibility of advancing themselves into the higher category of master craftsmen. Yet that they could dress as the white persons did was of utmost social importance.

At the bottom of the scale stood the lower class, comprising Indians and negroes—or in the words of the colonial elite, the “red” race and the “black” race—both looked on as irresponsible minors in need of paternalistic supervision and control. In general they had no rights and privileges. They were prohibited by law from bearing arms, riding horses or dressing as white and in some localities were even forbidden to leave a certain area. Most occupations were closed to them except that of unskilled laborer in the fields or in the mines. Their pay was usually a share of the produce they cultivated or sometimes miniscule wages that could be spent only in company stores. It was almost impossible for the negro or Indian to accumulate any savings which would have allowed him to move away or better his condition. The Indian and the negro did not necessarily have equally bad living conditions or suffer the same social and economic plight; in some cases the negro laborer was better off than his Indian fellow.

Negro slavery had been instituted in the New World as a result of what the colonial authorities had deemed to be economic necessity. But emancipation from this bondage was possible for the negro. On certain occasions, if they were rented out by the owners, slaves were enabled to earn money wages and could keep a portion of the money they earned. Some others were freed by their masters as acts of religious charity. Yet even if they became free their condition was often not materially improved.

The negroes were divided into separate strata, according to their occupation and the lightness of their skin, with those having the least negroid features at the top of the scale. Though usually required to marry among themselves, a certain amount of miscegenation occurred and the resultant offspring, called *sambos*, in time came to occupy a position somewhat analagous to that of the *mestizo*.

A certain degree of social mobility existed for the negro. The negro could rise from slavery to freedom and earn money wages. Upward mobility could be further facilitated by marrying lighter-skinned negroes or whites. A negro who had accumulated a large sum of money could bribe the colonial authorities to grant him a certificate of his “whiteness,” which in turn could obtain for him the rights and privileges enjoyed by the whites.

The Indian had practically no chance to rise above serfdom. The Indian's life in the system of forced labor, under the most adverse living conditions, has been described in harrowing terms by colonial

historians. Working the mines, the plantations and the factories and herded into villages under strict control, the Indian was oppressed by overseer, mine owner, factory owner and often even by the priests. The sole means of effecting upwards ascent for the Indian was miscegenation; the child would thereby acquire the status of the parent higher in the social scale.

With the decrease in Spain's world position in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, its hold over the New World was loosened. Power in the colonies began to shift from the Spanish *peninsular* to the native-born *criollo*. The *criollo* gradually acquired greater access to positions of power in the colonial administration and was enabled to buy titles and to participate in the areas of enterprise hitherto the exclusive monopoly of the Spanish *peninsular*. In the years immediately preceding independence, the number of *criollo* mine owners, businessmen and landowners increased.

A primary social result of Colombia's independence from Spain was the supplanting of the Spanish *peninsular* elite by the native-born white *criollo*. Yet the shift in power and status did little to affect the rest of the social structure. The *criollo* held to his Spanish origins and traditions; his cultural and social habits precluded the evolution of a new social configuration. In consolidating themselves as the new elite, the *criollos* preserved the great social distance between upper and lower classes that had characterized the colonial social scene. The system survived, only slightly altered, into the twentieth century.

THE CLASS SYSTEM

Upper Class

In the past the upper class was more a caste than a class, for the position of its members at the apex of the social pyramid came about largely as a birthright rather than through their abilities or efforts. But at present birthright is no longer the sole determinant. Wealth, whether acquired through land, mines, commerce or industry, has become an equally if not more important qualification for upper-class membership. Therefore, the upper class has lost to the middle class many members who, because of their gradual loss of wealth, were forced to drop out of the financially demanding social climate of the upper class. But, on the other hand, the upper class is reinforced by the entry of the *nuevo rico* (newly rich) who have risen from below or who have come from abroad.

In the past upper-class families most always traced their origins back to Spanish *conquistadores*. Many upper-class families now trace their lineage back to statesmen and politicians, to former Presidents of the Republic or to well-known generals. Another large

part of the present upper class is derived from cattle-ranching families or those of industrialists, businessmen and coffee-plantation owners. The actual status of members of the upper class is often primarily traceable to the hard work of a recent forefather who acquired wealth, settled in a city and provided his children with education.

Immigrants from Europe having the necessary qualifications of wealth enjoy ready access to the upper class. Only a few months are required for an immigrant to establish himself as a member of the upper class, should he meet its standards. In certain exceptional cases, a well-known name can be substituted for the requirement of wealth. However, attendant factors of influence and of cultivated social life, which may often serve as supplementary requirements, cannot be replaced in cases where wealth is absent. Travel in Europe or the United States also increases the prestige of the aspirant to the upper class.

In the more rural and isolated regions where the wave of industrialism has not made itself felt to any large extent, social rigidity is greater than in more modernized parts of the country. In areas such as Popayán, which prides itself on its cultural and historic tradition and its rural feudal character, wealth or education do not serve to facilitate entry into the upper class: the old standard of birthright still holds strong.

In other, more industrialized regions, the passage of families from upper to middle class has often been the result of dissipation of inherited wealth or of division of wealth among many heirs. But, in Popayán, stronghold of the colonial tradition, there is little displacement of families from upper to middle class in cases of financial difficulty; if an upper-class family suffers financial reverses, friends and relatives often rally to its support, helping the children obtain a good education and a position suitable to their social standing and giving the family a chance to recover its former financial position within a few years.

The question of race enters into determination of position in the upper class. The upper class is not exclusively white. Some say that it never was so, for many of the older families in fact are proud of their "mixed blood." Nevertheless, generally the "whiter" an individual is, the higher his rank in the upper-class hierarchy.

Members of the upper class refrain from manual labor and look down upon anyone working with his hands, but some drive their own cars, work on their haciendas and even swing a machete along with their peons without impairing their prestige or status.

In the towns the emergence of a middle class through industrialization and commercial development has created the *nuevo rico* who

have easier access to the upper class. But mobility is infinitely harder in a rural environment insulated from the inroads of the industrial age, where tradition still plays a dominant role in upper-class customs.

Middle Class

Spain's discouragement of the introduction of industrial enterprise into the New World for fear of adverse effects on the mercantilist economy of the mother country served to reinforce the rigidity of the class structure. But, with political and economic independence from Spain, industry gradually began to develop and gave more importance to the once insignificant stratum of free propertyless individuals and skilled artisans. The white-collar workers of an expanding governmental and business bureaucracy began to form during the course of the nineteenth century a middle stratum neither upper nor lower class in characteristics. This new social grouping was fed both from above and below and comprised both white and nonwhite individuals. Whereas the upper class continued to be predominantly white and the lower class almost completely nonwhite, in this middle sector "whiteness" was not a requirement, though it, along with economic status and occupation, did serve to dictate the individual's position within the emerging class.

With the division of wealth among many heirs, the original large landholdings or fortunes of the old leading families were eroded. Many in the upper class, deprived of the fortune of their ancestors, were forced to abandon the style of living of the upper class. In addition the upper class was beginning to lose its uniqueness as the original small cluster of proud old families was succeeded by the increasing numbers of their descendants. Well-to-do immigrants from Europe bought their way into the upper class, thus further diminishing its exclusiveness.

The evolving middle class includes the children and grandchildren of upper-class families who have been pushed down the social scale as the original fortunes of their forefathers have been divided up among the heirs or have been dissipated. It is not clear whether such people, now occupying middle-class positions in government, business or the professions, still cling to their former status. Some retain upper-class values; others acknowledge their loss of status. Many attempt to regain status by taking up professions permitted to upper-class members, such as law or medicine. Most shun the manual labor which would mark an even greater social descent. Some endanger their present status by attempting to climb the social ladder in ways which strain their financial capabilities, though many of these are saved by the social environment that pervades the busi-

ness and governmental community where nepotism is considered an obligation. A banker, for example, is more likely to employ an impoverished relative or social colleague than an equally capable person of lower-class parentage.

The rise of new industries and the growth of larger commercial enterprises late in the century created a new stratum, that of the *nuevo rico*, occupying the upper level of the middle class while slowly infiltrating into the upper class.

The middle class is fed also from the lower class. It has become easier for lower-class parents to put aside the requisite funds to educate their children for social advancement. The mere fact of moving to a city increases the opportunities for a lower-class family to rise economically and socially. The lower class frequently provides the small proprietors and skilled workmen who qualify for middle-class membership.

The very existence of a genuine middle class in present-day Colombia has been debated among students of the subject. Because the dominant value system is dictated by the upper class, and because many people who seem to belong to a middle class retain the illusion that they belong to the upper class and dispute any claims to the contrary, some observers believe that a genuine middle class cannot be considered to exist. A leading student of the subject, T. Lynn Smith, contends that only in Antioquia and Caldas is there a sizable segment of the population exhibiting characteristics of a real middle class. In these departments, commerce and manufacturing play a significant role in the economic and social life of the community, and hundreds of individual farm properties and thousands of other small enterprises have been developed.

Others argue that a middle class is definitely emerging, particularly in the urban and industrial centers. A case study by Whiteford of Popayán found that the population divided itself quite clearly into three classes. As one informant told him, "the members of the middle class distinguish themselves by having sufficient means to live, sufficient education to be cultivated, and honorable reputation but no lineage." In questioning the residents as to who comprised the middle class, the answer most often received was white-collar employee (*empleado*), including both government and private employees. The term encompasses, for example, most of the employees of the banks, many businessmen, butchers, tailors, barbers, bakery shop owners, brickmakers and hotel owners.

Some people in Popayán consider themselves middle class but are regarded by others as belonging to another class. They include some whose activities are more closely associated with the upper class, such as doctors, lawyers, engineers and teachers. Other components

of the middle class include master artisans and poorly paid teachers in primary schools who, though they may live in the straitened circumstances of the lower classes, still enjoy the aura of middle-class membership. At the lower boundary of the middle class are found clerks with little education or skills, usually of lower-class parentage.

Although the emergent middle class is noticeable in the hinterland as well as in urban areas, social mobility is not equal in both spheres. Class lines in urban-industrial concentrations are more fluid; social rigidity continues to characterize rural areas where birthright is still the key to upper-class membership. The factor of race impedes social ascent less in urban industrialized areas than in rural communities. In urban-industrial areas, wealth has become the major factor in granting access to the upper class. Education also takes on added importance in such an atmosphere, whereas birthright becomes less meaningful. The concept of the "self-made man" seems to have become popular, and there is much talk of the newly rich rising through education and the accumulation of wealth from middle- to upper-class membership. Another means of assuring upward mobility for a middle-class person is to marry a person at a more elevated status. This is possible anywhere, but is more frequent in cities.

The Lower Class

Most of the available information about the lower class merely describes its miseries--the soaring prices for basic staples, mass unemployment, alcoholism, the violence of the countryside and the deficiencies in health, education and housing.

For centuries the lower class has seemed to be a mere appendage of society, a labor force to the nation. In the last quarter of a century, however, the lower class has become increasingly aware of its potential political power and has used the weapons of violence and social agitation. Yet although it has played a significant part in the violence of the last decade, it has also borne the brunt of this violence.

The lower class comprises the mass of the rural and urban workers. It is typified by manual labor, exceedingly limited education and the worst possible living conditions. It includes all racial types and mixtures. There is differentiation within the class, particularly between rural and urban workers, with the city dweller often enjoying better conditions and prospects than his rural counterpart. The urban lower class encompasses domestics, day laborers and unskilled factory hands; the lower class in rural areas takes in the mine workers and tenant and subsistence farmers.

The factors that have kept the lower class in misery are the same ones that have prevented upward mobility and betterment of its condition--the lack of access to educational facilities and of proper

housing, sanitation and health facilities; the social stigma of a preponderance of Indian and negro blood in a society that values whiteness; the isolation of the rural members of the class from the benefits of industrialization; and the lack of social concern on the part of the middle and the upper classes, which have until recently almost excluded the unfavored masses from the life of the nation.

The social mobility of lower-class members is minimal. The upward climb for agricultural workers is difficult for there are few and infrequent opportunities. An individual must rise from farm laborer to farm owner in one step. In the city the upward climb can be more gradual and therefore less difficult. If a family is fortunate enough to have a member in a white-collar position, the status of the family may be elevated with relative rapidity. Politics also afford a path for advancement, for loyal party activity may lead to a governmental post and entry into the middle class.

RELATIONS AMONG THE CLASSES

The class solidarity of the elite is so deeply embedded in historical identity of interest that its observance in any practical circumstance is usually unquestioning. Although the emergence of social concern within the upper class has resulted in serious criticism of the favoritism that is a standard expression of solidarity, the continued existence of traditional privilege makes it difficult for an upper-class individual to deviate from a habitual protection of what he perceives as class interest. To do so would be to court the disapproval of his peers, the only segment of society whose opinion he values, and would also probably appear to him as an entering wedge leading toward the destruction of the values on which his and his class's life is based.

Upper-class attitudes and behavior toward the other classes are more likely to be paternalistic than hostile. A genuine threat to class interest may unleash bitter and indeed brutal behavior by members of the upper class, but this has seldom provoked enduring enmity. The increase in recent years of political participation by the less privileged segments of society has brought a rising frequency of such threats from below. But it has also increased communication between and among classes, particularly as the former monopolists of political influence have had to come to terms with the interests and aspirations of those lower in the social scale in order to continue effectuating their wonted authority in a more orderly and increasingly democratic political arena.

The middle class is often described as embryonic because it is too new and too unstable to have developed an independent ethic or a sense of class solidarity based on common interests. Middle-class feelings toward those above or below are more often dictated by a

sense of envy, on the one hand, or a revulsion against lower social origins, on the other, than by any perception of a genuine conflict of class interests. Nevertheless, the pace of industrialization virtually assures that the middle class will grow in size and develop its consciousness of class identity. And this will undoubtedly have political as well as economic implications as the clash of interests becomes more palpable.

Lower-class solidarity is still seriously impaired by educational deficiencies and by subsistence conditions leaving neither time nor energy for a concerted class effort to improve its share in the economic and social benefits of a developing society. Nevertheless, recent years have witnessed a marked growth in awareness of potential political power on the part of the lower class. The most striking evidence of this in an urban setting was the spontaneous outrage loosed in 1948 by the assassination of the popular leader, Gaitán. Similarly, the violence that has characterized life in the countryside for over a decade is, in large measure, the outcome of lower-class embitterment over its inability to gain a hearing for its grievances. It would be premature, in view of the fragmentation of the class and its lack of channels for communication, to speak of solidarity; but the store of resentment of privilege constitutes a latent basis for such solidarity, as well as a particularly volatile threat to the social order.

A sense of national solidarity was presumed to exist from the time of independence until recent decades—for as long as it was possible to count only upper-class attitudes as significant. The elite was the vehicle of liberation from Spain and the center of ensuing nationalist sentiment; the masses could safely be ignored. But since the peasantry and the urban proletariat became sufficiently mobilized to constitute a political force, national solidarity has been severely impaired by disparity of class interests and the resultant overt conflict. The restoration of effective national solidarity will require the healing over many years of wounds that are still open. The kinds of social and economic programs needed for this purpose are new and full of promise, but the containment of social discontent and political disorder are prerequisites for the realization of the program goals.

CHAPTER 7

FAMILY

In the predominantly rural and nonindustrial Colombian society, the family has retained much of its traditional importance and cohesiveness. Along with common language, religion and dominant racial background, the family has been one of the links binding the community together. Not limited to parents and children, it includes an extensive kinship group, which is bolstered by *compadrazgo*, a peculiarly wide form of the institution of godparenthood.

Even in cities, where family bonds are weaker than in rural communities, households tend to be large. The Colombian family, whether urban or rural, upper or lower class, prides itself on including a wide circle of relatives of several generations and several degrees of closeness. In addition, relatives, even distant ones, are often welcomed as visitors for such long periods that they virtually become part of the household; this tradition of hospitality is more characteristic of the upper than of the lower class. Through such associations the individual maintains close contact with a large number of his kin and develops a strong sense of family solidarity which gives meaning to his life and provides him with a form of social security. The family may also constitute a work unit to perform the farm chores or to build a house; it may join as a unit in the pleasures of a *fiesta* or unite to repel an intruder or to prosecute a feud.

Significant changes are occurring in the structure, function and character of the Colombian family. Chief causes of these changes are the abandonment of rural areas, the growth of urban industrial centers, the development of a capitalist society to replace the formally feudal social structure and the spread of education.

Certain related trends are also becoming evident: women are beginning to enlarge their role in public life, a phenomenon so far almost exclusively confined to women of the middle group; the breakdown of the old family pattern may be weakening the hold of godparenthood; and favoritism and nepotism may be declining in the face of modern industrial needs and techniques.

ROLES AND FUNCTIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY

The Colombian family is usually authoritarian in tone, with the father occupying the dominant position. But some students of this subject have noted evidence of a rise in the number of families dominated by the mothers.

Family roles are sharply delineated. The cardinal precept is *cada uno en su lugar*, "each one in his place." Each member of the Colombian family is aware of his responsibility and of the rules governing his behavior. The father is ruler of the household and his word is law. The wife is expected to be devoted and submissive, to bear and rear children and to administer the daily operation of the household. The mother may have great influence, but her position may be undermined by the male children. This may come about because of women's generally subservient status and because the father may feel more of a bond to his male children, especially as they approach manhood, than to other members of his family. The children are expected to obey, respect and love their parents, and to either attend school or contribute economically to the family's welfare. Parents are addressed by the pronoun *usted* or *su merced*, not by the more familiar *tu*. The young male child must also cultivate virility, while a daughter learns feminine skills, responsibilities and attitudes.

In addition to the parents and their children, the family or household may include grandparents or other elderly relatives whom the family supports out of respect for advanced age. The role of elderly family members differs according to class. In the lower class they work in the fields as long as they are physically able to do so. In the upper and middle classes they perform little work, but may play important roles in family life as sources of counsel and as doting grandparents.

In a broad sense, servants are also members of the household. They constitute a social necessity for any family desiring elevated status and are the last luxury to be dispensed with in the event of financial hardship. In some families, servants are respected and treated like family members; in others they are treated little better than slaves.

SIZE OF THE FAMILY

The relative influence of factors affecting the size of the family depends on the locality in question. For instance, in an isolated rural area where there is a strong sense of tradition and of family solidarity, the factors making for a large family usually outweigh those factors which limit or weaken the family. In urban areas, or in rural areas accessible to industrial centers which draw the young people away from traditional family patterns, the family as a social institution suffers in size and in cohesiveness.

With increased industrialization and development has come an increase in education, opening up expectations of higher living standards among young people by providing skills potentially useful in the urban and industrial centers. Education also brings with it the spread of birth control information which likewise tends to cut down family size.

Industrialization has led to a significant shift in population from rural areas to urban centers, made easier by the improved transportation system and vastly accelerated by violence in the countryside. Many have flocked there in search of refuge, of better job opportunities, of ascent on the social ladder, of a higher standard of living. In moving they either leave their families behind or bring only their immediate families with them. The old traditional rural patterns of family life are broken, and the solidarity of the extended family is shaken.

The city is particularly appealing to young lower-class women from rural areas. Many of them become domestics in urban middle- and upper-class families. After exposure to this new life, they are usually unwilling to return to the greater hardship and privations they knew in their rural homes. The young women usually find husbands in the city, marrying skilled or unskilled laborers, some of whom are also emigrants from rural areas. The male migrants usually take up trades characteristic of the urban community, such as construction or factory work.

High infant mortality resulting from substandard health facilities further diminishes the size of the lower-class families, as do the high level of alcoholic consumption and the high incidence of disease (see ch. 16, Health and Sanitation). The violence prevalent in the rural areas has also tended to decrease the size of the rural family (see ch. 22, Public Order and Safety). These factors combine to offset the high fertility rate characteristic of rural Colombia.

In the rural community of Tabio the average family size is about 4.5. Sixteen percent of the families include five persons, 15.3 percent four persons, 15.9 percent three, and only 10 percent of the families had eight members or more. Nonagricultural families in Tabio were the smallest—3.8—while farm laborers' families averaged 4.3. The farm operators had the largest families, averaging about 4.8 persons.

These trends in rural family patterns show no signs of abating except as measures are taken which alter basically the socioeconomic factors leading to high mortality rates, emigration and resultant diminution of family size (see ch. 17, Living Conditions and Public Welfare). Unless rural life becomes more attractive, instability and loss of cohesiveness will continue to characterize the rural family.

COMPADRAZGO

Family organization is extended by the institution of *compadrazgo* or godparenthood. By this elaborate system the social and emotional bonds that link the family members together are extended to encompass selected friends. A godparent acquires grave responsibilities as well as the respect and regard due him from his godchildren. Godparents are given the title of *padrino* or *madrina* by the godchild and referred to by the child's parents as *compadre* or *comadre*. The bond between parents and the godparent is illustrated by other meanings of the terms *compadre* and *comadre*—"friend" and "companion."

A Colombian may have various sets of godparents to commemorate several important occasions in his life. The most important godparents are the *padrino de bautismo*, or baptismal godparents. This set of godparents takes on serious obligations, for they may have to act as substitutes for the child's real parents in case disaster should overtake the parents. More frequently these godparents concern themselves with the religious education of the child and provide gifts or services in keeping with the economic status of the parents. It is not unusual for godparents to adopt and treat as their own an orphaned godchild. In turn the godchild has deep respect for his *padrino* and *madrina*, continuing this regard through adulthood.

In rural Colombia, residues of the Chibcha Indian tradition are manifested in the institution of godparenthood for such special occasions as the first cutting of the hair, the opening of earlobes and the first cutting of fingernails. Unlike the religious ceremonies which usually take place in the church, these customary rites are performed only in private homes or shops. Some analysts consider that among these Chibcha-influenced ceremonials, the *padrinos de rufas*, those who cut the child's hair for the first time, appear to be the most esteemed.

The marriage ceremony often brings with it another set of godparents, the *padrino* and *madrina de boda*. They are essentially witnesses to the ceremony and responsible for performing a few simple functions connected with the religious ceremony. On occasion they may help defray the wedding expenses.

Often the choice of godparents is directed more by practical considerations than by friendship. A father may choose a godparent for his child who can further the child's future. Rural *caudillos*, labor union leaders, government officials and affluent businessmen in both rural and urban centers may be godparents to hundreds.

Some criticism has been aimed at the *compadre* system for undermining honesty in government. It makes for favoritism, for the person in a position of power is prone to help members of his

"family" irrespective of their qualification. *Compadrazgo* or godparenthood forms part of the "cult of the friend," whereby business, social relationships, and politics are all determined on the basis of friendship.

SOCIALIZATION OF THE CHILD

Because of the high incidence of infant deaths, a newborn child's godparents are summoned almost immediately, and the child is baptized to insure its going to heaven in the event of its death. Should the baby die, there is little mourning because of the widespread belief that children who die become angels.

The lower-class child that overcomes the initial perils is kept constantly at his mother's side, nursed when he cries, and catered to in a loving and devoted manner for the first few months of his life. From the age of two onwards the child sleeps with his brothers and sisters. Parents place little stress on the child's toilet training or cleanliness because of the lack of facilities. As the child grows older the disregard of cleanliness continues, and few children of the lower class ever learn to brush their teeth or take regular baths. A Colombian sociologist has observed:

At the age of six, a child in Sancho should be the envy of children everywhere. He usually is unwashed and uncombed, wears dirty clothes, no shoes and invariably a hat like his elders. Yet he is healthy in spite of the circumstances. These young children are lively, curious, free and able to take good care of themselves.

The child born of rural lower-class parents learns the lessons of austerity and harsh discipline at an early age. The child's whims are rarely satisfied; he is conditioned to hunger and privation. Obedience to his parents, particularly to his father, is inculcated, often painfully. The mother is often less strict and may side with the children against the father. While the father remains aloof and unconcerned unless the child violates some rule, the mother is constantly concerned with the training of her children. She is respected and loved, her advice is valued, and she is the repository of her children's confidences.

In a peasant family a young boy learns the work of the farm. From the age of six he divides his time between play and minor chores. When he is approximately eight, the child starts school. After two or three years of school, he is usually put to work full-time in the fields. This is especially true in the coffee and the tobacco regions. Agricultural techniques are passed on from father to son, who learns by imitation, never questioning the wisdom of the primitive farming techniques.

As the boys grow into maturity they receive less and less supervision. The mothers occupy themselves increasingly with training

and supervising the daughters, who are also expected to contribute to the household work.

Alongside this home training is the basic education the child receives in the precepts of the Catholic Church. From early childhood he is taught reverence and love of God and the saints. Attendance at Mass and the reception of the sacraments is encouraged. Receiving first Holy Communion at about the age of seven is a great event in a child's life and is usually accompanied by a *fiesta*.

Children in the upper and middle classes also receive sound indoctrination in Catholic beliefs. But that is one of the few points of similarity between upper- and lower-class upbringing. From his birth in a hospital under the care of trained and competent medical personnel, the child of a well-to-do family suffers less chance of infection and disease and enjoys a much higher life expectancy. The middle- or upper-class child is given toilet training and taught cleanliness. He does not have to perform chores or help at home. He is sent to school and kept there over a long period. Formal education plays an important part in his life as does the cultivation of the social amenities. Upper-class children, especially boys, are pampered. The young male is the *niño bien*, welcomed as the heir who will continue the family line and as a demonstration of the father's virility. He is never assigned tasks that are menial or that can be done by women or servants, who wait upon the children just as they do the adult members of the family. A male heir is so valued that a couple's failure to produce one often bestows tacit approval on the husband's efforts to obtain a son out of wedlock.

YOUTH

In all social classes the young man enjoys relative freedom and an absence of restrictive supervision. Early in adolescence he is encouraged to prove his virility by engaging in physical relations with women. The upper- and middle-class boy may spend much of his time outside the home, in clubs or bars with his friends, or in houses of prostitution. The lower-class youth finds his social activities curtailed, however, by the necessity of earning a living in the factory or in the fields.

The young girl, regardless of class, is kept closer to home, her activities restricted. Under her mother's supervision she learns traditional feminine activities and attitudes. She is subject as well to her father's discipline. But supervision is more prevalent in the upper than in the lower class where the custom of chaperonage is less common.

Upper-class children are permitted, when they near adulthood, to accept employment, but it is important that it be of a suitable

kind. Boys may enter business establishments, such as banks, that do not impair their class status. Girls are more limited in this respect, but they sometimes become private secretaries to members of the family or close family friends.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SEXES

According to the prevailing code of conduct a man feels compelled to vaunt his sexual prowess and virility. Homosexuality is scorned and ridiculed. Alongside this is a sometimes pathological concern on the part of men to protect the honor of their women kin. This is especially noticeable in the restrictive hold exercised by the father over his unmarried daughters and his wife.

From early youth a young man is given more freedom than his sister. He is encouraged at an early age to have sexual experiences with females. Male conversation stresses love affairs; often a house of prostitution may be the social center for a particular group of friends.

Lower-class parents and communities appear to be less restrictive about the behavior of girls. The lower class seems to neglect almost completely the more formal aspects of chaperonage, while the upper class observes the custom inflexibly.

The activities of a woman of the middle or upper class are severely circumscribed. In certain areas a woman dare not be seen in the company of a man without a chaperone. The social life of the woman, especially the adolescent girl, is therefore limited to her own home, to school, or to well-chaperoned encounters and parties. The only males in whose company a young woman may be seen are her male relatives, members of the clergy or venerable ancients. Even in daily trips to the markets, many women are accompanied by a female servant to forestall public comment. Were it ever discovered that an upper- or middle-class woman had indulged in an illicit sexual relation, she would be ostracized and denied the opportunity of a good marriage. Were she to become pregnant under such conditions she might be forced to leave her family and community.

The lower- or lower middle-class woman is under less rigid scrutiny than her upper-class counterpart. For example, in rural Saucó young people are not precluded from premarital relations. Should a girl find herself pregnant, the young man is morally obligated to marry her if she wishes him to do so. And if he should demur, the girl's parents and brothers would attempt to persuade him to reconsider. As the sociologist Fals Borda noted, "In one case, a young man was married from his hospital bed after just such a persuasive encounter with his future in-laws." No stigma is

placed on a woman for having borne a child before marriage. It is quite possible and commonplace for the girl to enjoy a normal existence, marry well and avoid censure.

As contrasted with well-publicized and well-chaperoned courtship in the upper class, courtship among members of the lower class is kept secret during the first stages. Yet once intentions are made known, the restraints dissolve to a large degree. An accepted practice is the *amancebamiento*, a premarital period of sexual adjustment. However, should this period last beyond a few months the families usually express disapproval, and the parties are urged to marry.

The lack of sexual education in the schools and the family is deplored by many social analysts on grounds that many young couples are unprepared for marriage both physically and spiritually. Yet there is little resort to birth control mechanisms or to abortions, and few cases of desertion after marriage occur.

Although not required by law for those who declare themselves non-Catholics, almost all marriages are sanctified by the Church (see ch. 11, Religion). Irrespective of class or region, Roman Catholic precepts constitute the most important single source of guidance in the conduct and inviolability of marriage. However, although the marriage contract is accepted as permanently binding, the responsibilities and roles of the respective partners are sharply differentiated. A wife is required to subordinate herself to her husband, and to regulate her conduct carefully to avoid any taint or even suspicion of infidelity. A husband, on the other hand, although he would go to some length to respect the sanctity of the home as seat of the marriage, is subject to little restraint in extramarital relations. Most married men have, either permanently or sporadically, relations with women outside the home. Upper-class men are more often able economically to maintain mistresses; economically less-favored men of the lower classes commonly resort to houses of prostitution.

CHAPTER 8

SOCIAL VALUES

The value system has its roots in medieval Spanish concepts which have been conditioned by the romantic, ultranationalistic liberalism of the wars of independence that gave high priority to liberty achieved through physical struggle and to the cult of the conqueror. Liberty, as conceived in Colombia, relates the individual to a group with a strict hierarchical structure in which each person has a role similar to that of his counterparts in other groups. A group is often coterminous with an extended family and its servants (see ch. 7, Family). Leadership is exercised by men conscious of their conquistador ancestry and secure in positions that cannot be challenged either from within or from outside the group. They constitute the ruling element of the society (see ch. 6, Social Structure). The fact that changes usually occur only as a result of violence has contributed to the development of values favoring aggressive behavior.

Most Colombians share the values of the elite, partly because of pressure from above and partly because of imitation from below. The pre-Colombian element in the mixed population, which has its background in a cooperative agricultural Indian culture, survives most strongly in the lowest, usually nonwhite classes, so that divergence from the dominant values of the elite becomes more marked in proportion to the lowness of the individual's position in the social scale.

The individual, who owes primary loyalty to his family, has secondary loyalties to other social units, such as the village, social class (in the case of the elite), political party or, in some cases, an occupational or professional group. A fixed pattern of personal relationship governs behavior toward superiors, equals and inferiors. Persons superior in status owe protection and concern to their inferiors and in turn are due obedience and support. Within a social unit, the superiors can largely dictate the patterns of behavior of one individual toward another; loyalty to superiors takes precedence over loyalty to equals. Individualism is expressed in a high degree of self-awareness and self-assertiveness. For ex-

ample, aggressiveness, especially on the part of men, is accepted behavior and justifies any physical act as long as the interests of the group are not unduly jeopardized.

Values which are designed to preserve the sociopolitical system take priority over moral values as taught by the Church, into which nearly everyone is baptized (see ch. 11, Religion). Neither life nor property is considered to be inviolate. Under the influence of rapid urbanization, which has tended to weaken the traditional system, norms of Western industrial civilization are adopted, but these may be rejected when the individual alone, or with his peers, superiors or clients, perceives opportunities which can be grasped only by recourse to aggressive methods. At such time, a composed, law-abiding upper-class member of Congress might shoot down in cold blood an opponent at the rostrum, or a normally docile peasant youth might perpetrate the most heinous barbarities on others.

Since the rigidly stratified social structure is conceived as a convenience maintained by the power of the privileged elite, every person has to be permanently on guard against challenges from below and alert to opportunities for advancement at higher levels. Security lies in the power to dominate; expansion and domination is conceived as growth, reduction as defeat. Should a person not possess sufficient power of his own, he is obliged to seek a strong protector.

The inflexible character of the traditional social ethic acts as a retarding factor in the development of national unity and common morality. Regional loyalties may give rise to common ideals which induce subordinate social units to cooperate toward their realization, as, for example, in the industrialization process in Antioquia. But national concepts toward which all could work and cooperate are only vaguely acknowledged. In the absence of such binding links the society breaks down into rival elements whenever a crisis in politics or economics arouses intense passions, as is demonstrated by the decade-long rural violence which has cost over 250,000 lives. The ineffectiveness of restrictions on methods which one group may use against another makes any permanent resolution of the conflicts very difficult.

THE INDIVIDUAL

Manliness (Machismo)

Society emphasizes the role of the man. In all classes, in city, town and village, the man has authority and responsibility in the family, business, government, politics. The man makes policy and carries it out, though in some contexts, such as the family, the woman may have, in practical effect, a great deal of power.

A man has to have strength and power to be displayed in all phases and situations of life. He has to prove himself physically superior in such situations as sports, driving a car, consumption of alcohol and sexual contacts. A man is proud to be a virile male (*macho*). To be considered *macho* by his equals, he tries to impress them with his experiences with women, and he seeks their recognition as an authority on the subject. In the villages women are the subject of male conversation in the *tienda* (food and beer store), which serves as a social center for the men. The urban upper-class and middle-class man likewise brags of his experiences, though perhaps less openly. Reputation as a ladies' man is reinforced in the village by sexual affairs with local girls or with girls from neighboring villages. In the city, visits to brothels are accepted as proof of virility. After marriage, having amorous affairs or maintaining mistresses is seen as normal. Homosexuality is little known, frowned upon and ridiculed.

The notion of manliness also affects relations between men. In this context, a premium is placed on one man's ascendancy over others, perhaps but not necessarily based on physical strength and prowess. Athletic activities, especially sports which emphasize individual skill rather than teamwork, and contact, are popular.

Manliness also requires an ability to drink much alcohol. The occasion of a teen-ager being permitted to drink socially marks the beginning of his young adulthood. Villagers often engage in drinking bouts to see who can drink the most.

Men of the upper and middle class expect their brides to be virgins and attach great importance to this. Unmarried girls of good family are carefully chaperoned. Among the lower class, where virginity is not deemed essential to marriage, young girls engage in premarital sexual intercourse mainly on special occasions such as feasts when supervision is lacking. Older unmarried women may engage in it with less restraint.

In the *criollo* upper class, manliness, combined with hispanic traditions, has led to an additional attitude, not shared by the other classes—pride in the beauty of their women. Upper-class men consider their women to be the prettiest in the hemisphere. In the frequent beauty contests, beauty is judged according to Spanish aesthetic standards, although occasionally women with non-Spanish features—blond hair, for instance—are successful in these competitions. White skin is an important criteria, and colored Colombians cannot expect to win. The winners are designated as "queens" of a region, industry or product; they are given prominence in the press which usually cites their family backgrounds so that their families may share in their triumph.

This phenomenon is a modern variation, partly no doubt an imitation of the United States, on an old but still revered tradition of respect of women, corresponding to the forms and titles which show deference to age.

Individualism

Individuals are taught, from childhood on, to look out for their own interests. Self-interest becomes the principal guide for a person's actions. It makes everyone quick to sense slights to personal honor or dignity and prone to react swiftly to any infringement by another. Men of the lower class are quick to reply with fists or knife if they feel insulted. Upper-class persons use physical violence less frequently, but prove no less unforgiving. Personal feuds and hostilities are kept alive for a long time by the principals as well as by their relatives and supporters.

Every individual tends to be suspicious of the motives of others. It is assumed that an individual never acts without some personal motive of gain of a material or nonmaterial nature. Everyone must, therefore, be alert to the possibility that his interests will be hurt by another's acts. This suspicion is strong even among associates. It is strongest towards outsiders. The peasant, for instance, automatically assumes that outsiders of higher social standing, such as middlemen in market transactions, census takers, salesmen, landowners and professional people, seek to exploit and to deceive. To avoid being taken in, individuals of all classes readily resort to deception and lying. In addition, persons of lower standing often lie because they seek to avoid giving offense to a person of higher standing. They will say what they believe their listener wants to hear rather than what they think are the facts.

Suspicion of, and hostility toward, others often becomes an overriding preoccupation of the individual. A characteristic story is that of the peasant who, when visited by the village priest who came to bless his fields, asked him to go instead and curse the fields of his neighbor. Writing of his kinsmen, one Colombian writer said that our race "cannot stand, either in the individual or the collectivity, the success of our neighbor."

Conservation

Intense conservatism affects both the form and content of conduct, but even where content has changed or is changing, forms are adhered to for tradition's sake. In politics, Colombians nearly always maintain their affiliation with the party of their parents (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). In religion, they retain their formal link to the church of their birth even when their personal beliefs

cease to reflect its creed. They see society as largely static and, with few exceptions, expect it to remain in the future very much as it has been in the past. The exceptions are found in the middle class, parts of which have succeeded in improving their social and economic standing by their own efforts.

Most Colombians deny the possibility of society's peaceful evolution; they view proposed change—unless it be superficial—as undesirable and dangerous and as likely to undermine the stability and viability of the society. At the same time, conservatism has helped to create situations in which some individuals or groups are prepared to take the revolutionary action which seems necessary to achieve aims pursuant to their interests.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

Colombians do not unite for something; they unite against—against another group, another leader, another ethic. A political creed, a group program or an implicitly stated group aspiration is formulated to serve the tactical needs of the group's struggle. Groups readily change their programs, and, especially in politics, dramatic shifts of position, always in response to the needs of the moment and the actions of other groups, are commonplace. The only constant is the aversion to other groups. This in itself may be the most important force holding the group together.

The reconciliation of competing groups is very difficult. Salvador de Madariaga writes of the tendency in Latin America to "widen gaps instead of bridging them over, and to turn a split into a ditch, a ditch into a gulf." Group ethics based on hostility and competition do not lend themselves to peaceful adjustments. The group suggesting a compromise becomes suspect as to its motives. Negotiations for a compromise become hampered by tactical jockeying for advantages. Compromises, if achieved, create not a unity of groups but, at best, a tactical alliance against others—an alliance likely to break up as soon as the need for the alliance is reduced.

Personalismo

The leader of the group is its chief spokesman. It is he who, often without consulting even his closest associates, charts the policies and determines the standards of his group. At the village level, the leader may be a *cacique* (political boss, usually an Indian or a mestizo who has attained leadership of one or more localities). At the departmental or national level, the leader is virtually always a *criollo*. Followers judge their leader by the power he wields. A powerful leader is expected to outmaneuver competing groups. He

can use his power to build up his own following and rewards his supporters at the expense of his opponents' followers.

The person of the leader is especially significant. His functions are much broader than those of a leader in a group of equals. At the pinnacle of a group which barely manages to keep the personal competitiveness of its members under control, he must overshadow his followers. His strength of character and vigor of personality must overcome the centrifugal forces within his group. He must counter the threats to his leadership which stem from the ambitions of intermediate leaders who may seek to detach some of his followers from him in order themselves to rise to leadership. The leader can count on the support of the intermediate leaders only when they, in a given intergroup clash, identify their interests completely with his own views. The followers rely on the strength of numbers; as members of a group, they can express their will which, as individuals, they would have difficulty in imposing.

In each group, power and influence are always concentrated at the top. Colombians admire the leader who frankly monopolizes decision-making; autocratic leadership inspires awe and respect. Channels of authority within the group are rigidly established. The rank and file have no share in formulating policy. At the same time, the successful leader must be able to make his followers feel that they too could become involved in making policy if they wanted to. The successful leader must be able to gauge the temper of his supporters and must take their aspirations into account. Otherwise, some of his disgruntled followers will fall away; led by one of his lieutenants, they will either form their own group or join a competing one.

This interplay between *casaño* (leader) and followers often produces the atmosphere surrounding the leader, which is the basis of *personalismo*. His less sophisticated followers come to believe that he has great, even vast, capabilities which serve as an essential basis for his rise above his immediate surroundings to a position of national importance. In Colombia, as elsewhere in Latin America, the promise to unite all groups, classes, factions, parties and regions has enormous attraction and can serve as the program of a rising dictator.

Related to *personalismo* in leadership is the concept of *fuero* (jurisdictional privilege). Historically, in Hispanic tradition, such institutions as the Church, the army and certain other corporate groups had the right to try their members and to apply their own laws to the exclusion of other laws. In the Colombian tradition, only the Church and the army had this privilege, and now only the Church retains it to any extent. Although in the formal sense

the institution of the *fuero* has nearly completely disappeared, the attitude that justified it has survived; that is, no one general law applies to all individuals, but every individual is regulated by such law as is accepted by the group to which he belongs.

This concept appeals to the individualism of the Colombian. A successful leader should be able to gain for his adherents certain legal immunities which, though unwritten (because contrary to the present legal system), will give his adherents advantages over others. This is one of the rewards which a follower expects of his chief. It is also one of the fruits of success which every leader seeks to pluck. A politician expects to demonstrate his ability to shield his supporters from the rigorous application of the laws and, conversely, expects to manipulate the processes of justice in such a manner as to make his opponents feel the full weight of the legal system. Similarly, a person high in the government service seeks to gain for his subordinates certain prerogatives which place them in a class apart from those in other ministries, agencies or services.

Respect for Authority

The man in authority, and to a lesser degree a woman who represents him, expects and is accorded obedience and respect. Parents expect them of their children. Children of all classes are taught to respect their elders, parents, persons of higher social status and the clergy. The father especially is respected if not feared. Among all classes, respect for authority is carried over into adulthood.

Children are taught not to use the familiar form, *tú*, with their parents and elders. Even adults frequently address their seniors in age or status with such respectful terms as *su merced* (your grace) or *patroncito* (little boss). Juniors in status are expected to reflect their respect for seniors in their tone of voice, their facial expression and their demeanor. In particular, peasants show external marks of respect when addressing superiors whom they recognize or outsiders to their village whom they have reason to believe are superior to them in status. They stand before such a person hat in hand and choose their words carefully.

WORK AND LEISURE

In the view of some Colombians, willingness to work hard is a desirable trait. This attitude is a survival of the traditions of the colonial period, in which a continent was subdued through courage, daring and exertion, and reflects the difficult physical setting in which a large part of the population still lives. At the same time,

class affiliations color these views and create significant variations in the basic attitude toward work, toward what work is to be done by whom and toward leisure.

The peasant emphasizes the virtues of farm work. Peasant parents early transmit to their children an agricultural tradition, teaching them the skills of farming and stressing the importance of the tasks associated with the agricultural processes. Peasant life is austere; peasants expect little leisure. Such leisure as exists is connected mainly with religious days of rest and religious feasts. At these times, the peasants relieve their tensions in a frenzy of merrymaking.

The urban lower class is often underemployed and unemployed. Little is known of urban lower-class attitudes, but they probably parallel peasant attitudes. A shortage of jobs in the cities may tend to make work attractive, and enforced idleness debases leisure for many persons. Moreover, their poverty often excludes them for such valued activities as attendance at bull-fights and sports events.

For the peasant and for the urban lower-class person, the range of employment available is limited. Geography and social tradition restrict them to agricultural work on the one hand or to menial jobs on the other. The urban middle class enjoys much greater choice in occupations, for, as the economy expands, the occupational choices available to them increase.

The middle-class person usually has considerable ambition to improve himself by hard work and to acquire the education that will enable him to qualify for a better job. He works hard to attain the social benefits linked to a better job and also to maintain or even improve his standard of living in the face of rising prices. But he rejects manual labor as unsuited to his social status. He increasingly patterns his leisure activities on those of the upper class. In his leisure activities, he—much more often than his social inferiors—is a spectator rather than a participant. He can afford to go to public spectacles, whereas members of the lower class must entertain themselves or find consolation in intoxicants or narcotics.

The occupational range of the upper class is comparatively narrow. It is restricted to administrative and managerial functions in government, commerce and industry and to the learned professions. Upper-class Colombians enjoy being involved in many things and participate readily, even without remuneration, in civic groups or in government-sponsored public committees or commissions. The range of these individual activities is such that the dividing line between the private and the public activities of an individual is often blurred.

The upper-class "complete man" may run a business, support and help direct a favorite religious or secular charity, service in some elective office, publish books or articles of a polemical, cultural or scientific nature, patronize the arts, foster some communal project and delight in being a pillar of high society of his community, throwing lavish parties or hosting gatherings scintillating with intellectual conversation. He may use his business office to transact the business of other affiliations or may use his home, his estate in the country or his club to transact important public or private business.

For the upper class, there is no clear division between work and personal activities. Both serve to assert one's status. The upper-class man may go to a concert or to a theater presentation or even to the bull-fights in part for the enjoyment, in part because he wishes to support the project and in part because it is important for him to see others and be seen there. Whether at work, at public activities, or at leisure activities, he always senses himself in competition with his equals. He must outdo them in degree and kind and thus attain eminence over them.

Upper-class privilege makes for great emphasis on leisure, which is, in the Hispanic tradition, often given over largely to hospitality and polite social discourse, two hallmarks of cultivation. Within the upper-class value system, Antioquians have a special place. They are deemed to excel all others in commerce and are particularly esteemed for this talent. At the same time, their success has come to be explained by the supposition that they are not as purely *criollo* as the rest of the upper class.

All classes have a keen sense of the work division between men and women. In peasant communities, the man does the outdoor work. Women may be assigned certain farming tasks, but their main task is to manage the home. In the cities, lower-class women often become domestics. Prostitutes are also recruited from the lower class. Middle-class women increasingly work in commercial or white-collar occupations in which they do not supervise men, except those doing obviously menial tasks. Upper-class women, as a rule, do not work for money, although in addition to responsibilities within the home, they may be lavish in giving time and energy to public or charitable projects. However, some younger women of the upper class now are active in the professions. Moreover, since women achieved political equality with men following the 1957 plebescite, some women serve in Congress and in departmental and municipal bodies (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). Their presence there is still a novelty, but there appears to be little prejudice against their serving in formal positions of leadership.

CHAPTER 9

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

The contrast and contradiction that characterize virtually every facet of Colombian life are inevitably reflected in the country's artistic and intellectual expression. Its diverse manifestations are conditioned by the ethnic conglomerate of Spanish, Indian and negro, by yawning gaps between the social and economic levels of the people and even by marked geographical differences.

A fascination with ideas and a love of polemics prevail among the influential upper class and growing middle class, which have given the country its reputation as a nation of humanists. These people are erudite, imbued with classical ideals, often educated abroad and widely traveled. Appreciation of, and participation in, the fine arts are confined to this cosmopolitan, highly articulate minority with its many poets and philosophers. Most statesmen have won recognition for their literary prowess, and scholarship is closely identified with politics.

At the other end of the scale, nearly half the population is illiterate, and many people live in tribal isolation. Their chief forms of cultural expression are remnants of folk art based on tradition, superstition and life in their workaday world.

The literate Colombian takes special pride in preserving the purity of the Spanish language. Colombian philologists, led by the philologist Rufino José Cuervo and the grammarian Miguel Antonio Caro, distinguished themselves particularly at the end of the nineteenth century. The modern Caro y Cuervo Institute perpetuates their scientific study of the Spanish language and is also dedicated to Colombian history and literature. The Colombian Academy of Letters, like the Spanish Royal Academy, is respected throughout the Spanish-speaking world.

Apparently many Colombians agree with the opinion of the educator Augustín Nieto Caballero that the country needs fewer golden-tongued orators and more silent workers. The romanticism of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth has given way to a new realism, emphasizing social consciousness and a modernized nationalism. The writer and historian Germán Arciniegas,

for instance, who has published widely both inside and outside his country, is chiefly absorbed with the popular culture—the Hispanic folk heritage and native Indian and African contributions.

As the country industrializes, there is a turning away from the humanities and a growing interest in science. The younger generation seems less aware of its Spanish traditions and more closely oriented to Anglo-Saxon culture. In line with this trend, the University of the Andes (founded 1949) has encouraged students to take specialized training in United States universities during their last two years of study.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Colombian artistic expression falls into three distinct periods—pre-Hispanic, colonial and republican. The break between the first two periods was abrupt, whereas the cultural transition from the colonial period to independence was gradual.

When the Spaniards arrived, they destroyed whatever artistic expression they found among the Indians and imported their own from Spain. Their disdain for primitive art is apparent in colonial paintings and religious sculpture, although certain indigenous influences appeared; for example, some churches of European design were decorated with native motifs by Indian artisans. On the whole, artistic output was low and often consisted of a mediocre adaptation of Iberian art.

With the independence movement, Colombians turned their backs on Spain in a reaction against the Crown. But in their hostility toward Spain, they borrowed heavily from France and other countries. Not until the turn of the last century did Colombians begin to rediscover and reappraise the indigenous element in their customs and cultural inheritance. Timorous appreciation of Indian monuments and colonial paintings turned subsequently to admiration and eventually to pride. Contemporary Colombians boast of the prehistoric megaliths of San Agustín, claim as their own the Spanish colonial Chapel of the Rosary in Tunja and take equal pride in the modern Bank of Bogotá. Contemporary artists are working experimentally to fuse the three historical influences to produce a new and authentically Colombian form.

The legend of El Dorado, the chieftain of a region of great wealth who was covered with gold dust when making sacrifices to the gods, lies at the core of much of Colombia's cultural inheritance. Tales of The Gilded One led gold-hungry Spaniards to explore the country early in the sixteenth century, and far from South American shores, inspired writers like Milton and Voltaire. The country's rich archaeological heritage now attests that prequest goldwork

was no mere myth. Thousands of handwrought gold masterpieces, consisting of body ornaments, ceremonial vases and human and animal figures, have been collected throughout the national territory, fashioned by indigenous peoples, of whom the Quimbayas and the Muisca (Chibchas) were the most advanced. The objects represent sophisticated techniques, stylistically similar to, and presumably contemporary with, the Chavin Period in the Peruvian Andes about A.D. 300. As yet, however, the exact time or place of origin of goldworking has not been established for Colombia or even for South America as a whole. It is only known that gold was the first metal to be worked.

Apart from the indigenous goldwork, which constitutes perhaps the most original contribution to Colombian culture, the Spanish heritage focuses on language and letters. Colombian literary traditions are rooted in the Conquest. Unlike most Spanish conquistadors, the conqueror and colonizer of New Granada, Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, was a scholar as well as an adventurer, whose descriptive writings and historical works were the first major contribution to national literature. Colombian independence leaders—Simón Bolívar, Camilo Torres, Antonio Nariño, Francisco de Paula Santander—were also gifted literary figures and ardent students of the *Encyclopedie*, the French Revolution and the United States independence movement. Since the birth of the Republic, literature has flowered in lyric poetry, *costumbrista* prose (portrayal of everyday life and customs), the essay and criticism.

The country's major contributions to Spanish literature lie in the field of poetry and the novel. Colombian interest in poetry dates back to the Spanish soldier and priest Juan de Castellanos who detailed the history-making adventures of the Conquest in thousands of stanzas. At the turn of the last century Colombian writers drew on the best of many cultures to produce a new, Spanish American expression in literature. Aware that it was a departure from traditional imitation, they labeled it modernism. Colombia's two outstanding poets—José Asunción Silva and Guillermo-León Valencia—belonged to this movement.

Colombia is at least partly responsible for the fact that the novel is considered Spanish America's most significant contribution to world literature. It is valued not only for its intrinsic merit but for its documentary importance. The country is responsible for several top-ranking novels that are unsurpassed for their originality and style; for example, the nineteenth-century romance, *María*, reputedly the most widely read of any Latin American novel, and the realistic *La Vorágine* (The Vortex), a powerful novel of the land.

Throughout Colombia the Roman Catholic Church has played a major role in shaping modern life and thought. With the colonizers came Dominican, Augustinian, Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries, distinguished for their learning, who founded the first schools and universities in their convents. By 1500, only 23 years after the founding of Santa Fé de Bogotá, the Dominican Seminary at Popayán was teaching theology, the arts and the humanities. The centers of learning in the capital were the colleges of Santo Tomás and El Rosario, founded by the Dominican fathers. In 1605 the Jesuit school of San Bartolomé was established, followed in 1622 by the Jesuit Javeriana University. Most of these schools survive today.

For nearly two centuries, while a jealous Spain forbade the colony to import books, the missionaries carried the torch of learning and, in 1737, introduced the first printing press. The scientific institute known as the Botanical Expedition was founded in 1788 by Archbishop Antonio Caballero y Góngora soon after he became Viceroy of New Granada and was headed by the Spanish scientist José Celestino Mutis. Authorized by the Spanish Crown, its purpose was to study the plants of northern South America, to record astronomical, physical and geographical observations, and to draw maps of newly explored regions.

In a more subtle manner religion has molded popular culture. Ever since colonial days, for example, people from Ecuador, Venezuela, and neighboring provinces in Colombia have made pilgrimages to the shrine of Chiquinquirá to view the image of the Virgin. The town marketplace has become a bazaar for eastern Colombia, and a pottery industry has sprung up in nearby Raquirá to supply souvenirs for people on pilgrimage. The bazaar offers small pottery horses with riders that are caricatures of the Indian potters' landlords and overseers on the haciendas, figurines of *tagua* (the ivory nut), horsehair baskets, painted calabashes for *chicha* (an intoxicating drink) and woven wool ponchos. Also in the marketplace of Chiquinquirá, the *guabina* (dance of the clay figurines) was born. It is danced by farm couples throughout the country, always accompanied by the *triple*, a uniquely Colombian adaptation of the guitar.

Quite different is the sensual *cumbia* folk dance of the Caribbean area, which originated on the coast and is clearly an African throw-back. The dancers gyrate wildly carrying a bundle of burning candles as a torch.

Most Colombian fiestas are religious events—such as Holy Week in Popayán or Carnival in Barranquilla. But often the mixture of pagan with Christian elements obscures the exact origin.

LITERATURE

Colombia has 200 poets for every 100 inhabitants, according to a local jest. The poets are often also prose writers, philosophers, historians and sometimes politicians. The humanist Baldomero Sanín Cano is an example of the combination of scholarly and literary pursuits. Sanín Cano, who died in 1952, was considered the ideal of Latin American writers of fiction. Yet, he was also a journalist, essayist, interpreter of sociology and history, literary and art critic, and student of mathematics and philosophy.

It is difficult to separate Colombian writing that has endured purely because of its literary quality from the literature of ideas which has been so influential in shaping the national life. Certain literary trends are, however, apparent in the nation's intellectual output, and Colombia has made noteworthy contributions to Spanish American letters as a whole—chiefly in poetry, the novel, and the essay.

Colombians generally hold that their national literature was founded by Jiménez de Quesada when he explored and settled New Granada. A lawyer and avid reader as well as a conquistador, he was one of the group of Spanish soldiers and priests who introduced the chronicle into the New World.

One of the foremost Colombian chroniclers, Juan Rodríguez Fraile, fought the Indians for years before settling down as a farmer near Bogotá. In his old age he wrote a picaresque account of the conquest and settlement of New Granada entitled *El Carnero* (The Butcher) or *Conquista y Descubrimiento del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Conquest and Discovery of The New Kingdom of Granada). His firsthand account of events in the colony reveals gossip details about the private lives of the people. True to picaresque tradition, *El Carnero* is replete with moralizing. More objective was his description of the ceremony of the Chibchas that gave rise to the legend of El Dorado. His source, he said, was the nephew of the chief of Guatavita who was in power when the conquerors arrived.

Another enduring literary genre born on the conquest was the heroic epic about the deeds of conqueror and conquered. Juan de Castellanos' vigorous and monumental work (published in 1589), *Elegías de Varones Ilustres de Indias* (Elegies of Illustrious Men of the Indies), dealing with the battles against the Araucanian Indians in Chile, is considered the most important epic prose in Spanish American literature.

During the seventeenth-century baroque period in Spanish America, as if in reaction to the rigors of the conquest, exaggerated manners and florid writing became the order of the day. The centers of colonial culture during that period were the two Viceregal cap-

tals of Mexico and Lima. But in New Granada, as elsewhere in the colonies, Gongorism flourished. This literary mode developed at the close of the Golden Age in Spain and was characterized by an elaborate, artificial style in the manner of the brilliant Spaniard Luis de Góngora y Argota—the “Prince of Darkness,” as he was known for his abstruse phrasing.

The eighteenth century continued the sterile hiatus in literature, reflecting the decadence of life and letters in Spain. Since the *criollo* and the Indian were second-class citizens of colonial society, authentic Spanish American influence was missing. The clergy, the army, and the rich landowners formed the elite. As before, Spain was the model for this aristocracy. Lifeless religious poetry was composed, and the prose represented an attempt to flee from reality.

Then in 1794 Antonio Nariño translated *The Rights of Man*, and the independence movement got under way. Rousseau's influence on the freedom fighters was everywhere evident, molding their thought and their literary expression. The writings of the Liberator Simón Bolívar, one critic has pointed out, read like a translation of Rousseau, for Bolívar “was reared according to (Rousseau's) precepts, and became a most genuine representative of the romantic school in love, language, and in the quest of liberty.”

During this period *tertulias* (literary salons where the patriots discussed forbidden books smuggled into the colony) sprang up on all sides. In literature, despite the struggle of the classicist to prevent it, a romantic upheaval followed. Just as independence severed political ties with Spain, so romanticism freed literature from peninsular models.

The Colombian novel *María* (1867), an idyll by Jorge Isaacs, is conceded to be the masterpiece of the romantic school. Set in the beautiful Cauca Valley where the author was born, it deals with the love of Ephraim for his orphaned and epileptic cousin María, which is cut short by her death. While the novel has been criticized for its exaggerated sentimentality, it nevertheless faithfully describes the lush landscape as well as such local color as the servants' wedding and the country dance. Isaacs had many imitators, but none could match his sensitive treatment of the romantic theme of love and death.

Scores of romantic poets flourished during the nineteenth century, turning out intense works dealing with love, patriotism, nature and religion. Among the major literary figures was the religious poet José Eusebio Caro, who has been called the “Puritan of South American literature.” Unique in his emphasis on character, he expressed his spiritual exaltation in varied meter. The Spanish critic Menéndez y Pelayo remarked that Caro felt things so deeply that

his soul "was a volcano which in a short time was bound to consume him."

By contrast, Julio Arboleda was one of the Colombian poets who spent time in prison and in exile for his political writing in the cause of the Liberals. In his ambitious, unfinished modern epic, *Gonzalo de Oyón*, dealing with a legend of the period of the Conquest, he describes the beauty of the Cauca Valley landscape and his home town—"that Eden green and smiling, the illustrious Popayán."

Rafael Pombo represented the philosophic tendency in romanticism, while Diego Fallon, especially in his celebrated poem "A La Luna" (To the Moon), represented the more lyrical phase of romanticism.

Some of the best descriptive poetry appeared in "Sobre el Cultivo del Maiz en Antioquia" (On the Cultivation of Corn in Antioquia), by Gregorio Gutiérrez González, a lyrical portrayal of the labor involved in planting corn. Another of his works deals with the spectacular Requendama Falls near Bogotá, four times as high as Niagara, which has inspired many a Colombian poet.

The romantic period released new forces in literature. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Colombian poets were influenced by French poetry. Searching for new themes and methods, they also learned from Walt Whitman, from Poe, and from the Spanish past. Out of this cosmopolitan study the poets produced a poetry new in both form and subject matter called modernism, which some consider Spanish America's first original contribution to world literature. All contemporary Spanish poetry is indebted to it. A tormented Colombian, José Asunción Silva (1865-96), was a forerunner who exerted wide influence on later modernist poets. While other Bogotá poets were writing conventional 11-syllable-line sonnets, Silva was using free verse.

Silva turned away from the old writers of Spain and toward the decadent moderns—Poe, D'Annunzio, Baudelaire. His entire life consisted of a series of frustrations; at age 31 he ended it with a bullet, but not before his melancholy verses had given Colombian poetry a new lyric quality. Silva's love poem "Nocturno III" (Third Nocturne) is one of the most famous in the Spanish language.

A full-fledged modernist was the aristocratic poet Guillermo-León Valencia, known proudly as "El Maestro" in his native Popayán. A disciple of Silva's, Valencia, too, felt that the poet must escape from the world. He was a highly cultured man who worshipped beauty, and his stanzas are filled with imagery. With him, perfection of form became a cult. Avidly he studied foreign poets; his

Rites (1898) contained translations of Italian, Portuguese, and French poetry, and his translations of Chinese poetry appeared in the volume *Catay* in 1928.

Following such escapists as Silva and Valencia came other modernists who turned their attention to local history, landscape and people. The emerging middle-class *criollo* and *mestizo* writers searched for subject matter among the lower class. The novelist Tomás Carrasquilla, who wrote an authentic picture of the common people in the province of Antioquia, was one of the more talented of the realistic writers. Both wit and skill went into *Simón Magus*, written to entertain some literary friends. One of them, unknown to Carrasquilla, had it published, thus launching him on a career as an outstanding regional novelist. In his masterpiece, *La Marquesa de Yolombó* (The Marchioness of Yolombo), as in his first book, he deals with the mountain folk of Antioquia—a region noted for its hardheaded businessmen and practical approach to life.

In 1957 the Caro y Cuervo Institute in Bogotá published a volume on the evolution of the novel in Colombia which included a bibliography listing 747 titles, of which 262 were published in the previous 27 years. One critic, in emphasizing that Colombia is a nation of many novels but few novelists, attributes it partly to the lack of professional writers in the country. He points out that those who do not write for a living have no time for the mature reflection and long hours of work required by this literary form.

In addition to *María*, a second Colombian novel, *La Vorágine*, has won wide acclaim beyond the country's borders. Published in 1924, it is one of the so-called "novels of the selva" that have appeared throughout twentieth-century Latin America. The author, José Eustacio Rivera, was a poet, lawyer and civic figure who acquired firsthand knowledge of the jungle as a member of the commission sent to trace the Venezuelan-Colombian boundary. He lived for a while among the river Indians, got lost in the selva and suffered the torments of insects and fever. *La Vorágine* reveals the exploitation of the rubber workers, driven by desperation to attempt escape or commit suicide by drinking the thick latex from the rubber trees. His vivid descriptions, in this brutal but powerful tale, of the degradation of human beings dominated by the rain forest bring the jungle to life in his pages.

During World War I, the modernist movement tapered off. Writers, and particularly poets, became more individualistic. The postwar poet Luis Carlos López, for example, turned to such "unpoetic" themes as a postcard or a barber and wrote verses that displayed a keen sense of humor. Every post-modernist poet became the founder of his own school. One such poet, Germán Pardo Gar-

cía, who has been living in Mexico for the past 30 years and has published most of his works there, writes of anguish, of mystery, of the night, but above all of solitude and death. His work has been assessed as among the best in Spanish America.

In the 1930's a group of poets, known as "Piedra y Cielo" (Stone and Heaven), who believed that poetry is an art purely for the initiated reader, arose in Bogotá and attempted to recapture the "eternal values" of poetry. The founder of the group, Eduardo Carranza, believed that poetry represents the spirit of the men of Spanish America. Among the followers were the vanguard Americanists—followers of the Chilean Pablo Neruda—and the Hispanists—who revived Spanish poets ranging from Góngora to the contemporary Juan Ramón Jiménez.

PAINTING

During colonial days, works of art were usually imported from Spain. Eventually the *criollos* who learned to draw and handle color examined the countryside around them or turned to the lucrative business of portrait painting. But this work was banal and unoriginal. The Spaniards on New World soil were so intent on proselytizing or exploiting that the painters seemed little more than artisans at the service of the Church or the authorities.

Two noteworthy colonial painters were the seventeenth-century Antonio Acero de la Cruz, a religious painter probably born in Bogotá, and Gregorio Vásquez Arce y Cevallos (1638-1711), known for his portraits and religious paintings. Both followed Spanish artists in technique and subject matter. Two men commissioned in 1835 to sell some Vásquez pictures in Europe reported that they were unable to find buyers because the paintings could not compete with their European counterparts. A Vásquez admirer, on the other hand, marvels that he could paint so well with neither resources nor models and claims that his genius surpassed that of his Italian contemporaries. In any case, his work is still recognized as outstanding.

Painting declined during the eighteenth century and the early republican period. However, as a painter for the Botanical Expedition, Javier Matiz (1774-1857) contributed to both science and art. Among the *costumbristas* portraying the national scene was Ramon Torres Méndez. The country people—their costumes, occupations, and diversions—were his subjects in a series of drawings and water colors.

Toward the end of the century, Colombian painters took up French realism and impressionism. One of these, Andrés de Santamaría, boldly disregarded the conventions prevailing in his country.

But Colombians consider him "the least Colombian of our artists" because of his long residence in France. His work, while throwing pictorial caution to the winds, lacked unity and style.

Other forerunners of the new generation were the landscape painter Pedro Nel Gómez; the indigenist painter and sculptor Luis Alberto Acuña; and the portraitist Ignacio Gómez Jaramillo. They opposed servile, commercial expression, but they were scarcely revolutionaries.

Contemporary Colombian art revolves around a small progressive group which has gained renown in Europe and the United States. Four painters—Alejandro Obregón, Ramírez Villamizar, Enrique Grau, and Fernando Botero—and the sculptor Edgar Negret are credited with being the first to break away from the old subservience that for so long stymied creative imagination. Their fresh, imaginative, colorful work is solidly grounded in a knowledge of the fundamental principles of art.

The figurative painter Alejandro Obregón spearheaded the modern art movement in Colombia. His carefully conceived but apparently spontaneous compositions are aflame with color—brilliant violets, blues, greens, reds. Both flora and fauna abound in his canvasses; he is famous for his cocks, doves, eagles and fish. Obregón is a mature painter who uses an original approach in manipulating color and objects.

The expressionist Ramírez Villamizar was the first to introduce abstract art in Colombia as a new, original form of painting. In his early period Ramírez Villamizar was clearly influenced by Rouault. Lacerated Christs and spectral moons appeared against his dense and chaotic backgrounds of violent color. Later he turned to stylized acrobats, bulls and horses. Since 1950 clean planes and textural variety have marked his work.

Enrique Grau has changed from a well-defined style based on the human figure theme to work with triangular and quadrilateral forms. Fernando Botero began his artistic career as a child prodigy. Unspoiled by this early success, he steadfastly remains independent, despite a storm of controversy over his paintings.

The revolutionary compositions of the avant-garde sculptor Edgar Negret are referred to as "magic apparatus" or "magic machines." He works in metal, stone and plaster. "The Magic Machines do not represent machines," he says, "but the feeling they inspire in me as symbols of our era, which I try to express as a human being and an artist through plastic elements and modern materials." Apart from Negret, Colombian sculpture is generally mediocre.

Besides winning the respect of international art circles, the modern painters are decisively affecting the future of Colombian art. Already their influence is apparent in the rising generation of

painters. One of the more mature of these even younger artists is 32-year-old David Manzur, who has had a one-man show in the United States. Manzur started as a stage designer and actor, playing the male lead in the first full-length feature film to be produced in Colombia. Now professor of drawing, color and fresco at the University of the Andes in the capital, he works mostly in tempera and oils. A mural he executed for the Arlequin Theater in the capital is considered one of his best compositions.

Two Colombian artists from the hinterland have made unusual contributions to contemporary art. Francisco Tumiñá, a self-taught Indian artist from the community of Guambia, near Popayán, has turned out a delightful series of pencil sketches depicting the landscape and legends of his people. Alfonso Ramírez Fajardo, a schoolteacher from the mountains, caused a stir in the capital for a while with his meticulously executed primitive water colors. Deciding that his country needed schoolteachers more than painters, he vanished into the mountains once again.

The artist in Colombia does not enjoy the prestige of the writer. In general, the attitude of the public toward art has tended to stifle creative talent. People lack information about modern art and are easily swayed by a group of older painters who scorn the younger artists as expatriates. Foreign painters working in Colombia—such as the German Guillermo Wiedemann whose portrayal of the negro is outstanding—are often in a better position to depict the country than are Colombian artists.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Most of Colombia's prehistoric past is still wrapped in mystery, though local and foreign scientists have lifted the veil here and there. Scattered, localized prehistory makes it extremely difficult for scientists to establish the chronology of past civilizations. The only place this has been done is on the Caribbean coast near Cartagena. There a team of archaeologists has been at work under Austrian-born Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff and his Colombian wife Alicia—perhaps the leading authorities on Colombian archaeology. They have established the date of 1509 B.C. for the oldest level of the so-called "Barlovento culture." This is the earliest date recorded in Colombia.

Indigenous Goldwork

Scientific researchers have been unable to classify the country's indigenous gold collection according to cultural or chronological periods. It is as yet possible only to relate the objects stylistically with large ethnic groups that occupied definite geographical areas

at the time of the Conquest—such as the Muisca (Chibcha) of the savannas of Cundinamarca and Poyacá, or the Quimbayas of the zone of Quindío.

The first scientific studies of indigenous goldwork were made only a century ago by the Colombian philologist Ezequiel Uricoechea. His *Memorias sobre las Antigüedades Neogranadinas* (Reminiscences of New Grenadine Antiquities), published in Berlin, contained the first descriptions, as well as drawings and chemical analysis, of Chibcha objects.

Nearly 30 years later a number of pieces were found in the Department of Antioquia. One, in the form of a raft bearing a chief and seven retainers, appeared to depict the investiture ceremony that gave rise to the legend of El Dorado. Liborio Zerda wrote a series of articles describing and illustrating the objects, published in book form in 1883 under the cumbersome title *El Dorado: Estudio Histórico, Etnográfico y Arqueológico de los Chibchas, Habitantes de la Antigua Cundinamarca, y de Algunas Otras Tribus* (El Dorado: Historic, Ethnic, and Archaeological Study of the Chibchas, Inhabitants of Ancient Cundinamarca, and of Some Other Tribes).

In 1892 the government commissioned Vicente Restrepo and his son, Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, to prepare Colombia's archaeological contributions to the Madrid and Chicago International Expositions. They assembled, classified and photographed hundreds of gold objects from all over the country for the Madrid Exposition catalogue. Each also published basic works on Colombian archaeology. It was about this time that individuals began building collections by buying from the *buaceros*—diggers who made a business of robbing prehistoric tombs.

In 1936 the Colombian Government restricted the export of archaeological material and organized official archaeological services under the National Ministry of Education. Three years later the Bank of the Republic decided to buy up indigenous goldwork—not as a form of capital investment but to establish a Gold Museum (Museo del Oro) for the enlightenment and enjoyment of the Colombian people.

During the next 15 years the bank acquired 6,276 pieces—over four times the total number in collections throughout the world. Today the Gold Museum is housed in modern quarters in the bank in Bogotá. The bank's cultural center also includes a library of incunabula and rare fifteenth- and eighteenth-century editions, plus contemporary works on philosophy, history, science and technical subjects.

The largest and most significant part of the bank's gold collection, from the standpoint of art and archaeology, came from burial grounds uncovered since 1939 in the upper valley of the Calima

River in the Department of Valle del Cauca. These pieces of the so-called "Calima Style" include complete sets of body adornments from a single burial and are related stylistically with the famous stone statues of San Agustín on the upper Magdalena River. They are therefore considered older than either the Chibcha or Quimbaya pieces.

The Calima pieces also reveal stylistic similarities to the coastal cultures of Peru and perhaps those of Central America. Since the Calima goldwork is highly developed as a craft and is apparently contemporary with the beginnings of Chavín in Peru about A.D. 300, archaeologists believe that the earlier, primitive stages of prehistoric goldwork antedated the Christian era by several centuries. However, no Colombian objects have yet been found that use the primitive method of simple hammering alone; all reveal more advanced techniques.

The indigenous peoples melted gold in stone or baked clay crucibles, using wooden or clay blowpipes to fan the flames. The gold was poured into single open molds or closed two-piece molds. The more complex *cire-perdue*, or "lost wax" method, was also used.

The lost wax method consisted of modeling a "core" of clay and powdered charcoal with a bone or wood instrument, coating the core with wax, then adding an outer "shell" of the clay and charcoal mixture pierced by entrance and outlet openings. After drying, the entire piece was heated, causing the melted wax to run out. Molten metal was then poured in to replace the wax. When the mold cooled, the outer shell was broken and the cast polished.

Sometimes metal, wood, stone or shell objects were sheathed with gold foil. Metallic plating was achieved by dipping pieces in molten gold, by sheathing them with a veneer of fine gold leaf or by surface oxidation of the copper present in gold alloy. Soldering was very common, so that sometimes a single object is made up of three different types of gold alloys.

The *repoussé* decoration includes both engravings pressed into the surface and designs standing above the surface in relief. Many Colombian gold objects are filigreed. Decorative bangles and precious stone inlay work are also found.

Monuments of a Lost Civilization

Near the headwaters of the Magdalena River, between the Central and Eastern cordilleras, 175 acres have been set aside as an archaeological park. Within this area more than 500 monoliths have been uncovered. No one knows who carved them. Scientists

call this the Megalithic North Andean culture, but it is more commonly known as Agustinian after the name of the nearby village of San Agustín.

Many broken sculpture groups have been reconstructed in their original settings. Some of the massive statues are in crude relief; others are finely chiseled, indicating that the work might have been done over several centuries. Stone implements, pottery and other relics have also been excavated. Another source of mystery is a ceremonial bathing shrine called Lavapatas, with dozens of figures in relief and man-made waterfalls.

The eighteenth-century naturalist Francisco José de Caldas first mentioned these totemic figures. An Italian explorer, Agustín Codazzi, discovered and carefully described many of them in 1857. In 1913 and 1914 the German archaeologist and ethnologist K. T. Preuss made a special trip to San Agustín to study the site and took some statues and plaster models back to the Berlin Ethnological Museum. The Colombian scholars Gregorio Hernández de Alba and José Pérez de Barradas have surveyed the park area, and Luis Duque Gómez directed recent excavations. The park is administered by the Institute of Ethnological Research of the National Museum in Bogotá. To expand recovery and restoration operations, it brought in the German archaeologist Hans Nartigall, of the University of Mainz.

Apart from the dramatic splendor of the figures as examples of primitive art, certain elements are found in the Agustinian statues that also appear in Central American cultures and in the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes. The Agustinian monoliths seem to represent two abrupt interruptions—one after an early, representational period; the other after a later, stylized period.

DRAMA

Colombian drama is virtually nonexistent, even though the first theater was built and the first performances given as early as 1703. During the early nineteenth-century renaissance, outstanding pieces were written for the stage by José Fernández Madrid and Luis Vargas Tejada. Since then a few dramas and comedies have been produced by Colombians, but most are derivative, and no writers are exclusively playwrights.

The likenesses of both Fernández Madrid and Vargas Tejada appear in bas relief on the front of the Colón Theater in Bogotá, built in 1885 and used for the plays, operas and ballets that foreign companies—mainly Spanish—bring into the capital. Theater tradition consists chiefly of imports by impresarios. There are now one or two university experimental theaters, but whatever playwriting is done is designed for television.

MUSIC

Colombian music has a few isolated roots in the past. Although it is impossible to reconstruct Chibcha melodies, it is known that music accompanied the religious ceremonies of these indigenous peoples. Moreover, surviving musical instruments point to the existence of a pentatonic scale.

The priest Juan de Herrera y Chumacero, choirmaster of the Cathedral at Bogotá, was the most important Colombian composer during the colonial period. He composed psalms, a Requiem Mass, Christmas carols and other choral works. The best-known nineteenth-century Colombian composer was José María Ponce (1846-82).

Although Colombia lacks a tradition of art music, a few musicians have achieved international reputations in their field. However, it cannot be said that their talents were nurtured at home. Every Colombian department boasts a music school, but anyone desiring a serious musical education goes either to Europe or to the United States for study. Usually he eventually takes up permanent residence in a country with a deeper interest in music than he finds at home.

Hence the Colombian violinist Carlos Villa, a former child prodigy who studied at the Curtis Institute in Philadelphia, moved to Switzerland. The soprano Lía Montoya became associated with the Cologne Opera House in Germany. And the harpsichordist Rafael Pyuana, a student of the famed Wanda Landowska, emigrated to New York.

One Colombian musician, Guillermo Espinosa, has conducted in nearly every European and Latin American country, as well as in the United States. He founded and formerly conducted the Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional of Bogotá (1936-47)—the present leader of which is a Lithuanian, Olav Roots. Espinosa also established a symphony orchestra for foreign residents in the Colombian capital. A student of Felix Weingartner's, he became head of the Music Division of the Pan American Union and continued his efforts to stimulate interest in symphonic and chamber music by organizing inter-American festivals of music. Espinosa has put on music festivals in Caracas, Bogotá, Cartagena and Washington, D.C.

The dean of Colombian composers is the prolific 81-year-old Guillermo Uribe-Holguín. Uribe-Holguín, who is also a violinist and conductor, has written more than 500 compositions—300 pieces in popular style for the piano alone—as well as the opera *Furatena* (named for the Chibcha goddess of emeralds) and the symphony *Del Terruño*.

Roberto Pineda Duque, the only 12-tone composer in Colombia, has written symphonies and cantatas. Fabio González Zuleta,

who studied and taught in the National Conservatory of Music at the National University, has written three symphonies, a violin concerto and chamber music.

ARCHITECTURE

As in most of Spanish America, there is colonial architecture of merit, particularly in Popayán, Cartagena, Tunja, and Bogotá. El Sagrario Chapel in Bogotá and the Rosary Chapel in the Church of Santo Domingo in Tunja are considered two colonial period masterpieces. They preserve examples of the Spanish-Moorish *mudejar* style, characterized by monolithic columns, ornamented eaves, stone lintels, wooden balconies and domed bell towers. The technique of complicated wood inlay, decorated with Islamic forms and patterns covered in gold leaf, was brought in as early as 1543.

Some of the finest examples of Spanish Renaissance military architecture are found in Cartagena. They are chiefly the work of Bautista Antonelli, an Italian military engineer commissioned by Spain.

San Felipe de Barajas Fortress in Cartagena is adjudged the best of New World military architecture. This massive stronghold, with thick, crenelated walls, watchtowers and a labyrinth of underground tunnels, took a century to build.

In general Colombian colonial architecture is less baroque and more functional than the elaborate colonial monuments of Mexico and Peru. Colombia lacked both workmen and materials for such intricate details. Yet there are a few noteworthy examples of the baroque and rococo in Colombia, such as the gilt altar in the Church of San Francisco in Bogotá and the elaborately carved, chalice-shaped pulpit in the church of the same name in Popayán.

Popayán's San Francisco is one of many colonial churches that contain jewel-encrusted monstrances and other religious and artistic treasures, often the work of Indian craftsmen. Its splendid statue called La Inmaculada (The Immaculate Conception), for example, has been compared to the famous Winged Victory of Samothrace.

In the twentieth century, as the airplane overcame natural barriers and the cities began to grow rapidly, young Colombians who had been studying architecture abroad flocked home to put their ideas to work. They came from England, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Spain, France, Italy, the United States and Chile. While Corbusier held sway over most of them, the influence of Frank Lloyd Wright, Gropius, and Mies van der Rohe was also apparent in their work. Colombians welcomed the efforts of the returning architects to replace the colonial-style house with a simpler, more functional type of dwelling.

In 1936 architectural faculties began to spring up within the country. Fifteen years later 700 students were enrolled in six different schools. Training in construction methods, however, did not keep pace. Colombian architects are forced either to study construction engineering along with architecture or to associate themselves with professionals in this field.

Taken as a whole, modern architecture in Colombia is unremarkable. Unlike the Peruvians and Brazilians, Colombians have made little or no attempt to impart local flavor to their functional designs. The simple, clean lines of office buildings, private homes, factories and a few churches are their main contributions. The more spectacular examples are the dramatic baseball stadium of reinforced concrete in Cartagena and the Bogotá Country Club, the latter the work of Jorge Arango and the highly regarded firm of Rafael and José M. Obregón and Pablo Valenzuela. The baseball stadium is the work of architects Gabriel Solano, Jorge Gaitán Cortés, Alvaro Ortega, Edgard Burbano and the structural engineer Guillermo González.

FOLK ART

Colombia has neglected its folklore. Handicrafts art especially is dying out. The glazed clay figurines of saints and folk types generally used for Nativity scenes are still made in the Department of Boyacá, and decorative pottery is found in Girardot. Fiber hammocks and the so-called Panama hats are woven in Cundinamarca. But cheap imitations are replacing much of the authentic folk art. For example, it is hard to find the heavy, lacquered wooden bowls, made in Pasto for hundreds of years, that were painted with floral designs made by applying with a brush masticated gum from the mopa-mopa bush.

Folk and popular music are perhaps the most significant survivals of Colombian folk art. Moreover, some effort is being made to preserve both music and dances. The professional dance troupes of Delia Zapata has introduced them abroad, and various amateur folklore groups inside the country cultivate folk dancing.

The *bambuco*, a derivation of the waltz in moderately quick tempo, is the most representative of the dances. The partners bow to each other before they begin to dance; then they alternately whirl and face each other, with the man pursuing the girl as she coyly evades him. The *bambuco*, like the *guabina*, the *bundo*, the *pasillo*, and the *torbellino*, originated in the interior highlands.

The negro and Indian races have both exerted a strong influence on the coastal music. Afro-Cartagenan rhythms—the *porros*, *fandangoes*, and *mapalés*—have spread beyond Colombia's borders. The monotone rhythm of the *gaita*, much like a schottische, is of Indian origin.

The *cumbia*, danced with candles in the dimly lit plazas of Cartagena, goes on for hours. The musicians sit in the center playing mostly wind instruments. A circle of couples dances around them, each woman holding a bundle of three or four lighted candles in one hand at head level, while her partner dances around her. When a couple or a musician drops out, they are immediately replaced. Another Colombian folk dance calling for candles is the *malapé*, traditionally danced in front of the mayor's office.

The most typically Colombian musical instrument is the *tiplo*, a small five-stringed guitar. Other instruments found in Colombian orchestras are the seven-stringed guitar called the *vihuela*, the four-stringed *cucútro*, the drum and the *guache*, a hollow, 15-inch hardwood pipe filled with seeds that rattle against the walls and against bamboo thorns placed crosswise inside the tube. The *guacharaca* consists of a piece of hardwood palm with shallow grooves over which the player scrapes a piece of dried bamboo.

Some elements of tradition survive in the wearing apparel of the Colombian country people. The *ruana*, a type of poncho worn by the men, for instance, is typically Colombian. This short, square piece of wool is slit in the middle to slip over the head; often it is blue on one side, red on the other—the colors of the two major political parties, Conservative and Liberal.

The trademark of the Antioquians—and of farmers from Caldas—is the *carriel*, a unique expandable leather money pouch which the men sling over their shoulders. Fur-covered, generally with nutria or jaguar skins, and trimmed in patent leather, these bags have been made for generations by craftsmen in the village of Envigado, 10 miles from Medellín.

Colombian fiestas are a rich source of folklore tradition. In Popayán, for example, for nearly four centuries elaborate Holy Week processions have wound silently through the streets, often with as many as 2,500 participants. Stations of the Cross are depicted on huge litters supported on the bared shoulders of young Colombian men. Some of the litters, embellished with figures, floral decorations, silk and velvet canopies and supporting poles sheathed in silver, weigh more than a ton. With eight bearers to a litter, they advance about 40 feet, then stop for three or four minutes to rest the litters on upright poles. This arduous job is considered a privilege and is handed down from father to son. No one knows the exact origin of the processions, but a written reference to them is dated 1558.

At Christmas time in Popayán, groups of wandering minstrels called *chirimías* wander through the streets, saluting the season with a rumble of drums. (*Chirimía* refers to an ancient oboe or flageolet, which was originally the solo instrument of these groups but which

has been replaced by a cane flute.) Most *chirimías* consist of young boys who play for pennies or the fiery liquor called *aguardiente*. Sometimes they are accompanied by a red-suited, masked devil dancer who chases neighborhood children as they taunt him in the streets.

INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

In an issue of the daily newspaper *El Tiempo* of Bogotá, a columnist nostalgically reminisced about days when Colombians were absorbed in things of the spirit. Now, he reported sadly, there are only two faculties of philosophy and letters in the capital; all the emphasis in national life seems to focus on science, modern techniques, economics—and worldliness.

Current efforts to industrialize the nation and lift its economic and educational level are largely responsible for this new intellectual orientation and apparent break with tradition. It probably seems more abrupt in view of the tremendous development of humanistic studies in the past, despite a limited reading public. Colombian mentality has traditionally inclined toward the philosophical and metaphysical rather than toward the technical and concrete. Geography also has played its part; before the advent of the airplane the country's regional isolation and faulty communications encouraged contemplation and study.

In one important respect, however, Colombian habits of thought remain unchanged. Politics, always paramount in the national life, is still the overriding concern of the people. Essayists and orators continue to be inspired by political themes, and the nation's long history of political strife indicates how strongly the people defend their ideas.

Until about 1830, Colombian intellectual expression was governed by eighteenth-century European forms and traditions, following classical models. With the new romantic movement in Europe, Colombians likewise began to express themselves sentimentally about nature and the Indians. Subsequently a reaction set in with the modernist movement. Stereotyped traditions and forms were cast aside, to be replaced by individualism.

Except for Spain, France has been the all-pervading influence in Colombia's European-oriented culture. French philosophy, French liberalism, French law, French literature have molded Colombian learning. More recently the United States has enjoyed a limited acceptance as a cultural mentor.

President Alberto Lleras Camargo—writer, editor, publisher, Cabinet minister, ambassador and educator—is a leading intellectual force in the country, even though he received no university education. He has been influential in the development of international

law within the Western Hemisphere. As a newspaperman, he founded the daily *El Liberal* (now defunct) and the lively Bogotá newsweekly *Semana*. As university president (Rector of the University of the Andes), Lleras helped pioneer the Colombian educational experiment with the United States-style university—privately owned and free of church and state influence.

Luis López de Mesa, one of the most celebrated essayists in South America, writes with equal facility on economic questions, on metaphysical matters, or on scientific themes. A medical doctor who specialized in psychiatry at Harvard, he also studied in England, France, Germany and Italy. López de Mesa has played an active role as senator, Minister of Education, Minister of Foreign Relations as well as professor and rector of the National University. He is also a serious philologist, in the manner of the famous nineteenth-century scholars Miguel Antonio Caro and Rufino José Cuervo.

Colombia abounds in academies, those of language and history being especially revered. The literary club known as the "Liceo Granadino," organized in 1836 in Bogotá, was the forerunner of the Academy of Language (*Academia de la Lengua*). Three members of the Spanish Royal Academy formed the nucleus around which the Academy of Language was organized in 1781: José María Vergara y Vergara, known as the father of Colombian literary research because of his book *Historia de la Literatura de Nueva Granada* (History of the Literature of New Granada); the poet José Eusebio Caro; and prose writer José Manuel Marroquín.

Two of the most popular branches of Colombian learning are philosophy and history. The nation's influence in philosophy extends beyond its borders. José Vicente Alvarez Romero of Colombia, for example, is one of the guiding lights in the newly founded Ibero-American Society of Philosophy that was born in Guatemala. Jesús María Yésep, President of the Colombian Academy of Jurisprudence, wrote a legal work in French on the philosophy of Pan-Americanism.

The modern tendency in Colombia to interpret events in terms of social reality is followed by Otto Morales Benítez, the youngest member of the Academy of History. In his most recent book, *Revolución y Caudillos* (Revolution and Strong Men), he sees in the independence movement the economic conscience of the colony struggling with the problem of an oppressed people.

Twentieth-century Bogotá continues to be the cultural apex in this "land of intellectuals." Its label, "Athens of America," is not entirely inappropriate.

Science

A scientific landmark at the end of the eighteenth century was the Botanical Expedition founded by Archbishop-Viceroy Antonio Caballero y Góngora. For more than 25 years this institution engaged in scientific research on flora, fauna and minerals of the Viceroyalty that attracted the attention of European scientists. At home its presence was the more keenly felt because it became a center of learning. Because of the Botanical Expedition, speculation and theorizing in education were replaced by the scientific method of experimentation.

The far-reaching influence of the Botanical Expedition was largely attributable to its leader, the Spanish priest, physician and naturalist José Celestino Mutis. Mutis the physician accompanied an ailing viceroy to the New World. Fascinated with the tropical vegetation he found on the coast, he stayed in Cartagena for more than a year and engaged in scientific studies. He then began teaching mathematics and astronomy at the College of Rosario in Bogotá. In his teaching Mutis insisted on rational explanations instead of speculative thinking and upset many faculty members by teaching that the earth revolves around the sun.

When Caballero y Góngora asked Mutis to head the Botanical Expedition, the Spanish scientist turned for a research staff to the *criollos* he had been training. Patiently master and disciples worked to collect and classify specimens. They studied botany, zoology, geography and geodetics. They built up a herbarium containing more than 20,000 plants. The Expedition also had a nursery, samples of domestic products, paintings of Colombian animals, thousands of accurately colored botanical plates and a 6,000-volume library.

The self-made scientist José de Caldas, who became a martyr in the independence movement, was a disciple of Mutis. Caldas built his own barometer and sextant and discovered how to measure altitude by the temperature at which water boils.

Another upsurge in science took place during the mid-nineteenth century through educational reforms introduced by then Minister Mariano Ospina, who wished to educate citizens capable of developing the country's natural resources.

The lament of the chief executive of that time is echoed in present-day Colombia:

We have an abundance of scholars and doctors, who increase day by day but we lack a sufficient number of men instructed in the exact sciences and mechanical arts. In chemistry, mineralogy, botany, and agriculture, without which we cannot develop the State's full potentialities.

Succeeding presidents who agreed with this point of view imported foreign professors to set up schools of natural science, chemistry, mathematics, and arts and crafts. José Triana, a Colombian botanist who was vice-president of the International Botanical Congress of London, enjoyed a world-wide reputation during that period. The nucleus of scientific development was the Colombian Chorographic Commission, headed by the Italian colonel Augustín Codazzi.

One Colombian who carries on the tradition of the Botanical Expedition is Father Antonio Olivares, a Franciscan priest and naturalist who is a dedicated ornithologist. He has identified and classified hundreds of birds, some in out-of-the-way places such as the Vaupés district in the Amazon Basin and the little-known forest regions of the Pacific coast. There he collected specimens for the most important research of modern times on this region.

Father Olivares studied natural history in the United States at Catholic University and, after working on birds at the Smithsonian Institution, decided to specialize in ornithology. He divides his time between the biology classroom and the Institute of Natural Sciences of the National University.

Modern Colombia has been comparatively inactive in the scientific field, with the exception of medicine. The Medical School at the university in Cali ranks among the three best in Latin America. Its dean is a surgeon with special interest in preventive medicine, Gabriel Velásquez.

Hernando Groot, who studied Public Health at Harvard on a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship, is another very able Colombian scientist. The current Surgeon General, Patiño Camargo, was a general practitioner in Cúcuta before he became interested in public health in 1932. Since then he has traveled on muleback to the farthest corners of his country to collect information on communicable diseases.

With outside collaboration the country has carried out extensive research on such diseases, especially those common in tropical and subtropical zones. The Carlos Finlay Institute in Bogotá, for example, in cooperation with the Rockefeller Foundation, concentrates on yellow fever research and vaccine production.

In 1958, with the Pan-American Sanitary Organization—the regional office of the World Health Organization—Colombia carried out the first large-scale experiment anywhere in the world with live polio vaccine.

CHAPTER 10

EDUCATION

Education is recognized by political and intellectual leaders as presenting a national problem of the first magnitude, but frequent political upheavals have limited progress, and education remains unavailable to a large part of the population. Moreover, difficult mountainous terrain in a considerable portion of the country has aggravated the problem of establishing school facilities.

Only 5 percent of the population in 1960 had an education consisting of complete elementary schooling and some secondary training. Twenty-three percent had only three years of elementary schooling. Thirty-two percent had only a year or two of elementary education and were barely literate.

About 40 percent of the population were illiterate despite literacy programs sponsored by the government and church, particularly that of the Catholic Accion Cultural Popular, operating through a system of radio schools. Illiteracy rates were higher in some of the rural areas, notably in the geographically isolated departments, such as Chocó, where the rate was 70 percent. The percentage of illiteracy declined slowly from 58 percent in 1918, but there is a high incidence of relapse into illiteracy on the part of those who abandon school after only a short period of attendance.

The government has adopted education laws and formulated many proposals for reforms, but frequent political unrest has cut down their effectiveness and caused a rapid turnover in key personnel in the Ministry of Education. Since the portfolio of the Minister of Education was held by not less than 48 persons between 1935 and 1960, the Ministry of Education has been prevented from drafting and implementing systematic long-range plans for the educational system and from integrating and coordinating the various levels of teaching in the educational hierarchy.

By a law of 1957 government funds allotted to education must amount to 10 percent of the national budget. In 1960, they came to about Col\$200 million (at the end of 1959, the free rate was U.S. \$1 equals Col\$7.01). In the distribution, higher education is favored, and only a modest portion—less than one-sixth in 1960—goes to elementary education.

The Catholic Church exerts a powerful influence in the educational system of the country. It founded the earliest educational institutions and still controls a majority of private schools, particularly on the secondary level. The teaching of Catholic religious and moral doctrines is compulsory in all educational institutions.

Elementary education is free in the public schools, but a compulsory attendance law cannot be enforced not only because school facilities are inadequate but because the law is not clear about the compulsory age and required periods of attendance.

Enrollment figures increased on all school levels between 1950 and 1960, particularly in the universities, but only about 50 percent of the school-age population, or 1,726,925 pupils, were in attendance in 1958. Of these, 1,493,123, or 87 percent, attended elementary schools; 214,590, or 12 percent, secondary schools; and 19,112, or 1 percent, the universities.

In the cities, only 12 out of every 100 children enrolled in the first year of elementary schools finish the five-year cycle. In rural areas, for every 100 children completing the first year of elementary school, 47 complete the second year, which in many rural schools is also the terminal year, and only 1 finishes the fourth year. In academic secondary schools, only about 14 to 20 percent of the students enrolled in the first year are successful in obtaining the *bachillerato* certificate granted at the end of the terminal sixth year.

The high attrition rate also constitutes a major problem in the vocational agricultural schools, even though government scholarships pay for the tuition and boarding of a large proportion of the students. On the university level, not more than 10 percent of the students complete the full course. The chronic indigence of many families forces the children to begin working at an early age, particularly in rural areas. The lack of means of transportation to school for many children who live in remote areas further limits their attendance.

The entire educational program is severely handicapped by an acute teacher shortage and by the great number of poorly trained teachers. A majority of secondary school teachers possess only the *bachillerato*. There is a general lack of interest in the teaching profession, mainly because of poor salaries. The low social prestige accorded to elementary and secondary teachers and a lack of enforcement of official standards governing dismissals, transfers, and promotions discourage many from pursuing teaching careers.

During the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, education was intended for the members of the upper-class minority. During the nineteenth century, extension of education to all became official government policy, although the persistence of oligarchic social

traditions, among other factors, prevented its implementation. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, there has been a relative increase in public school facilities. Partly because of an increase in the prosperity of the middle class, especially since the 1940's, the number of persons outside the ruling groups who are receiving education is reaching significant proportions. The school system on the whole, however, is still adapted to the needs of those to whom elementary and secondary education is a preparation for university studies.

A traditional high regard for humanistic, abstract learning and the association of such learning with social prestige continue to exert a powerful influence upon professional and educational choices. This influence is apparent in a preponderant popularity of academic secondary education and in a disdain for vocational education leading to technical and agricultural occupations. The enrollment in the country's 23 universities in 1958 represented a 50 percent increase over the figure for 1954. Several of the universities have broadened their formerly narrow, professional curricula. Others have attempted to compensate for the absence of graduate studies by the establishment of research programs. A choice of local economic, agricultural, and health problems as subjects of investigation in these programs represents a departure from the former exclusive emphasis upon abstract, theoretical studies.

Government educational reforms are envisioned within the framework of a five-year plan initiated in 1950 but in 1960 only partially operative. The plan proposes a total overhaul of the educational system on the basis of statistical, population, geographic, and cultural studies which reflect the conditions of specific regions and communities. The improvement of rural education is strongly stressed through the training of rural teachers in skills needed for community improvement. The training of such teachers is already in progress in rural education pilot schools in Uribia, Pamplona, and Málaga.

Another plan, presented by the Ministry of Education in 1959, calls for large-scale construction of elementary school facilities between 1960 and 1975. Some 17,000 new schoolrooms are to be built to alleviate present shortages and an additional 18,000 to cover expected population increases.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

From the beginning of Spanish colonialization until about 1810, the Roman Catholic Church was the principal authority in the field of education. The first schools (*doctrinas*), established by religious orders during the early 1500's, were designed primarily to

convert Indians to Roman Catholicism. By 1556 the schools expanded their curriculum to include reading, writing, arithmetic, and singing. The children of Spanish settlers were taught language, religion, and the arts in special schools established for them.

The founding in 1603 of the first Jesuit seminary, that of San Bartolomé in Bogotá, was followed by the founding of similar institutions in Popayán, Cartagena, and Pamplona. Only the sons of Spanish settlers and government officials were eligible to study in them. The country's two oldest universities, the Jesuit Javeriana University and the Dominican Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario were founded in 1622 and 1653, respectively.

The 18th century marked the beginning of secular influence in education. Attempts, however, to found a public university failed because of the opposition of the Church (see ch. 9, *Artistic and Intellectual Expression*). After the beginning of the successful struggle for independence, education gradually passed into the hands of the government.

Francisco Paula de Santander is considered "the father of public education in Colombia." It was under his influence that Bolívar placed all educational institutions, including seminaries, under government control. Santander made the schools accessible to children of all social classes and ethnic groups. The first teachers' training schools were established in 1822. The creation in 1826 of the General Directorate of Public Instruction, predecessor of the Ministry of Education, provided for the central administration of education at the national level.

The most important development in education during the early twentieth century was the passage in 1903 of Law No. 39, the so-called Organic Law on Public Education. This Law, and one elaborating its provisions passed in 1904, established the system of national school inspection and the combined financial responsibility for education of national, departmental, and municipal governments. The first provisions for compulsory education were made by Law No. 56, passed in 1927, according to which parents or guardians are obligated to see that the children for whom they are responsible receive a minimum education either in public or private schools.

During the 1930's, the activities of Agustín Nieto Caballero, national inspector of education under President Enrique Olaya Herrera (1930-34), provided a powerful stimulus to developments in education. Viewed by many as the outstanding figure in Colombian education, he called for the introduction of modern teaching methods to replace rote learning and for emphasis on practical subjects.

Although the dominant role of government in education was affirmed in several laws and decrees of the early republic and re-

affirmed in the Constitution as recodified in 1945, the influence of the Church has remained powerful. According to the Concordat of 1887, education was to be "organized and directed in accordance with the dogmas and moral code of the Catholic Church." The Concordat also gave the Church the right to inspect all texts related to the study of religion and morals.

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

Access to education traditionally has been the privilege of the small elite which furnished the country's political and intellectual leaders. Possession of education has been synonymous with high social prestige. Members of the educated elite have stimulated a theoretical interest in universal public education, but in fact education has tended to be restricted largely to members of the upper class. Such attitudes are gradually giving ground to the demand, voiced in government, among intellectuals, and among representatives of industry, for raising the level of literacy and for training personnel in the professions and the trades. The government's official position is reflected in many laws and decrees. Nearly all of these are prefaced by statements of the urgent need to provide educational opportunities for all.

Although laws establishing compulsory education have been in force since 1927, the lack of school facilities, particularly in rural areas with widely scattered populations, has made the full enforcement impossible. Even where school facilities exist, the enforcement of the law is difficult because of uncertainties of interpretation with respect to exceptions, required periods of attendance, and age limits. In addition, widespread lack of parental cooperation makes it difficult to enforce school attendance, particularly in farm areas where the labor of children is needed.

Rural attitudes concerning education add to the difficulties. Much booklearning and schoolgoing are considered to be unsettling and of little use in daily life. To the peasants, culture and education are primarily reflected in courteous manner and elaborate speech. Nevertheless, in the small rural community, the person who cannot read (*non puede leer*) is looked upon with a mixture of pity and contempt, and a person able to read and write enjoys general esteem.

To members of the upper class, education is an indispensable mark of their social station. Education is highly valued by the developing urban middle class, to whom it represents the key to general social advancement and to prestige-bringing white-collar jobs. Among the formal proofs of education, the university *doctorado* carries the highest respect with the *bachillerato* next in importance. For many years, the possession of the *bachillerato* implied the social

status which was required to study at one of the expensive and exclusive privately owned secondary schools (*colegios*). However, with the appearance during the 1950's of a number of government-owned secondary schools, the exclusive character of academic secondary education has diminished, and the prestige value of the *bachillerato* has fallen.

On the university level, middle-class students have made up a large portion of the increase in enrollment. The financing of university studies, however, is difficult for many, although fees at public universities generally are not exorbitant. Most families appear willing to make considerable sacrifice in order to put at least one child through a university or at least through a secondary *colegio*. In large families, the children often go to work to permit at least one brother or sister to obtain an education.

Colombians have shown a propensity for abstract thinking which frequently manifests itself in erudite literary and philosophical treatises (see ch. 9, Artistic and Intellectual Expression). A relative lack of interest in the applied sciences is reflected in the high dropout rate in such fields as chemical engineering. Proficiency in literature, philosophy, and law is still considered to be the mark of the educated man. There is relatively little interest in technical and vocational education. The long-standing contempt of the upper and middle classes for manual labor further reinforces the widespread negativism toward education in technical fields and trades. The outstanding exception is commercial education, which appears to be next in popularity to the programs offered under the academic secondary curriculum.

The government shares control over the administration and the content of education with the Church, which owns about 75 percent of the academic secondary schools. In view of its strong vested interests in secondary education, the Church viewed with apprehension the recent efforts (1940-60) of the Ministry of Education to increase the number of government secondary schools. On the university level, the country's oldest and most highly respected institutions are under Catholic control. An additional aspect of Catholic influence is the requirement, in accordance with the provisions of the Concordat of 1887, that Catholic religion and morals be taught at all schools.

The Catholic hierarchy has come to adopt a more flexible attitude toward the teaching of empirical subjects, notably the natural and social sciences. Javeriana University added a department of sociology in 1960, and modern science is represented on the faculties of many Catholic universities. The effort of various ministers of education to increase the number of scientific and practical subjects offered has not encountered any opposition from the Church, but

such opposition occurs on the part of some conservative teachers. The Church has, moreover, emerged in the vanguard of the fight against illiteracy. In addition to government and the Church, the owners of business and industry have manifested a growing interest in education, prompted by the need for trained personnel. This interest has often taken the form of subsidies to educational institutions immediately concerned with the training of professionals, notably to universities and to the Instituto Colombiano de Especialización Técnica en el Exterior—ICETEX (Colombian Institute for Technical Education Abroad).

Although the shortage of facilities, outmoded curricula, and the lack of teachers are often criticized by government officials, by some middle-class intellectuals, and in newspapers, there is a lack of active public interest in education and an absence of community action for its improvement. This relative inactivity is also manifest in the urban middle classes, although this group appears to be the most eager to secure educational advantages. Only at the beginning of the school year, when many applicants for enrollment are turned down because of the lack of public school facilities, is there a temporary public outcry against the inadequacy of the educational system.

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Administration and Finance

The Constitution of 1945 guarantees freedom to own or to operate educational institutions. Such institutions, however, are subject to over-all supervision by the government. The key government organization discharging this function is the Ministry of Education. In addition, the Ministry's official tasks include the advancement of educational development in general, the promotion of science and culture, the review and approval of professional titles, and the awarding of government scholarships.

After its reorganization in 1960, the administrative structure of the Ministry included departments of elementary education and literacy, secondary education, teacher training and higher education, cultural activities, technical services, and scholastic development. The Minister of Education is assisted by a Secretary-General, a Director of Education, and a High Council of Education, which includes a number of professional educators, some of whom are representatives of the Church. Foreign experts on education invited by the government also sit on this board.

Most of the key positions in the Ministry are filled by political appointment, a factor which has created an almost constant turnover of personnel on the policy-making level. It has also been responsible for the frequent appointment to important positions of persons

who lacked qualifications. In order to create greater stability within the ranks of the Ministry and to increase the number of qualified professionals, the Lleras government decided (1960) to appoint all personnel except the Minister and the Secretary-General on a civil service basis.

In the past, the taking of office of every new Minister of Education was followed by an avalanche of laws, administrative directives, and changes in curricula designed to modify the educational system. In 1958 the Office of Planning, Coordination, and Evaluation was added to the Ministry of Education to coordinate the various levels of the educational system and to organize the testing of new curricula.

Government supervision of schools is implemented through a body of national inspectors. The activities of local educational authorities are also within the jurisdiction of inspectors.

Government supervision also extends to private schools, to a large extent owned by the Church. On the academic secondary level, in fact, 75 percent of the institutions are in Catholic hands. In spite of state intervention, however, the private schools enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy. They are authorized to choose their teachers, to draft and administer their examinations, and to organize their curricula. The government, on the other hand, may inspect private schools to ensure the fulfillment of certain prerequisites for accreditation or to determine the presence or absence of irregularities. The government, moreover, establishes standards for the curricula, the passing of examinations, and the grading system.

On the local level, the fiscal and administrative aspects of education are handled by secretariats of education, established in the capital of each department, *intendencia*, and *comisaria*. Cities with a population of over 100,000 have their own secretariats of education, similarly organized. The administrative unit is divided into zones, to each of which an inspector is assigned. Each inspector controls the teachers, handles complaints concerning their performance, and dispenses study materials in the course of periodic school visits.

The duration of the school year is March 15 to December 22 in the capital and early October to the end of June in the provinces. There is a 15-day midyear vacation during Holy Week, in addition to many religious and patriotic holidays, leaving an average of 180 days of attendance during the academic year. A uniform academic year beginning in September was planned to begin in 1960.

In accordance with legislation passed in 1957, the funds devoted to education by the national government are required to be not less than 10 percent of the national budget. In 1960, according to the National Directorate of the Budget, this figure amounted to Col\$184.5

million in a total budget of Col\$1,891.6 million. However, a newspaper report quoting sources in the Ministry of Education stated that the sum allocated by the national government for education was Col\$207 million. These figures do not include some Col\$180 million spent on education by the Departments and contributions to education by the municipalities, the Church, and private persons.

For 1961, the proposed total national budget was Col\$2,427.6 million, out of which the government proposed to spend Col\$236.6 million on education. These amounts represent an appreciable increase over the education budgets of earlier years, which amounted generally to 4 or 6 percent of the total national budget. Experts consider them largely inadequate, however, to meet the country's needs.

In the financing of elementary schools, the departmental governments pay the teachers' salaries, the municipal governments provide and furnish the school buildings, and the national government supplies the teaching materials. In some instances, however, the government assumes responsibility for all these items, including the construction of buildings. The government, furthermore, finances all aspects of primary education in the territories without self-government. Since the size of the budgetary contributions of the departments depend largely on their economic resources, the lack of school facilities is most serious in the poor regions. The government has generally been unable to compensate adequately for the imbalance of departmental contributions, since the portion of the educational budget allotted to elementary education tends to be low. In 1960, for example, it only amounted to less than one-sixth (about Col\$30 million) of the total sum.

Twenty-seven percent of the total education budget is earmarked for higher education: 15 percent is allocated to the National University of Bogotá; 10 percent, to the departmental universities; and 2 percent, to private universities. Because of the increase in the number of universities, however, these funds are rather thinly spread. Departmental and municipal contributions to university budgets tend to be very limited. Forward-looking administrators of some of the universities, notably those of the universities of Cali and Bucaramanga, have initiated vigorous public relations activities designed to enlist additional financial support from local governments and from private groups. The University of the Andes, however, depends almost altogether on private donations.

Elementary Schools

The majority of elementary institutions, 15,545 out of a total of 17,788, are free public schools operated by departmental governments or by the national government. The public schools in territories

without self-government are operated by Catholic religious orders. Most of the private elementary schools are also under Catholic auspices.

The construction of elementary schools has not kept pace with the rising school-age population. In many rural areas, children have no schools to go to, even though the majority of public primary schools are located in such areas. Only about half of the schools function in buildings erected for the purpose; the remainder operate on rented premises which often lack toilets and running water. Notebooks, pencils, chalk, crayons, and textbooks are supplied free of charge by the government. Each pupil receives a reader and a Roman Catholic catechism. Other texts are passed down from pupils in the senior grades. In many cases, however, the number of textbooks distributed is insufficient, and parents must provide them at their own expense. In 1,665 public elementary schools the government finances school restaurants which serve breakfasts and lunches to indigent children.

Types of elementary education are a five-year urban program, a four-year rural program with separate schools for boys and girls, and a two-year "alternate" rural program in which boys and girls attend on alternate days. A few rural schools in some of the departments have a five-year cycle. The two-year alternate rural schools have 188 days of school attendance in the academic year. Because of the alternate attendance, however, boys and girls attend only 94 days, respectively. Since each group of boys and girls is further divided into first- and second-year courses, each course receives instruction for only 47 days, the equivalent of 282 class hours. It is the system operating in 8,760 of 11,861 rural public schools.

The curriculum in both types of rural school fails to give suitable terminal training to those who propose to pursue agricultural vocations. It appears designed as a preparation for academic secondary schools, even though only a small number of rural pupils ever reach that level. The subjects taught at the two-year alternate rural schools include religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, and civics. One period a week is devoted to manners, health habits, and music. The basic elements of agriculture are taught to boys, and home economics, such as sewing and embroidering, to girls.

The four-year rural school offers the same subjects, but devotes more class hours per week to each. Depending on the qualifications and the initiative of the teachers, concepts of patriotism, courtesy, and habits of sociability are also taught within the framework of civics. In the five-year urban elementary schools, the curriculum is: reading, writing, and languages, 20 percent; arithmetic and geometry, 20 percent; religion, 10 percent; manual work, including agriculture and gardening, 11 percent; natural science, 11 percent;

national history and geography, 10 percent; physical education, 9 percent; civics and manners, 5 percent; singing, 3 percent; child care and home economics, 1 percent.

In general, seven years is held to be the legal age for commencing education. In practice, the median age in the first grade of many elementary schools is nine or ten, not only because many enroll late, but because there are many repeaters.

The number of children enrolled in public and private elementary schools in 1958 was 1,493,123 compared with 808,494 in 1950. In urban elementary schools, for every 100 children completing the first year, 64 complete the second year; 40, the third year; 24, the fourth year; and 12, the final fifth year. In rural elementary schools the corresponding figures are 47, 5, 1, and 0.2 respectively for each 100 children finishing the first year. In many regions, particularly in the departments of Boyacá, Cundinamarca, Nariño, Santander, and Norte de Santander, school attendance is extremely difficult because of the distance of schools from the widely dispersed settlements and communities and the scarcity of transportation facilities. Moreover, a number of children are prevented from attending school because they suffer from one or more of the endemic illnesses or from under-nourishment (see ch. 16, Health and Sanitation).

In accordance with the provisions of the Five Year Plan the triple system of elementary education is to be replaced by a unified five-year cycle, eventually to be increased to six years. The cycle is to be divided into two parts, in order to give a terminal elementary education to the large number of children who drop out of the early grades. Moreover, the curricula of urban and rural elementary schools are to be integrated and made more flexible in order to adapt them to regional needs. The 1961 budget of the Ministry of Education provides for the establishment of several pilot schools, with a total capacity of 5,000 children, where these innovations will be tested.

Secondary Education

Types of institutions for secondary education are six-year college-preparatory academic secondary schools (*colegios*), which lead to the *bachillerato* degree; vocational schools, which offer training in technical, commercial, industrial, and agricultural skills as well as in art, nursing, and religion; and schools for the training of urban and rural elementary teachers. Some 57 so-called "complementary" schools offer a two-year program of general vocational and academic subjects. Most vocational schools require only four years of elementary training.

Of 829 academic secondary schools, 625 are private institutions, nearly all owned by the Church. A majority of public secondary

schools are departmental institutions, although some 62 *colegios nacionales* are operated directly by the Ministry of Education. The departmental secondary schools are all located in cities. Although the government built some 130 secondary schools between 1947 and 1957, more than 8,000 applicants for admission into public secondary schools had to be turned down in 1958 because of lack of space. Tuition is free in the public secondary schools; only a nominal registration fee of about Col\$30-60 is charged.

Even though there is an urgent need for persons qualified in technical and industrial fields and in agricultural techniques, a great majority of secondary students choose the *bachillerato* program. In 1958, of a total of 214,590 students on the secondary level, 115,041 were enrolled in *bachillerato* schools. Commercial secondary schools were second in popularity, with 30,479 students enrolled. Only 10,616 studied at industrial and trade schools, and 4,613 at agricultural vocational schools. Vocational schools offering training in the arts, such as drawing, design, and music, had a total of 4,823 students. Another 4,671 were being trained in schools for religious personnel.

The Bachillerato

Of those who enroll at schools offering the *bachillerato* certificate, only a small percentage succeed in obtaining it. In 1956, for example only 5,000 graduated with the *bachillerato* out of a total of 35,000 enrolled in the first grade of academic secondary schools six years earlier. Because of the lack of public secondary school facilities, many parents enroll their children in one of the expensive private schools where the minimum annual cost for a day pupil is Col\$1,500 and Col\$2,500 for a boarder; hence, the six years of secondary school require a total expenditure of Col\$9,000 for a day pupil and Col\$15,000 for a boarder. With an average income of about Col\$6,000 per year, middle-class families are generally unable to carry such financial burden, especially if they have more than one child.

Designed to impart a broad cultural background and to prepare for university studies, the *bachillerato* curriculum has been frequently criticized for its exclusively academic nature and for its general irrelevance to those who do not enter a university. It was changed and modified not less than 10 times between 1930 and 1955. The results have been a congestion of courses and a total lack of integration of the different phases of the program.

In 1959-60, another reform was proposed for the *bachillerato* program, providing for the division of the six-year cycle into two stages. The first three years, called "orientation" would include vocational counseling. During the second stage, called "systemati-

zation," the students would concentrate on chosen fields of specialization. In 1960-61 the new *bachillerato* curricula were tested in 17 pilot secondary schools.

Commercial Schools

Commercial education is next to the *bachillerato* in popularity on the secondary level because it represents a shortcut to relatively remunerative jobs in the white-collar category. Commercial schools train accountants, cashiers, secretaries, and commercial assistants in courses lasting from six months to one year. The average earnings of an accountant are about Col\$600 per month; a bank cashier earns between Col\$300 and Col\$400, and a clerk proficient in typing and stenography, between Col\$350 and Col\$500 per month. Some of the schools offer a combination of the *bachillerato* and commercial courses to prepare candidates for business careers on a higher level. The lively demand for commercial education has given rise to many private institutions in this field. In 1958, 324 commercial schools out of a total of 365 were in private hands.

Agricultural Schools

Training in agricultural techniques is offered in some 52 vocational agricultural schools, located in 13 departments, 2 *intendencias*, and 1 *comisaría*. This category includes some agricultural schools for Indians (*internados agrícolas para Indígenas*). Vocational agricultural schools offer two- to five-year courses designed to complement the rural elementary program, to introduce the students to the use of technical equipment in agriculture and animal husbandry, and to teach them productive work habits. The enrollment in these schools in 1958 totaled 2,822.

Enrollment of children from farm families is encouraged, but in 1956, 16.7 percent of the students were from urban zones. Moreover, between 1950 and 1955, about one-fourth of the students enrolled in agricultural vocational schools followed nonagricultural occupations after graduation. There are, in addition, 34 domestic science schools for rural girls designed to complement the elementary training of rural girls 14 years of age or older. They offer courses in vocational techniques, hygiene, first-aid, and child-care. In 1958, 1,791 girls were enrolled in these institutions.

Industrial and Trade Schools

The country's 96 industrial and trade schools supply only about 20 percent of the need for skilled workers. Apart from its failure to attract a large number of students, industrial education suffers

from inadequate and outmoded facilities and working equipment and from the absence of correlation between its programs and the needs of industry.

Industrial schools have four- to five-year courses, which include some academic subjects as well as those pertaining to a chosen specialty, such as mechanics, electricity, foundry work, metallurgy, and motor mechanics. There are also more advanced technical institutes which offer a seven-year course for technicians. In 1960, there were 31 of these schools and institutes throughout the country, with approximately 5,000 students. In addition, there were six polytechnic institutes, of which two were in Bogotá, the others in Tunja, Neiva, Cartagena, and Carmen del Bolívar, with a total of 1,500 students. They offer a varied technical program to "prepare middle class youth for manual professions." The trade schools train semiskilled and skilled workers for industry in three- and four-year courses, respectively, as well as tradesmen for non-industrial trades, such as weaving, carpentry, and shoemaking in a two-year course.

Teacher Training

Underpaid and badly trained teachers represent one of the crucial problems in education. The profession itself holds few attractions, since, in addition to inferior salaries, it entails a great deal of insecurity in regard to placement, promotion, and tenure. The social prestige of the primary and secondary teacher is generally low.

Tuition and board are free in most of the public teachers' schools. Although there are 98 schools in the country, only 178, or an average of 2 students per school graduated in 1956. Of those who graduate, not more than 30 percent dedicate themselves to teaching. Many persons without serious interest in teaching enroll in one of the schools in order to receive free lodging and food and a secondary education of sorts.

Primary school teachers are trained in rural schools and in regular schools. The prerequisite for enrollment in both is the completion of a primary education. Regular schools have a five-year course, which is terminated with the granting of a diploma and the official title of *maestro*. Schools for rural teachers offer a four-year course. Their curricula combine general academic subjects, practice-teaching, and some agricultural work. A majority of the students in these institutions are women.

Even though the training is free of charge, relatively few of those enrolled complete the four-year cycle; a dropout rate of about 50 percent between the first and fourth year is not unusual. Of those who graduate, a considerable number refuse to work in

rural areas and attempt to obtain a position in urban elementary schools. Government measures since the mid-1950's to improve rural teacher training have included the establishment of rural education pilot schools in Pamplona, Uribia, and Malaga. Elementary schools operate in conjunction with these training centers. Designed to qualify teachers for a central role in the activities leading to rural community improvement, the curricula include cooperativism, modern agricultural techniques, hygiene, and community organization. The schools receive monetary and technical assistance from UNESCO. In addition, there is an agricultural teachers' school in Loricá to prepare teachers for the vocational agricultural schools.

Because of the acute teacher shortage, schools often have no alternative but to hire persons with only a year or two of teachers' school training or those with an incomplete secondary education. In 1955, for example, nearly 70 percent of the public elementary school teachers were inadequately or incompletely trained. In 1960, only about one-third of a total of 35,000 teachers were graduates of teachers' schools. In the private elementary schools, the women teachers are in many cases members of the upper class who have a *bachillerato* and choose to work temporarily.

The government has organized short-term, intensified courses for the training of teachers in Medellín and Bogotá. A monthly government subsidy of Col\$150 is granted to those who enroll. The number of participants in these courses in 1958 was 175 in Medellín and 80 in Bogotá. In 1959, the enrollment figures dropped to 88 and 58 respectively.

Secondary school teachers are trained in higher teachers' schools, at the Pedagogical University of Tunja, at the National Pedagogical University for Women, and by pedagogical faculties of several universities. The *bachillerato* degree is an entrance requirement in these institutions. The courses are four years in length. According to a survey of the Colombian Association of Universities, the pedagogical universities graduated only 1,200 secondary teachers between 1933 and 1958.

Only a minority of secondary school teachers have completed professional training. Most of them have a *bachillerato* certificate and a few years of professional study at the university level, which, for either academic or financial reasons, they were unable to complete.

The low salaries prevailing in the teaching profession are the main reasons for its failure to attract many and are responsible for the high rate of professional desertion on the part of trained teachers. In 1955, approximately 50 percent of the elementary

teachers received less than Col\$200 per month. Only 6 percent received the maximum salary of Col\$300. These figures compare unfavorably with the average minimum earnings of taxicab drivers and bricklayers, which amount to Col\$300-350 per month. Between 1955 and 1960, most of the departments increased teachers' salaries to some extent, but these increases have not kept pace with the diminishing purchasing power of the peso (see ch. 80, Banking and Currency System). Secondary school teachers earn about Col\$170-200 a month more than elementary teachers.

An important factor which discourages many from entering a teaching career is the arbitrary nature of transfers and dismissals. Although officially a teacher may be removed only for manifest incapacity or misconduct, departmental secretaries of education may at any time order a teacher's transfer to undesirable or remote places, an action which is considered the equivalent of dismissal. Such actions often take place if the teacher's political views fail to coincide with those of his superiors in the departmental office of education. Political considerations, moreover, often play a decisive role in the granting of promotions or tenure.

Higher Education

Of the country's 23 universities, 11 are private, 9 are departmental, and 3 are national, including the country's largest university, the National University of Bogotá, with an enrollment of over 6,000, and the pedagogical universities in Tunja and Bogotá. The alternatives to university education are the schools of higher learning (*escuelas superiores*). Among these are several institutions, notably in Medellín, Bolívar, Quibdó, and Bogotá, devoted to the higher education of women (*colegios mayores de cultura femenina*) and the National School of Physical Education.

Character of Universities

During the tenure of office of Rojas Pinilla (1953-57), universities were controlled by law or by ministerial decrees. Political influence or affiliation generally determined the appointments of rectors or of key administrative officials. In July 1958, Decree Law No. 0277 established university autonomy. It was primarily designed to free the universities from political influence and to bring professors and students into the Consejo Superior, the principal policy-making and administrative body of the university. However, the Consejo also includes the governor and the secretary of education of the department, both of whom are politically influential persons. Moreover, the appointment to the Consejo of repre-

representatives of professional associations and of former students is subject to approval by the departmental governor and the secretary of education.

University education is nearly always exclusively professional preparation. The universities as well as the schools of higher learning comprise several faculties (also called schools or institutes), representing professional specialties. The largest number of faculties exist in the fields of law, architecture, economics, medicine, and chemical engineering. There is no time devoted to liberal arts courses during the early phases of most university programs and no place for elective subjects later within the rigidly prescribed professional curriculum. Since the mid-1950's, however, several universities, notably the University of Cartagena, the University of Santander, and the University of the Andes, have broadened their curricula. Basic courses in the humanities, social sciences, general science, and language (English and Spanish) are offered during the first two years. Students enter their fields of specialization during the third year.

Four years of university studies lead to the degree of *doctorado*, approximately the equivalent of a bachelor's degree in the United States. In the case of a five- to six-year degree program, notably in engineering, the *doctorado* may represent the equivalent of a year or two of graduate studies. In most universities, no programs of study are offered on the graduate level. Those who wish to pursue graduate studies go abroad, mostly to the United States.

Nearly all universities rely on a staff of part-time instructors, consisting of professional men who devote a certain number of hours per week to teaching. Although some of these part-time instructors have high professional standing, the majority lack the qualifications needed for university teaching. Their academic training usually goes no further than the *doctorado*, obtained after four to six years of university study. The number of university professors who possess a doctor's degree from the United States or from a European country is small.

Since the 1950's, the level of university instruction has, in general, benefited from the growing opportunities for graduate professional training abroad. Many of those who return from such training, however, prefer to accept a lucrative industrial job rather than to devote themselves to teaching for a relatively modest university salary. For full-time teaching, a university professor may receive from about Col\$1,800-2,000 per month. In a very few cases, the salary level may reach Col\$3,000 per month. Even though this salary greatly exceeds that of an elementary or secondary teacher, it is considerably below what an upper-middle or upper-class professional man can earn.

A number of universities have made considerable efforts to place at least a part of their faculty on a full-time basis. Those which have been partly or fully successful in these efforts include the University of Valle, the University of the Andes, the Industrial University of Santander in Bucaramanga, certain departments of the National University, and the Catholic Javeriana University.

The absence of faculties for graduate studies and the largely theoretical nature of university instruction account for the relative aloofness of most universities from research activities, particularly from those which concern themselves with practical problems affecting the country, such as malnutrition, disease, and soil utilization. Since the 1950's however, efforts at some of the universities, particularly among social science faculties, have been directed toward establishing research centers in connection with graduate teaching programs. Such centers are also designed to bring about an increase in the number of full-time university instructors. An orientation toward community problems, moreover, has become apparent in the professional training programs of several universities.

At the National University, the medical faculty conducts an urban preventive health program which involves field work in the community. Law students have been assigned to a number of courts in Bogotá to gain practical experience. At the University of Valle, the economics faculty has conducted a major agricultural and cattle survey. The economic research center at the University of the Andes devotes many of its activities to community projects.

Perhaps the most outstanding representative of modernization at the university level is the University of the Andes. A private institution founded in 1949 by Mario Laserna, it is modeled to a large extent after United States universities. Its curriculum emphasizes engineering, economics, and science, especially chemistry, as well as a wide range of the humanities. There is also intensive language training in English. A transfer arrangement with the universities of Illinois, Pittsburgh, and Texas enables the students majoring in engineering or economics to finish their junior and senior year at any of these universities.

By 1958, 135 students in engineering, 8 in economics, and 1 in architecture had graduated under this arrangement. The program is financed by a loan fund geared to the financial resources of the students. Contrary to practice in other universities in the country, the University of the Andes has a full-time faculty of about 70, which includes many scholars from the United States and Europe; graduates are in great demand by industry and government.

Another institution which offers a vigorous science program in conjunction with subjects in the humanities is the Industrial Uni-

versity of Santander in Bucaramanga. The University of Valle has also become known for its diversified curriculum, its efficient administration, and its community-oriented research activities.

Tulane University (New Orleans) has a cooperative project to develop medical education in Colombia. The improvement of medical education is also the object of a joint program between the University of Pennsylvania and the medical faculty of Javeriana University. Michigan State University is cooperating with the faculties of agriculture at several Colombian universities. The University of California has initiated a plan for the exchange of students and professors to conduct community development studies.

More than half the universities have been built since the 1930's. Because of the absence of a central planning authority, there has been duplication of facilities. At the same time, no provisions were made for proper equipment and adequate staffs. These shortages have prevailed and continue to hamper the operations of many of the recently built universities.

To coordinate university expansion, to regulate the use of facilities, and to serve as a channel of communication between universities, the Colombian Association of Universities was established in 1954. It is headed by a National Council of Rectors, which includes the heads of the country's 23 universities. The Association's approval is required for the establishment of new universities. In addition, the Association is responsible for the supervision and improvement of academic standards and university autonomy and serves as a clearinghouse among universities for the exchange of successful innovations. The Association operates through the National University Fund, to which every university contributes a certain percentage of its income and which receives a government subsidy equaling 1 percent of the national budget for education.

Enrollment and Student Body

The enrollment in universities and in institutions of higher learning increased from 13,284 in 1955 to 19,212 in 1958. At least 40 percent of the students who begin the first year of their university work fail to finish the second year. Only 15 percent proceed to the third year, and not more than 10 percent reach the final year.

Of the total of 12,000 university students in 1954, 8,200 studied medicine; 2,300, law; 900, architecture; and 700, dentistry. The next highest figure, 300, represented enrollment in economics. The enrollment figures for professions which are urgently needed in the national economy, such as agronomy, veterinary science, and chemistry, were even lower. The ratio of distribution of students by fields of study in 1958 was very similar, with 3,430 in medicine, 4,966 in law, and 4,553 in engineering, out of a total of 18,212.

However, enrollment in the natural sciences was a relatively high 1,508. The fine arts and the social sciences also registered an increase in enrollment.

Even though there is an oversupply of lawyers and doctors, their services could be readily utilized in rural areas. The determination of new medical graduates to work in the major cities has created a congested professional labor market and a prevalence of unemployment among the new graduates in the urban areas. To encourage the migration of professionals to the rural areas, some of the universities have launched one-year rural internship programs for young lawyers and doctors. The scope of such programs, however, is limited, and the response is generally poor.

On the other hand, those who have chosen the sciences, economics, business management, or mechanical engineering as their major fields are readily absorbed into well-paid industrial jobs. Students who have completed part of their training in foreign, notably United States, universities, are especially in demand. At the University of the Andes, students are frequently signed up for future positions by industrial employers even before they graduate.

Tuition and other fees at public universities are relatively moderate and are, in most cases, adjusted to family income. The cost is higher in fields, such as dentistry, which require the use of much equipment. Private universities charge higher fees; thus, the annual cost of study in the engineering faculties of the University of the Andes and Javeriana University are Col\$1,400 and Col\$1,500, respectively.

Scholarships and loan opportunities have become available to many students, especially since the establishment in 1952 of ICETEX. A central coordinating agency for educational exchange, student aid, and professional placement for students returning from abroad, ICETEX was developed by the former Minister of Education Gabriel Betancur-Mejía. Initiated under a modest initial grant, ICETEX holdings in 1960 exceeded Col\$10 million. The funds represent government grants which amount to Col\$2 million per year as well as contributions from private industries and business firms and from departmental and municipal governments. The funds are used to assist students with low-interest loans, grants, and scholarships to enable them to pursue graduate or undergraduate studies at overseas universities.

An important function of ICETEX is the evaluation and professional placement of students who have returned from universities abroad. Between 1952 and 1958, more than 4,000 Colombians assisted by ICETEX loans and grants studied abroad. United States universities are preferred by many of the students. In 1959,

of a total of 1,815 Colombians enrolled at universities abroad, 676 studied in the United States, 576 in other Latin American countries, and 563 in Europe. ICETEX is also the administrator of government loans, called University Board Allowances, extended to needy students who attend domestic universities.

University students participate actively in politics; the academic program is often interrupted for weeks, sometimes for months. Strikes may erupt spontaneously, but in some cases they may be called on a regional or country-wide basis by the National Students' Strike Committee, which played a significant part in the events leading to the overthrow of Rojas Pinilla in 1957 (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). More recent political demonstrations (1960) involved student representatives of the Communist Party and of the Catholic Revolutionary Movement at the National University and other universities in Bogotá.

Students exercise considerable influence in university government. In most cases, they are represented on administrative boards and other bodies which concern themselves with curriculum formulation and the appointments of teaching and administrative staffs. Student displeasure over the actions of the latter is one of the frequent causes of strikes. In 1960, the University of Atlántico was at a standstill for 77 days because of protest strikes against a rector who refused to resign. The question of the choice of rectors was also the cause of strikes at the universities of Tunja and Cauca during the fall of 1960.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS AND COURSES

The Ministry of Education and the departments maintain 364 night schools for working adults to improve their literacy and also to impart fundamental instruction in certain academic and practical subjects. In 1958, 18,431 persons, mostly working youths between 16 and 20 years of age, were enrolled in these schools. In accordance with legal provision established in 1947, industrial, mining, and agricultural establishments maintain literacy centers for the children of their employees if there are more than 40 such children.

The educational needs of deaf-mute, blind, and mentally retarded children are met in six special schools in which a total of 710 children were enrolled in 1958.

Since the 1950's, a number of special courses have been organized by the Ministry of Education to improve the standards of living of practicing farmers, to introduce new farming techniques, and to help improve rural community life by offering information on family budgeting, health measures, and recreation. In 1958,

63 such courses were organized, usually through vocational agriculture and rural normal schools.

Their attendance between 1953 and 1956 averaged only a little over 50 percent of the original enrollment. Similar courses for rural adult women operate in conjunction with the domestic science schools for rural girls.

Acción Cultural Popular

The Acción Cultural Popular is a system of radio schools designed to promote literacy in remote rural areas where school facilities are lacking. It was established in 1948 by a Catholic priest, Father José Joaquín Salcedó. From Sutatenza, a small town in the department of Boyacá, a main transmitter broadcasts classes in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Religious talks and lectures on hygiene, home economics, and agriculture are also presented. These broadcasts are received by rural pupils, ranging from 4 to 64 years of age, gathered in groups of 10 to 20 around battery-powered shortwave radios. The classes are led by an "auxiliary" (*auxiliar inmediato*), who transcribes on a blackboard the reading and writing exercises according to the instructions of the radio instructor. Chosen by the parish priest on the basis of reputation and intelligence, the auxiliaries are sent for training to the Campesino Institute operated by the Acción Cultural Popular at Sutatenza before they begin their work. Where this is not practicable, they are trained by the parish priest.

Blackboards, reading and writing materials, and alarm clocks to determine broadcasting times are supplied free of charge by the Acción Cultural Popular. The shortwave radios, however, must be purchased by the groups of pupils at a cost of approximately U.S.\$14-18. As a general rule, most pupils achieve at least semi-literacy within about eight months, if they attend the radio schools regularly.

Since the beginning of the operation of radio schools in 1948, about one-half million rural pupils have attained literacy, according to the estimates of an official of the Acción Cultural Popular. The number of schools increased from 6,500 in 1956 to 17,162 in 1958. According to statistical information supplied by the Acción Cultural Popular, the number of pupils officially enrolled in 1958 was 145,248. Figures from earlier years, however, indicate that the number of people actually reached by the school broadcasts is between 200,000 and 300,000.

The Acción Cultural Popular receives substantial financial contributions from public and private sources and, above all, from the Catholic Church. The government contributes about Col\$3 million annually.

CHAPTER 11

RELIGION

Colombia is overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. Most estimates place the Catholic proportion of the population close to 99 percent, defining as Catholic those who have been baptized in that church and have not expressly changed their religious affiliation. This figure is one of the highest in Latin America. Furthermore, the Church probably has greater influence on civil and political life than in any other country of the Western Hemisphere. Colombians accord their nation special responsibility in upholding the tradition of Catholicism that has marked their history from the beginning of the colonial period.

At the same time, the Church in Colombia has been criticized in recent years by members of the Catholic clergy as well as by non-Catholics for the emphasis which it has placed on the formal elements of religion. Critics suggest that attention has been too exclusively given to attendance at Mass, participation in religious feast days and the reception of the sacraments, leaving many Colombians without a clear understanding of religious doctrine. In addition, the critics charge that the Church has divorced itself from actuality by its failure to stress ethical values in religion, by its lack of interest in social welfare and by its overly close identification with the Conservative Party.

Partly in response to such criticisms, the outlook of the Church has undergone some change in recent years. The new course has led toward more active participation in social welfare programs and, in politics, increased support for social reform.

In comparison with Catholicism, other faiths have little importance in Colombia. Several Protestant groups, however, have gained national attention. Protestant proselytizing activity is a recent development, dating largely from the 1930's. Before that time, the few congregations that existed were composed mainly of a small number of Protestant immigrants. In the midst of the civil disturbances of the 1950's, some conflict arose over the activities of Protestant missionaries and the association of these activities with political discord.

Because of Colombia's policy of restricting immigration, few adherents of other religions have entered the country. There are a few small Jewish congregations in some of the larger cities. But, in the absence of substantial immigration from Asia, Colombia lacks representation of the Eastern religions that are found in some other countries of Latin America.

Of the indigenous religions encountered by the Spaniards in Colombia, few survive. The modern Indians of the highlands are at least nominally Catholics, and only a few lowland tribes of the eastern region continue to practice their aboriginal religion.

Nevertheless, in the face of Colombia's overwhelming Catholicism, there exist alternative or supplementary means of dealing with the supernatural that do not constitute part of this religion. These beliefs and practices, found largely in rural areas, emphasize magic and appear to be survivals of religious beliefs of the original groups whose descendants form the modern population. Although their origin is not clear in all cases, some forms of magic appear to be derived from earlier Indian religious practices, others are associated with the African heritage of the negro population, and some can be identified with the sixteenth-century European beliefs brought by the early colonizers.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The Colonial Period

The modern position of the Church in Colombia represents, in large measure, the preservation of a pattern that was established in the initial years of the colonial period. Other countries of the New World shared this early heritage, but, in the century following independence from Spain, the greater number redefined the position of the Church. The same process took place in Colombia, but here some aspects of the colonial religious tradition were reasserted during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The Spanish conquest of the New World was, in a very important sense, a religious mission with the object of converting the Indians to Christianity, and members of the clergy accompanied the earliest colonial expeditions. At the same time, the Catholic Church was an arm of the government in the settlement of the Western Hemisphere.

Through a series of papal bulls, some of which were based on traditional practices in the Iberian Peninsula, the Crown obtained several rights in the sphere of religion that gave it much tighter control over the Church in the Indies than in Spain. The Spanish monarchs obtained dominion over the new lands and the exclusive privilege of Christianizing the Indies, in return for which they

equipped religious expeditions, which the Pope was unable to do. In addition, they received the tithes of the Church while incurring the responsibility of maintaining the Church from the funds of the royal treasury. Finally, the Crown secured the right of universal patronage, or the right of nominating candidates for religious offices, while obligating itself to defend the religious establishment without interfering in spiritual matters.

In accordance with these provisions, the Spanish monarchs exercised numerous religious rights, either directly or through their local political authorities in the New World. They set the standards for holding ecclesiastical office, nominated the candidates for these positions and licensed their travel to and within the Indies. The Crown also controlled religious affairs by determining the territorial boundaries of dioceses and parishes in accordance with political divisions, deciding questions of patronage in civil courts, controlling the holding of Church councils and synods, supervising the circulation of papal documents in the New World and denying the jurisdiction of the Pope's representatives in America. The religious orders were also controlled by the Spanish kings who determined their membership, supervised the creation and suppression of their houses, granted the rights of superiors to travel to America and hold office and required annual reports of their activity. The Crown determined the building of all ecclesiastical establishments—churches, monasteries, hermitages and charitable institutions such as hospitals.

The government collected Indian tribute and applied it to the needs of Church institutions, contributing the balance from the royal treasury. It was the Spanish Crown that established the Inquisition in America to protect the Church against the intrusion of non-Christians and guard it from Catholics accused of heresy. In later years, this body was increasingly dedicated to political ends and served to suppress liberalism as well as heresy.

Within this legal framework the Church flourished and became a major force in many areas of life during the colonial era. From the start colonizing expeditions included chaplains who ministered to the soldiers, attracted Indians to the faith and often prevented harmful treatment of the Indians. The construction of churches was also initiated in the early period, beginning with the building of a chapel in 1510 in the first settlement on the Gulf of Urabá. With the growth of settlements, churches were soon built in all the population centers and in the major cities—Santa Marta, Cartagena, Popayán and Santa Fé de Bogotá. These churches were soon elevated to cathedrals. The major portion of this construction was undertaken by the Crown, although some wealthy landholders also erected churches.

For much of the early colonial period the conversion of Indians and negroes remained a dominant goal of the Church. For this purpose, *doctrinas* (special parishes of Indians which were not under episcopal jurisdiction) were created in the densely populated areas of the nation, and missions were sent to the lowland and forest groups. From the early years, these groups were largely under the control of the religious orders, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans. In time, Mercedarians, Augustinians and Jesuits also participated in the work of conversion.

The Church pursued its missionary efforts by various means. Indians were obliged to attend preaching and instruction in catechism. Idolatry was fought through the destruction of shrines and idols. Drunkenness was combatted with a vain prohibition on the consumption of *chicha* (a popular fermented beverage made from maize, pineapple or other fruit). The Church also sought to enforce the wearing of decorous dress among the Indians.

In the work of converting the native population, one of the most distinguished figures was a Dominican, Luis Beltrán (Louis Bertrand) who was canonized in 1670 and became one of the patron saints. He arrived from Spain in 1562 and spent the following seven years converting thousands of Indians along the Atlantic coastal area from Panama through Cartagena to Santa Marta.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was reported that the majority of the Indians had been baptized and all their communities were served by priests. It is likely that, at the end of the colonial period, most of the indigenous inhabitants were familiar with at least some aspects of Catholicism and considered themselves Christians, with only a few Indian groups remaining unaffected.

In the twentieth century, a few Indian groups among those who have experienced missionary activity still remain relatively unaffected by this teaching. They include the Guajiras, the Arhuacos and some of the eastern forest groups. In addition, there are a few tribes which have never been reached. Among them are some isolated Indian groups which are gradually being discovered in the Chocó region, some in the eastern area and the Motilones (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups).

All the highland (reservation) Indians, however, and many of the forest tribes are now at least nominal Catholics and practice some aspects of the religion, although familiarity with Church doctrine varies among them. Religion is probably the one aspect of national culture that has spread to almost all Indian groups, many of whom are still outside Colombian society in other respects. Among the highland Indians, considerable importance is attached

to the observance of feast days while, in comparison, no attention is paid to national holidays or the fulfillment of obligations to the government.

Catholicism was also quite thoroughly imparted to negro slaves as they entered the country. From the start, they were rapidly assimilated into the national culture and absorbed into the national religion (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups). However, among the modern negro coastal population, there is still some variation in degree of familiarity with Catholic practices and beliefs.

The Church also played the role of protector of Indian and negro groups through much of Colombian history. The clergy was the only group that protested the abuses of those unable to defend themselves. The Church generally supported measures designed to benefit the Indians and, in some cases, defended the lands of the highland Indians. San Luis Beltrán protested the treatment of the Indian groups along the Atlantic coast.

The most noted of those who sought to protect the negro slaves was a Jesuit, Pedro Claver, who became Colombia's other patron saint when he was canonized after the readmission of the Jesuits in 1888. Father Claver was born in Spain but settled in Cartagena in 1616 where he remained until his death in 1654. He spent the entire period caring for the negro slaves, teaching them Christianity and trying to improve their conditions as they debarked from the slavers and were kept in warehouses in the port.

The Church served several important social functions throughout the colonial period. One of its major activities was education. Most schools were founded by religious orders, and the Church generally ran the educational system. The Jesuits opened *colegios* in several cities and founded the Universidad Católica Javeriana in Bogotá in 1622.

In general, the Church was the vanguard of cultural life. The principal writers of the colonial period were members of the clergy. The Jesuits were reported to have brought the first printing press, to have edited the first books and to have introduced and developed the first coffee plantations. In the nineteenth century, Archbishop Antonio Caballero y Góngora supported a number of scientific projects including the introduction of new mining methods and the improved cultivation of several crops such as coffee and flax. He also supported the botanical expedition that was one of the major scientific ventures to the New World (see ch. 9, Artistic and Intellectual Expression).

In the field of social welfare, the Church founded and administered a number of institutions, including orphanages, hospitals and other charitable houses.

At the same time, the Church constituted a major economic force. During the course of the colonial period, it received substantial grants of land so that it was one of the larger landlords by the time of independence. The Church was also an important source of capital since it derived income from various sources. This money was usually invested in real estate and mortgages.

In all these activities, the Church was both supervised and supported by the Crown, although some struggles ensued between government officials and prelates over such problems as the allocation of funds. In a number of cases the clergy won. However, with the expulsion of the Jesuits in the eighteenth century, the activities of the Church were hard hit. Public instruction and the areas under mission control felt the adverse effects particularly.

Independence and After

With the coming of the struggle for independence in the early nineteenth century, the Church was split. The higher clergy were largely loyal to Spain, partly because they depended upon the favor of the Crown for their privileged position. Many of the lower clergy favored the revolution, and some preached in favor of it, collected funds to support the rebels and, in some cases, actually fought for independence. In this the clergy reflected the general split in Colombian society which found the *criollos* (colonial-born white people) in opposition to the *peninsulares* (people born in the Iberian Peninsula) who occupied positions of higher status in various institutions. In return, the Inquisition, as an arm of the Crown, condemned the idea of popular sovereignty as heresy. At the same time, some Church authorities attributed a radical anti-religious program to Freemasonry, although there is little evidence concerning its role in the events of the period.

In any case, the revolution was not antireligious. Bolívar sought the separation of Church and state, and some revolutionary leaders were opposed to the economic power wielded by the clergy. However, almost all the major figures of the war of independence wanted to maintain the privileged position of the Catholic Church in the nation, and the early charters of New Granada declared Catholicism to be the state religion. The postliberation Angostura Congress made an approach to the Vatican, probably as much for religious reasons as to gain political recognition for the new nation.

When independence appeared certain, many of the higher clergy expressed sympathy for the revolution, though this was probably an attempt to preserve the temporal powers of the Church. Bolívar's policy of conciliation also appears to have helped in gaining the support of some bishops, one of whom sent a favorable report

on the new government to the Vatican. After a difficult period of negotiations, during which the Holy See felt pressure from the Holy Alliance against the acceptance of independence, the Pope named the first bishops to Colombia in 1827.

Despite this first step and the support of Catholicism by leaders of independence, the issue of church-state relations was far from settled. This problem dominated Colombian history for most of the nineteenth century. It involved the definition of the new role of the Church in society, after the close ties between Church and Crown had been severed.

Patronage was the major problem that arose immediately after independence. Colombia, like the other new republics, sought control over appointments to Church offices since this right had long been identified with power by the Spanish monarchs. It also is likely that the independent states wanted to curb the Church since some of the higher clergy were Spanish sympathizers and because of its economic power. Both the Angostura Congress and the Constitution of Cundinamarca provided for national patronage but, at the same time, hoped for papal confirmation. In 1824 the Government of Grán Colombia declared itself heir to the right of patronage. The Holy See did not recognize this right but assumed an attitude of tolerance.

After the dissolution of Grán Colombia in 1830, the Conservative Party governed for most of the period until 1849. This party, representing the landowners, the clergy and the military, viewed the protection of Catholicism as a vital part of its program to achieve national stability. Nevertheless, the policy of protection also involved efforts by the government to control the Church. These efforts resulted in some tension between Church and state, but a complete rupture was avoided during the period of Conservative rule.

In the two decades after the dissolution of Grán Colombia, support for the Church was expressed in several measures. In 1831 Catholicism was declared to be the state religion, and no other was to be tolerated. The Constitutions of 1832 and 1843 stated that it was the role of the government to protect Catholicism. This period also saw the suppression of a periodical of Bogotá that was fighting for religious toleration, the readmission of the Jesuits and the extension of their jurisdiction in the mission areas. In accordance with this treatment of the Church, there was general rejoicing in 1835 when the Pope recognized the independence of the nation, the first Spanish American republic to receive recognition. This was followed by restoration of the hierarchy and the sending of a papal representative.

The last event, however, was not greeted favorably, and the papal representative's plan for a concordat did not come to pass. Furthermore, he was not permitted to exercise the functions of Church government until a law was passed giving the executive the right to review papal instructions to him. These measures reflected the attempts of the government to limit the powers of the Church while granting it a special status in society; during the 1830-49 period, a number of other actions were taken in this direction.

Efforts were made by the government to establish popular education; the government sought to exercise the right of patronage; civil tribunals were granted superior status over the ecclesiastical court; and a law was passed charging the police with supervision of the clergy to see that they did not usurp temporal power. Religious orders were placed under supervision, cemetery land was granted to non-Catholics, and, finally, tithes were abolished and the fiscal protection of the Church terminated.

Nevertheless, these measures, taken by Conservative governments, did not seek to deny the Church a privileged position. In contrast, the steps taken by the Liberal Party, which came into power in 1849, were far more drastic and involved a radical alteration of the status of the Church. With the exception of a brief interlude between 1855 and 1860, when Conservatives regained control, the Liberals were in power until the 1880's. Particularly in the period from 1850 to 1867, the Liberals took measures against the Church that were as drastic as any others in Latin America during the period.

The Constitutions of 1853 and 1863 provided for freedom of religion, denying the special position of Catholicism. When, in 1853, the Pope protested some of the anticlerical measures of the preceding year, Congress reacted by declaring the separation of Church and state. Colombia thus became the first Latin American country to take this step.

Efforts to establish stringent government control over the activities of the clergy involved: extinction of the rights of ecclesiastical courts, with the Supreme Court assuming jurisdiction over the clergy for religious as well as civil matters; the requirement that members of the clergy had to swear allegiance to the Constitution and obtain government authorization before being allowed to carry on their duties; the granting of considerable powers of supervision over the Church to the national and local governmental bodies; and, in several instances, the exile or imprisonment of prelates who objected to these laws.

The property of the Church also came under consideration. Tithes were abolished, a fixed income for the clergy was set, the

ownership of Churches was declared to be vested in resident Catholics, and the state took over all the property of religious communities and other bodies, with the exception of buildings used directly for the exercise of religious activities. In accordance with the last measure, all convents, monasteries and religious houses were suppressed.

Other government action legalized divorce and made marriage an obligatory civil ceremony, secularized the cemeteries, ended diplomatic representation at the Holy See and eliminated the right of the Church to educate its priests by incorporating the archdiocesan seminary into the national college (see ch. 7, Family). Finally, the Jesuits were expelled, readmitted during the Conservative interlude of the 1850's and again expelled afterwards.

The majority of the anticlerical actions were taken before 1867, and even though the Liberals remained in power for another thirteen years, their policy was less extreme in the later period. Nevertheless, by 1880 the years of Liberal rule had placed the Church in a position that was unique for a Catholic country. At the same time, the issue of church-state relations were not permanently settled. The Conservatives had not accepted the anticlerical measures, and civil strife continued. In the eyes of some, the religious issue was destroying the nation. Recognizing this problem, a group of Liberals headed by President Núñez embarked in the 1880's upon a policy designed to bring peace and restore the Church to some of its earlier power. To this end, they opened negotiations with the Holy See and a papal representative again arrived in Colombia. The period that followed was known as the Regeneration (Regeneración), and it witnessed the establishment of a government policy toward the Church that has not changed in its essential elements up to the present.

Evolution of the Church's Modern Role

The 1880's marked the definition of the present-day position of the Church in the nation. Church-state relations constituted the major political issue of the nineteenth century, in contrast to the twentieth century. Although the Church has continued to be a political issue in recent years, the ground rules of the religious dispute were laid down in the 1880's, and the position of the Church has not changed in any basic respect since then.

Furthermore, the settlement applies to both political parties. During the nineteenth century, the Church as an institution was clearly identified with the Conservative Party, and the religious issue was probably the major one distinguishing the two parties. To a certain extent, the Conservative Party is still thought of as a bulwark

of the Church, but the Liberals also accept the basic position of the Church in Colombian society, even though their opposition did not completely cease after the 1880's.

The first reversal of earlier policy came with the Constitution of 1886, promulgated in 1888 and still in force. This document proclaims God to be the source of all authority and states that the Catholic Church is to be respected as an element of the social order. The Church is free to exercise spiritual authority and ecclesiastical power and, as a legal entity, can take civil action. At the same time, the Church preserves its independence of the temporal authority. Furthermore, all religions not contrary to Christian morality are given freedom of operation, and the individual is declared to be free from interference on grounds of religious belief.

The Constitution also authorized the government to sign a Concordat to settle the outstanding issues of church-state relations. The agreement was reached in 1887 and ratified by Congress in 1888. The document grants the Catholic Church as favored a position in Colombia as it enjoys in any nation.

The first article of the Concordat specifies:

The Roman Catholic Apostolic religion is the religion of Colombia, the public powers recognize it as an essential element of the social order and they are bound to protect and enforce respect for it and its ministers, leaving to it at the same time the full enjoyment of its rights and prerogatives.

Accordingly the Church is given complete liberty in its ecclesiastical jurisdiction and is granted juridical personality. It can acquire properties, some of which—churches, seminaries and clerical residences—are exempt from taxation. The religious orders are also granted juridical personality. Members of the clergy are exempted from the draft and other public duties incompatible with their profession. The Holy See agrees to aid in the establishment of charitable and educational institutions.

It is in education that the Church is granted some of its most notable powers. Religious instruction and the observation of Catholic practices are declared to be obligatory in all schools, and the government agrees to prevent the teaching of ideas contrary to Catholic belief. The Church is given the right to select texts for moral and religious instruction in all schools; this right has sometimes been extended to the selection of books for other subjects.

In other articles of the Concordat, the Holy See is given the right to fill the positions of archbishop and bishop and to establish the boundaries of ecclesiastical divisions, but in both cases it agrees to consult the government. The Church is given jurisdiction over the marriage of all Catholics and, for them, religious marriage is obligatory for the contract to have civil validity (see ch. 7, Family).

Other provisions of the Concordat settle a number of financial issues involved in church-state relations. Thus, the government recognizes in perpetuity its debts to the Church incurred through the confiscation of the property of religious bodies, and the Holy See grants it exemption for certain property disentailed before the signing of the Concordat. In return for this exemption, the government pledges to pay the Church annually certain funds, according to the state of the national treasury, for the support of Church institutions and activities.

Since the signing of the Concordat, a series of other agreements and legislative measures have further specified the details of church-state relations. Several conventions established the financial amounts that the government has agreed to appropriate for Church activities in compensation for property confiscated during the Liberal regime of the nineteenth century. An agreement of 1892 regulated the treatment of clergy who become involved with the law for civil matters; placed cemeteries under ecclesiastical authority while providing for the creation of municipal cemeteries for non-Catholics; and entrusted the civil register to the Church. In 1902 the government agreed to appropriate funds and lands for the mission territories and entrusted the missions with the direction of primary schools. In 1927 provision was made for the civil marriage of non-Catholics upon their formal declaration of separation from the Church. A 1928 agreement organized the religious service of the army.

Although new agreements are reached from time to time between the Church and the government, for example the granting of diplomatic passports to cardinals and archbishops in 1958, the position of the Church was defined in all major respects in the Concordat of 1887. In accordance with this definition, the Catholic Church has continued to play a major role in several fields.

Perhaps the most important area of Church endeavor has been education (see ch. 10, Education). After the signing of the Concordat, a number of new teaching orders entered the country. Many of these carry the burden of secondary-school teaching which is largely controlled by the Church and, according to some critics, is supported at the expense of primary education. At present, the Church is variously estimated to maintain from 2,585 to 4,919 schools. In the mission territories, where the Church controls education completely, a greater importance appears to be attached to primary education.

The Church also has a prominent role in the field of higher education. In 1910 the Jesuits were given a contract by the Ministry of Public Instruction establishing their control over certain branches of higher education. In 1931 the Universidad Católica Javeriana was reopened in Bogotá under their direction after more than a

century of interruption, and around the same time the Universidad Bolivarian was established in Medellín.

In 1945 the Federation of Catholic Schools (Federación de Colegios Católicos) helped to sponsor the first Inter-American Congress of Catholic Education which met in Bogotá. This meeting resulted in the organization of the Inter-American Confederation of Catholic Education (Confederación Interamericana de Educación Católica) which maintains its headquarters in Bogotá.

In a related field, mission activity, the Church has another important role. In the mission territories, the more remote and sparsely settled sections of the nation, the government has not established effective controls. Therefore, it has regarded the missions as the instruments of civilization in these areas and has given them control over education as well as some financial assistance and grants of land for cultivation. Since the missions are particularly concerned with the instruction and Christianization of the numerous small Indian tribes in the territories, the Church has representation in the National Indian Institute.

Mission work is carried on by a number of orders, some of which returned after the 1880's, while others entered the country then for the first time. At present 11 different orders are reported to be operating in the mission territories. The Capuchins play the leading role in this work, but Augustinians, Jesuits and others are represented. It is reported that foreign missionaries and nuns dominate missionary activity, but some of the work is in the hands of orders that have grown up in the country. Among these are the Little Sisters of the Poor of St. Peter Claver (Hermanitas de los Pobres de San Pedro Claver) and the Xaverian Missionaries of the Pontifical Seminary of Yarumal (Misioneros Javerianos del Seminario Pontificio de Yarumal).

The orders have the chief responsibility for the maintenance of Catholic charitable institutions throughout the country. These include hospitals, orphanages, leper asylums, and other welfare establishments. At present there are reported to be 811 such institutions run by the Church.

The Church also has a tradition of activity in journalism. In the last century, one of the best-known religious journals was *Reportorio Colombiano* (Colombian Repertory), which has among its modern successors the university magazines such as the *Revista Javeriana* of the Universidad Javeriana of Bogotá. There are also about 40 other Church-sponsored publications, most of them weeklies.

Through its participation in these activities, and in a number of others that have developed in the last few years, the Catholic Church continues to be a major force in the social order, and its position is essentially unchallenged. Every leader in national life is Catholic,

and few repudiate this affiliation, although some do not actively practice their religion. In practice, both major political parties accept the present position of the Church, and church-state relations are generally cordial. However, Liberal opposition to the Church did not completely cease after the signing of the Concordat. This party opposed the Church during the revolution of 1899-1902. In 1922 the Liberals organized the Liberal University in Bogotá to which students were admitted without having completed the Catholic religious training required by all other universities.

In the 1930's, under a Liberal regime, a movement developed to annul or alter the Concordat. The Constitutional Reform of 1936 did declare the freedom of religion, but the Concordat was not changed. During the same period the Liberals became somewhat more receptive to the admission of Protestant missionaries, and it was then that a number of groups first entered the country. The Liberals have continued to express concern over the power of the Church, particularly with respect to the power of local priests as leaders of political opinion, especially in the rural areas.

Conservatives have generally continued to support the Catholic Church, and members of the clergy sometimes openly express their preference for the Conservative Party. In 1930 the archbishop issued a circular in favor of the Conservative candidate, and in recent years some prelates have openly denounced the Liberal Party. Furthermore, the Conservatives have generally been associated with acts of official Catholicism.

Nevertheless, despite the greater lip service paid by the Conservatives to Church loyalty, there appear to be only minor differences between the parties respecting the Church at present. At recent Church Congresses, both Liberal and Conservative leaders have knelt together at the same altar, and both groups accept the basic position of religion as defined in the Concordat.

CHURCH ORGANIZATION

The territorial division of the Catholic Church reflects the disparate population distribution of the nation. The 6 archdioceses and 22 dioceses include the more densely-settled areas, particularly the highland zones and the urban coastal areas. The remaining divisions—11 Vicariates Apostolic, 8 Prefectures Apostolic and 1 Prelacy Nullius—cover the less thickly settled and more remote areas, including the Guajira Peninsula, the eastern plains, some highland Indian zones and the islands of Providencia and San Andrés where the majority of the population is Protestant. These are the areas, known as the mission territories, where most Church activity is in the hands of the religious orders.

The Church is headed by a Cardinal, Luis Concha Córdoba, Archbishop of Bogotá, who was elevated in January 1961. In addition, there are 5 other archbishops, 36 bishops and 3,810 priests in the country, of whom 2,204 are diocesan priests and 1,606 religious priests. The 30 religious orders are composed of 2,015 male members in 342 houses and 13,293 female members in 1,307 houses. Some of the orders currently represented in Colombia are relatively new to the country, having opened there since the late 1940's.

The Church hierarchy established a number of new organizations for the coordination of Catholic affairs during the 1950's. In 1951 the Episcopal Conference of Colombia (Conferencia Episcopal de Colombia) organized a permanent secretariat with offices in Bogotá to coordinate Church institutions and activities and to disseminate information. In 1958 Bogotá also became the seat of the Latin-American Episcopal Council (Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano).

Other bodies have since been created as dependencies of the Permanent Secretariat (Secretariado Permanente) of the Episcopal Conference of Colombia. One of these is the National Committee of Catholic Works (Comité Nacional de Obras Católicas), formed in 1952, representing certain Church commissions, including those for Grace, Charity and Social Welfare. It is also concerned with activities of such groups as the Boards of Catholic Action (Juntas de Acción Católica), the 800 Marian Congregations (Congregaciones Marianas) and the 900 Commissions for Missions (Comisiones pro Misiones).

Another body organized under the Permanent Secretariat is the Sub-Secretariado Nacional de Catequesis, formed in 1960 to coordinate religious teaching, train teachers of religion for the schools and supply materials for instruction.

The activities of the Church in the nation cover 2,959 churches in 1,365 parishes. Although there are variations from one region to another, the distribution of the clergy throughout the nation gives a ratio of 3,650 Catholics per priest. This is one of the highest proportions of clergy to Catholic population to be found in South America and is exceeded only in Chile, Ecuador and the Guianas. In this respect, as well as in the proportion of population that is at least nominally affiliated with the Church, Colombia is one of the most Catholic countries of the New World.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

The nature of Colombian Catholicism has been questioned and criticized, particularly in recent years, by both Catholic and non-Catholic writers.

Some question the emphasis placed upon the formal elements of Catholicism and criticize the concern of Church members with ritual

and liturgy. In the view of these critics, Catholicism is not a vital force in the life of the individual Church member.

The few studies on the subject indicate that, in comparison with other countries of Latin America, great importance is attached to compliance with the formal acts of Catholicism. Within Colombia, the people of Antioquia are known as particularly devout Catholics, but reports from other areas also indicate a high degree of formal observance. The Indians of the southern highlands are especially cited for their regular Mass attendance and observance of religious days, particularly those of Holy Week.

A survey of a predominantly working-class parish in the city of Manizales found almost the entire population observing the formal acts of Catholicism. More than 99 percent of the population studied had been baptized; more than 99 percent of those 14 years of age or over had been confirmed; and first communion had been received by more than 97 percent of those who had reached 9 years of age. Furthermore, of those included in the census, more than 86 percent had attended Mass in the four weeks preceding the study. The only comparable figures on attendance at Mass in other countries of Latin America are of 29 percent and 36 percent, suggesting that much greater importance is attached to the observance of Catholic ritual, at least in this area of Colombia.

The Manizales study points to some factors which appear to affect religious practice. Attendance at Mass appears to increase with level of education, at least up to the university level when it drops again. The educational factor is also reflected in the relationship between class status and religious observance. Thus, for women the performance of church obligations increases with class status. Among men it is higher in the middle than in the lower class, but drops again at the upper social level, probably reflecting the greater number of university-educated men in the top group. But for all groups, the observance of religious duties is high.

Women take religious observances more seriously than men and are apt to pray longer and with greater fervor. For women church attendance may also serve the function of attesting to their general virtue. Nevertheless, unlike other areas of Latin America, in Colombia there is no difference in the frequency of religious observance between women and men who follow Catholic rites.

The same high rate of male participation has been noted in a study of a rural community in the Eastern Cordillera. There, both men and women attend Sunday Mass with great regularity, observe all holy days faithfully and attend rosaries every afternoon in May, even though to do so involves a trip to the nearby town. In the local village there is no chapel, but the residents have many re-

reminders of religion in the form of outdoor crosses in the community, and in their homes are shrines, images and religious pictures.

There is some suggestion, at least in rural areas, that the careful observance of church obligations implies turning over personal responsibilities to the Church and the priests. Villagers appear to attend church largely to avoid penalties and to obtain favors from the saints. The performance of duties and the repetition of doctrine are largely mechanical. Correspondingly, there is little understanding of the substance of religious teaching, which is therefore subject to bizarre perversions, for example, for political purposes.

Observers also point out, particularly in the rural and the Indian areas, the great emphasis placed upon the nonreligious aspects of holy day celebrations, especially during the *fiesta* of the patron saint of a community, when several days may be largely devoted to dancing, singing, gambling, bull fighting and drinking. The last activity most frequently draws the criticism of Protestant missionaries.

These critics are joined by some members of the Catholic clergy, especially those of other nations, in protesting the divorce of Colombian Catholicism from the affairs of daily life. They point to a failure to relate the ethical teachings of the Church to daily affairs, the failure of confession to produce any lasting results, and the failure to enlarge the small proportion of the population which participates in any of the social action organizations of the Church. Such church activity is generally a field for women, particularly for those of the upper class for whom it probably constitutes the major field of socially accepted activity outside the home, since it is not considered proper for upper-class women to work.

The general indifference of the Church toward problems of daily life, the stress placed on the formal acts of religion and, in some areas, the lack of a clear understanding of doctrine have been attributed to several factors. During much of the colonial period, the Church placed considerable emphasis on the performance of ritual as the most obvious aspect of religion and therefore the easiest to teach to Indians in the process of conversion. As a result, ritual became the most important feature of religion, particularly to the rural residents. For many, Catholic ritual was a substitute for the ceremonies of the Indian religions.

The stress on ritual was not entirely a matter of choice for the Church authorities. From the colonial period to the present, there has been a shortage of clergy. Moreover, the dispersed settlement patterns and, in recent years, population growth have combined to cause inadequacies of personnel for the thorough teaching of Church doctrine. The low general educational level, partly a product of the same factors, has also hindered religious instruction.

RECENT TRENDS IN CATHOLICISM

In Latin America as a whole, the viewpoint of the Church has been shifting gradually from its former position. The development of the middle class in a number of countries has been reflected to some degree in the composition of the Church hierarchy. This trend is probably one factor in the Church's initiation of a more liberal policy. At least in statements of policy, the Church is no longer completely identified with the most conservative political interests. Furthermore, the hierarchy has increasingly expressed concern for the welfare of the mass of the population.

Two new challenges confronting the Catholic Church are also furthering a change in its position. One of these is the spread of communism. In the eyes of the Church, the direct challenge of communism in Latin America is probably limited. In an indirect sense, however, it has had its effects in the Western Hemisphere in the last decade. The expulsion of all missionaries from China has caused many religious groups to turn to Latin America as their major field of endeavor. This has led some North American Catholic missionary groups, such as the Maryknoll order, to enter South America for the first time. Such orders have brought to their new area of operation a variety of social welfare programs that have not characterized previous Catholic mission activity in Latin America.

On the other hand, the termination of mission work in China has also meant that a number of Protestant groups have shifted their activities to Latin America. Many Protestant mission organizations had actually been operating in the area before the last decade, and they have generally devoted considerable attention to social welfare programs. Their challenge has been recognized by the Catholic Church for some time. Nevertheless, the expansion of their activities in the last years has probably provided an additional impetus for the expansion of Catholic policy in new directions.

These factors, affecting Latin America as a whole, have not all been of equal importance in Colombia. The spread of communism has not appeared so far as a major threat, and Protestantism has not succeeded in reaching any substantial portion of the population. Nevertheless, the presence of these challenges in some areas of Latin America has resulted in the formulation of new programs for the area, both by organizations representing the entire Latin American hierarchy and by the Holy See.

Among such area-wide programs are some of the plans of the Latin-American Episcopal Council. At the time this body was organized in 1956, it recognized the challenge of Protestantism and announced a policy to respond by devoting greater attention to education and social action. It also made provisions for obtaining more

seminarians from Rome to reduce the shortage of clergy in Latin America. In 1960 the Holy See issued an appeal for lay persons to serve as volunteer missionaries in Latin America. The same year in the United States, the National Catholic Welfare Conference announced plans for initiating a program of sending lay missionaries to Latin America in 1961.

The Catholic Church of Colombia has increasingly expanded its social action program over the last decade and a half. In 1944 a conference of Colombian bishops created Catholic Social Action (Acción Social Católica), with headquarters in Bogotá, which supports a number of programs and publishes bulletins and pamphlets for the leaders of these organizations. One of the movements it supports is the National Agrarian Federation (Federación Nacional Agraria), an organization of peasants which so far has not gained wide support. Catholic Social Action has also backed the Colombian Workers' Union (Unión de Trabajadores de Colombia) which was formed in 1947 under the guidance of the Jesuits. This union enjoyed immunity from repression during the period of the right-wing government of the 1950's, an advantage which other unions did not possess. At present it is described as Church-oriented, though not Church-dominated. In some areas, such as Cali, it is considered to be strongly socialist (see ch. 15, Labor Relations and Organizations).

CHAPTER 12

PUBLIC INFORMATION

The technical facilities of the two principal media of public information, the press and radio, are well developed. Widespread illiteracy and the lack of electricity in many rural areas, however, limit the numbers of readers and listeners.

The country's literate population (about 60 percent) represents an eager newspaper-reading public. To the educated reader, the newspaper is not only a record of news and public events, but a source of intellectual stimulation for the omnipresent political discussions. The literary interests of many Colombians and their deep appreciation of the well turned phrase have enhanced a general interest in newspapers. The journalistic accomplishments of many distinguished public leaders—such as Alberto Lleras Camargo and Germán Arciniegas—have added to the general respect accorded the profession of journalism.

Although traditionally the press has reflected and sought primarily to mold educated, upper-class opinion, its influence today (1961) reaches a broader readership. Air transportation has made newspapers available in many of the rural areas, where it is customary for the priest or local officials to read the paper aloud to informal gatherings of those who cannot read.

The Colombian press has an international reputation for effective coverage and competent writing. The layout and reporting in many papers reflect the influence of American journalism. The country's five leading newspapers, *El Tiempo*, *El Espectador*, *El Siglo*, *El País*, and *El Colombiano* are known throughout the continent. *El Tiempo* is frequently quoted by leading newspapers of other Latin American countries.

Newspapers operate under either Liberal or Conservative political auspices, but partisan polemics in the leading newspapers are not excessive. There is a slight preponderance of newspapers reflecting the Liberal political creed. A number of daily and weekly newspapers of small importance, however, reflect various extremes of the political spectrum. Violently partisan, they tend to repel readers and advertising patrons alike and usually survive only briefly. A number of weekly newspapers and periodicals pub-

lished by the Catholic Church are nonpolitical; they place an emphasis on religion and carry news items of interest to farmers and labor. In spite of their importance as media of information and their definite political influence, newspapers are not published with the primary purpose of affecting government policies. Their primary efforts are made to gain influence among the readers and to insure adequate publicity for leading representatives of their respective political parties and factions.

Colombia's radio network is among the best developed in Latin America. With the exception of the government's Radiotelevisora Nacional de Colombia (National Radio-Television Network of Colombia), the networks and stations are privately owned. The partisan affiliation of many of the stations is reflected in their political commentaries and newscasts. Radio audiences tend to be concentrated in the cities, although cafes, pharmacies, and barbershops even in small villages (which are electrified) have radio sets which are usually turned on all day for the benefit of the patrons. Radio loudspeakers in main squares of towns and cities are also used. The reception throughout the country is generally excellent. Many scattered mountain settlements, however, do not receive broadcasts, except a certain percentage who are reached by the literacy classes broadcast by Radio Sutatenza. Operated by the Catholic Church, Radio Sutatenza is considered to be the most successful radio venture in Latin America (see ch. 10, Education). The technical facilities of the television network are being enlarged, although the television audience is small.

Reading is a favorite occupation of the educated classes. Book publishing is extensive and has its main centers in Bogotá, Bucaramanga, Medellín, and Cali. Public and university libraries in the major cities are well used, but most municipalities lack public library facilities.

Informal channels of communication are important. In remote rural areas where there are no formal media, the parish priest and the village mayor are employed as sources of news. Itinerant political agitators, including Communists, spread their ideological ware in marketplaces, main squares, and union locals. Churches, city cafes, and village *cantinas* (restaurants) are additional gathering places where news and rumors are given currency. Mule and truck drivers rest, exchange news, and discuss politics in wayside inns. The capacity of the less educated to accept superstition and the irrational allows rumors to multiply. They often exacerbated public violence in the civil strife of 1948-53. Even today, rumors add to social unrest, particularly in areas where banditry persists (see ch. 22, Public Order and Safety).

THE PRESS

Historical Background

The country's first newspaper, the weekly *El Papel Periódico Ilustrado*, was published in 1791 by a Cuban, Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez. Under the strict censorship of the Spanish Government and the Viceroy, the items appearing in *El Papel Periódico Ilustrado* were limited to reprints of world news from the Spanish press and to brief accounts of events occurring in the Viceroyalty.

During the first three decades of the early republic (1810-30), the journalistic activities and interests of such national leaders as Nariño and Santander helped to stimulate the development of the press, particularly of political journalism. Most of the early organs of the press were liberal journals of opinion, featuring articles and essays on political, military, and social issues. Nariño's periodical *Bagatela* publicized the ideas of Bentham and contributed to the defeat of the first government of Cundinamarca (see ch. 2, Historical Setting). Santander was the author of many political essays and the publisher of *El Patriota*, a newspaper designed to raise the morale of Colombian troops in the fight for independence.

A law was passed in 1821 which granted to all Colombians the right to "write, print and publish freely their thoughts and opinions without the necessity of examination, revision, or censorship by any authority prior to publication." In order to curb the widespread practice of defamation of persons in newspaper columns, the law at the same time provided for "penalties" for "those who abuse this precious right." The publication of "writings contrary to the dogmas of the Catholic religion" was also forbidden. The latter stipulation, however, was generally disregarded by the authors of the numerous anticlerical articles published in the liberal journals.

La Gaceta de Colombia, an official organ of the Bolívar administration, was founded in 1821. Featuring mainly laws and ordinances, the *Gaceta* expanded its scope under Santander to include war news as well as essays on politics and topics of general intellectual interest. The *Correo de la Ciudad de Bogotá* and, after its demise in 1824, *La Miscelánea*, were the leading representatives of militant liberal journalism. They campaigned against Conservative members of the Congress and were strongly critical of the clergy. *El Insurgente* and *El Noticiosito*, both founded in the mid-1820's, were the main press organs in opposition to governmental policies.

The first metropolitan newspaper was *El Constitucional*, founded in 1824 by the English-born Leandro Miranda. It was published in Spanish and English and featured court decisions and summaries of

congressional debates, in addition to substantial foreign news and commercial announcements. In the departments, official or semi-official gazettes were published to circulate ordinances and to publicize the political views of local leaders. *El Constitucional Boyacense* and *La Gaceta de Cartagena* were among the representative local publications.

The prevalence of illiteracy limited newspaper readers to a few hundred among the better educated urban population. In the Departments, local authorities sometimes ordered the public reading of the gazettes by parish priests. Largely because of the paucity of readers, newspapers depended largely on government subsidies, often provided in the form of a large number of subscriptions. In the case of such successful newspapers as *El Constitucional*, subsidies often came from abroad, notably from England.

Freedom of the Press

Press freedom has in general been effectively maintained, although during certain periods restrictive measures amounting to censorship have been enforced. These measures have been invoked not only by dictators but also by heads of state who have come to power by constitutional means, notably by the Presidents Núñez, López, Ospina Pérez, and Laureano Gómez. Article 42 of the Constitution of 1945 states that "the press is free in times of peace but it shall be responsible under law for injuries to personal honor and for disturbance of the social order and public peace." The reference in the constitutional article to the responsibility of the press in connection with public peace and the implicit limitation of the freedom of the press to times of peace have served as the main pretexts for the more recent (1946-57) instances of the application of press control.

Acting President Urdaneta (1951-53) ordered the prior censoring of all articles dealing with the public and political order. On the other hand, some heads of state have invoked repressive measures against newspapers in order to silence political opponents. Conservative President Laureano Gómez (1950-53) confiscated the *Diario del Colombia* in 1953, in order to prevent the publication of articles providing favorable opinions of a Conservative political opponent, Mariano Ospina Pérez. At the same time, he warned *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador* not to publicize Ospina's candidacy for the Presidency.

Under dictator Rojas Pinilla (1953-57) many newspapers were placed under censorship and others were suspended. Recurrence of violent partisan conflict shortly after Rojas assumed power was reflected in the newspapers. In reporting instances of armed conflict in the cities and provinces, Liberal and Conservative news-

papers engaged in mutual recriminations over the responsibility for these conflicts. Accusing the press of partisan irresponsibility and of encouraging civil disturbances, Rojas ordered between June and July of 1955 the prior censorship of all news items dealing with the public order appearing in nine major newspapers, including *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador*. In addition to the issuance to the press of repeated official warnings against publishing material dealing with instances of public violence, a decree was promulgated forbidding the printing of statements which were "directly or indirectly disrespectful of the President of the Republic or the head of a friendly nation." One of the morning papers, *Información*, was also required to submit its entire contents to prior censorship after reporting a demonstration against Rojas' family. The reporting of an antigovernment demonstration was also the reason for measures against *El Colombiano*, published in Medellín. When the government censorship office was moved from Medellín the paper closed down, since the submission of its material to prior censorship became impracticable.

Rojas' repressive acts against the press reached a climax in August 1955, with the issuance of his order closing down *El Tiempo*, the country's leading Liberal paper. The order was given when an Ecuadorian paper printed a cable received from the editor of *El Tiempo* contradicting Rojas' official statement giving the reasons for the censorship imposed upon *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador*. The closing of *El Tiempo*, and shortly thereafter of *El Espectador*, precipitated widespread national protest and provided perhaps the single common denominator for Liberals and Conservatives in their protestations against the regime.

Colombians have shown considerable alertness to any form of government interference with freedom of expression in the various public information media. During the Rojas dictatorship, there was a plethora of clandestine mimeographed newspapers which enjoyed great popularity. Circulation figures of *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador* skyrocketed when the two papers appeared under the respective titles of *El Intermedio* and *El Independiente* shortly after their suspension. During the conference of the Inter-American Press Association, held in Bogotá in October 1960, Colombia's representatives were among the most vocal critics of the infringements of the Castro regime upon the freedom of the press. In June 1960, the Ministry of Communications was the object of vigorous criticism in the press when it suspended a program of political commentary televised on government-owned channels. The Ministry claimed that the excessively partisan nature of the program rendered it unfit for transmission on government-owned television channels.

The Newspaper Press: Scope and Character

Of a total of 130 newspapers published in 1959, 57 were dailies with a combined total circulation of 1,024,830. About 43 percent of this figure represents the circulation of the two leading dailies, *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador*. Most of the circulation represents street sales at the rate of about 30 centavos a copy. In the past, the regional newspapers shared the influence and popularity of the metropolitan press. With the advent of air transportation, however, the leading Bogotá newspapers have become available throughout the country and have reduced both the influence and circulation figures of the provincial press.

The newsprint consumption in 1957 was 1.8 kilograms per capita, a figure which is about one-half the average of most Latin American countries and about one-twentieth of per capital newsprint consumption in the United States. For newsprint supplies the country depends on imports from Canada, Finland, and Sweden. The first Colombian newsprint factories are scheduled to begin operation in 1961. One of the factories, located near Cali, will use sugar cane residue in the manufacture of newsprint.

The major organs of the press are owned by wealthy newspaper dynasties who wield considerable influence in national and regional politics. Among the owners and editors of newspapers are several former presidents, candidates for the Presidency, and leading figures of the Liberal and Conservative parties. The leading Conservative or Liberal newspapers are looked upon as the official mouthpieces of their respective parties; their support or lack of support may decisively affect personal political fortunes (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). Thus, newspapers have a markedly partisan affiliation, although violent partisan language and homilies on party ideology are absent from the columns of leading newspapers. Their partisanship is reflected rather in the degree of prominence accorded to personal news concerning the leading personalities of political parties or factions and to public statements made by them. The practice of spelling out the political affiliations of victims of public violence is an added implicit appeal to the reader's partisan loyalties. This practice, however, has aroused the political temper of the readers, only in times of general crisis.

Although most Colombians hold strong political opinions, their choice of a newspaper generally is not affected by its party association, but rather by its reputation for reliability and record of durability. For example, *El Colombiano* in Medellín and *El País* in Cali, both Conservative, are the most widely read papers, although both cities have large majorities of Liberal voters. The Conserva-

tive *Diario de la Costa* is the leading paper of Cartagena, center of the predominantly Liberal Atlantic coast (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

Party leaders and members of the educated classes usually subscribe to two papers, representing opposing political views. Editorials are subjected to careful scrutiny. The average reader, however, tends to concentrate on the front page, sports page, and comics.

For financial solvency, newspapers rely heavily on advertising revenues. Editors generally tend to take into account the political opinions of advertising patrons when writing about controversial socioeconomic issues. The dependence on advertising revenues is particularly critical for minor newspapers, founded on a shareholding basis by members of political factions of the far left or right to publicize a single candidate or platform. Unable, because of their partisan vehemence, to attain adequate circulation or to attract advertising patrons, many of these papers close after a few issues, unless a wealthy shareholder can provide adequate continuing support.

Major Newspapers

The country's most influential daily newspaper is *El Tiempo*, with a national circulation of 280,000. Owned by ex-President Eduardo Santos, the paper is Liberal, although its partisanship is very moderate. Many nationally prominent men have contributed to its columns, including Alberto Lleras Camargo. Henrique Santos, brother of Eduardo Santos and a journalist of national renown, is on the newspaper's staff. His articles, written under the pen name "Caliban," are popular with the newspaper reading public in all parts of the country.

The other leading daily, the Liberal *El Espectador*, has a circulation of 160,000. Founded in 1886, it enjoys the same general respect as *El Tiempo* and is read throughout the country. *El Espectador* is owned by the Cano newspaper dynasty and is managed at present by two brothers, Gabriel and Guillermo Cano.

The strongly Conservative *El País*, published in Cali, is a leading paper on the Pacific coast region. Owned by Alvaro Lloreda, the paper has a circulation of 80,000 and is noted for its sound financial position. Ex-President Laureano Gómez owns *El Siglo*, which represents the ultra-Conservative position. Its circulation was 60,000 in 1959, but it reportedly has decreased since. Its managing editors are Gómez's two sons. *El Colombiano* of Medellín (circulation 50,000) is an organ of the moderate Conservatives, led by ex-President Mariano Ospino Pérez. The paper is owned by Ospina's brother-in-law, Julio Hernández. The ex-President himself owns

La República of Bogotá (circulation 20,000), which also represents moderate Conservatism. Another Conservative daily in Bogotá is the *Diario del Colombia* (circulation 25,000), which was owned by Colombia's ex-Ambassador to Spain, the late Gilberto Alzate Avendaño. *La Vanguardia Liberal* (circulation 12,000) is the leading Liberal daily in Bucaramanga. *El Catolicismo*, a weekly newspaper with a circulation of 20,000, is viewed as the leading organ of the Catholic Church. Its popularity stems largely from the days of the Rojas dictatorship when *El Catolicismo* was noted for its vigorous, open criticism of the regime.

La Calle is a weekly newspaper with a circulation of 11,000, owned by Left-wing Liberal, Alfonso López Michelsen. In the late 1950's *La Calle* lost substantial advertising patronage because of its political extremism. In late 1960, the paper became more moderate, a move which reflected López Michelsen's ostensible break with Castroism and communism. *El Relator*, published in Cali, is another organ of left-wing Liberalism supporting López Michelsen. The paper formerly belonged to the influential Zawadzki family, but it was taken over in the late 1930's by Oscar Cuevas, a left-wing Liberal. The paper's subsequent shift to the left has precipitated a decline in advertising revenues and circulation which forced a temporary shutdown in August 1960. The left Liberal political creeds of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán have been revived in the tabloid *Gaitán*. Appealing to lower-income groups, *Gaitán* appears at irregular intervals, mostly because of financial difficulties.

Although some of the left-wing Liberal newspapers occasionally publish articles favorable to the Soviet Union and to communism, there are no dailies clearly reflecting the Communist Party line. The Communist Party, however, publishes a number of periodicals (see ch. 25, Propaganda).

Style, Coverage, and Makeup

Colombian journalism is noted throughout the hemisphere for its effective reporting, purity of idiom, and broad coverage. In spite of decidedly partisan affiliations, the language of the major newspapers is moderate in political matters, and sensationalism is generally avoided in discussing or criticizing personalities of rival political factions.

Crimes are reported extensively and in detail even in respectable newspapers, usually with pictures of the persons involved. The Colombian propensity for "personalism" is reflected in the extensive picture and news coverage accorded not only to domestic personalities but to international ones as well, including royalty and artists of the stage and screen.

Criticism of the President has usually been vigorous on the part of the opposition press. President Lleras, however, as a symbol of the two-party principle of parity, has been relatively immune from censure by newspapers. On the other hand, the ministers of his government have been criticized freely, usually for their involvement in partisan activities while in office. Statements on public issues made by leading personalities of the political parties or factions which the newspaper represents are typical editorial themes. International issues, particularly that of Castroism since 1959, are often the subjects of editorial comment.

Foreign news coverage in the metropolitan press is extensive and up to date, and it is significant that even those items featured newspaper represents are typical editorial themes. International interests of Colombia. Foreign news coverage in the regional newspapers is less thorough and often takes second place to the reporting of local events.

Political essays are generally written by prominent men in public life. Articles dealing with cultural subjects, especially history, the arts, music, heraldry, and science and medicine, are featured. These articles are written by authorities in the fields rather than by journalists. The national interest in literature is reflected in the frequent printing of poems. Occasionally comprehensive and well researched articles on problems of domestic importance, such as education and nutrition, are featured. Local and national news, in contrast to major foreign news stories, is generally reported without bylines. *El Tiempo*, however, often gives credit to its reporters, especially to those covering stories in the provinces.

Considerable space is devoted to society news and women's pages, including fashion plates, by both the metropolitan and the provincial press. The metropolitan press also features society news from the provinces. Personal news deals with births, marriages, travel, illness, and deaths. Such news is often accompanied by photographs. Beauty contests are a favorite feature. Sports sections are extensive, their main item being football and horse racing.

Most newspapers, including those in the provinces, are well printed and profusely illustrated. The photographs are clear and well produced. Comics, placed usually toward the end of the paper, occupy about one-quarter to one-half a page. Many comic strips familiar in newspapers in the United States are featured.

Weekday editions of the major metropolitan newspapers consist of approximately 20 pages. Sunday editions of *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador* include several eight- to ten-page supplements on literature, movies, comics, and so forth. The larger provincial papers, such as *El País*, also have about 20 pages. Ten to twelve pages is

the average size of other provincial newspapers. With the exception of *El Espectador*, which is published in the morning and afternoon, the newspapers have only one (morning) edition.

With the heavy reliance of newspapers on advertising revenues, the competition for advertisements is keen. A number of advertisers in the major newspapers are United States firms. Advertisements are prominently displayed throughout the papers, including page one. Commercial advertisements are interspersed with obituaries and employment advertisements. The large metropolitan papers have extensive sections of classified advertisements.

Periodicals

Periodical publications are numerous and varied in their subject matter. According to official statistics, there were 347 in 1958, although a considerable number appeared irregularly and temporarily. In 1959, the number of important magazines and reviews published at regular intervals totaled 122, with general interest and news items, science, religion, economics, and literature providing the most prominent subject categories. Of the 122 periodical publications, 20 appeared to reflect the Communist Party line; their total circulation was about 72,500 per month (see ch. 25, Propaganda). The circulation of the 102 non-Communist periodicals was nearly 1 million copies per month.

The most popular and widely read periodical is *Semana*, an illustrated weekly news magazine with a circulation of 25,000. Covering a wide range of topics, including science and art, *Semana* closely follows the format and style of the American *Time Magazine*. Formerly noted for its impartiality, *Semana* under the ownership of newsman Alberto Zalamea in the late 1950's indicated strong sympathies for Alfonso López Michelsen's "Movimiento de Recuperación Liberal" (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). During the same period, the periodical also published an article on Cuba which reflected pro-Castro sympathies. This trend aroused resentment among the shareholders, principal among which is the Spanish-language magazine *Visión*, published in the United States. The ensuing crisis forced the closing of *Semana* in the summer of 1960. It was later republished in the fall of 1960 under the ownership of Senator Alberto Montezuma Hurtado.

Cromos is a popular illustrated weekly with a circulation of 30,103. National and international social events, the arts, sports, and a special women's section are among its standard items, all of which feature numerous photographs. *Sucesos* (circulation 20,000) is a general interest magazine which reflects Liberal political sympathies.

Many of the periodicals cater to intellectual interests. The quarterly *Bolivar* is a leading literary review published by the Cultural Extension Division of the Ministry of Education. The bi-monthly *Espiral* features art and literature. *Revista Javeriana* (circulation 4,000) is a monthly, published by the Javeriana University. Limited to a small, highly sophisticated readership, it represents the most current Catholic intellectual trends.

Other periodicals are intended for special groups, such as businessmen, university students and teachers, workers, and women. This category includes the monthly *Economía Grancolombiana*, and *Devenir*, a monthly student publication. A relative newcomer to the periodical press is *El Campesino*, with a circulation of about 65,000, published by the Catholic Acción Cultural Popular. Strongly anti-Communist, *El Campesino* features news mainly of interest to farmers.

The demand for and interest in Communist publications is negligible. Bogotá is the place of publication for *Problemas de la Paz y Socialismo*, the Spanish edition of the international Communist theoretical magazine *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. *Voz de la Democracia* is intended for members of the Colombian Communist Party (Partido Comunista Colombiano) and for Communist-oriented labor; its weekly circulation is 12,000 to 15,000. The monthly *Resurgimiento* published by the Atlántico Department of the Communist Party, is also directed at labor (see ch. 25, Propaganda).

Foreign periodicals are imported duty-exempt. They are readily available in the bookshops of Bogotá and the larger provincial cities. Subscriptions placed by individuals outside the country are exempt from currency restrictions. In 1958, Colombia spent 107,969 pesos on the importation of periodicals and reviews. Most came from the United States (60,517 pesos). Other major sources were Mexico (28,231 pesos), Cuba (6,777 pesos), England (3,356 pesos), and Germany (3,066 pesos).

The most popular foreign magazines are *Time Magazine*, *The New Yorker*, the Spanish edition of *Life*, the French periodical *Match*, and, among English periodicals, *The Economist*, the *Illustrated London News*, and *The New Statesman and Nation*. Nearly all the readers of such publications are members of the educated upper class.

Professional Training and Organization

Traditionally, journalism has been a part-time activity for men in public life. There are few full-time newspapermen because of the exceedingly low salaries paid in the profession.

To date, no Colombian training facilities exist for journalists, although plans for courses in journalism are under consideration at the University of the Andes and at some institutions of higher learning in Bogotá. *El Tiempo*, moreover, has established scholarships at Columbia University in New York City and at the University of Missouri School of Journalism. Sons and other close relatives of newspaper owners frequently attend schools of journalism abroad, mostly in the United States, in order to prepare themselves for future positions as managing editors. The son of Raphael Escallón, owner of the *Diario de la Costa*, published in Cartagena, attended the University of California School of Journalism. Roberto García Peña, editor of *El Tiempo*, is also a graduate of an American school of journalism.

The salaries of newspapermen are often inadequate to meet even the most basic needs of livelihood. Full-time reporters on the large metropolitan dailies receive the equivalent of about U.S.\$150 per month. Provincial newspapers pay even less. Many of the latter rely on the services of local teachers or university students who act as part-time reporters.

The Colegio Nacional de Periodistas de Colombia (National College of Newspaper Writers of Colombia—CNPC), with headquarters in Bogotá, promotes the professional interests of journalists, including the improvement of salaries and working conditions, social and medical benefits, and the development of indigenous professional training. Since the majority of its membership represents the lower ranks of the reporting and editorial staff, CNPC more nearly resembles a labor union than a professional organization. The board of officers includes five directors, headed by a President, Guillermo García. Although chartered as a local organization in the capital, CNPC has affiliated branches in Barranquilla, Cali, Medellín, Manizales, and Bucaramanga.

The Círculo de Periodistas de Bogotá (Organization of Newspaper Writers of Bogotá), under the presidency of Ricardo Ortiz McCormick, is a similar organization, representing the journalists of the capital. Because of relatively high professional standards of admission, its membership is smaller than that of the CNPC. Moreover, it is better organized financially. It is planning to construct a new headquarters building which will also serve as a club providing professional and social opportunities to persons in the public information field. Negotiations concerning a merger have been in progress between the two organizations since 1958, but no agreement had been reached as late as early 1961. Differences in membership policies are believed to represent the principal obstacles to such a merger. Both organizations also represent the professional interests of radio newscasters.

Pressmen, proofreaders, and other technical employees of newspapers are represented by the *Asociación Nacional de Trabajadores de la Prensa* (National Association of Press Workers), headed by Humberto Pinzón. Linotype operators are organized in a national labor union.

NEWS AGENCIES

Foreign and domestic news agencies supply the press with national and international news material. A number of newspapers also carry news items supplied by the United States Information Agency. With the exception of the domestic *Prensa Norte* (Northern Press), all news agencies have central offices in Bogotá.

Nearly all the newspapers subscribe to the services of the United Press International. Its Bogotá correspondent, Carlos Villar Borda, has been appointed manager of UPI South American operations. The Associated Press, on the other hand, represented by one correspondent, has only one subscriber, *El Correo* of Medellín. There is relatively infrequent use of Reuters news material. Agence France Presse maintains a large staff, mainly for the purpose of translating its news into Spanish. Radio news commentators, rather than newspapers, are its principal customers. The Soviet TASS agency had no local correspondent in 1960, but the establishment of a TASS office in Bogotá is planned for 1961. Alleged lack of funds rendered the New China News Agency (SINUJA) inactive in 1960, although the agency plans to resume its operations in the near future. The *Prensa Latina* (Latin Press) news service is believed to operate with the support of the Castro regime. Its services are regularly used by the press organs of the far left.

The principal domestic news agency is the Colombia Press. A private enterprise headed by a Liberal, Guillermo Perez Sarmiento, it serves some Venezuelan newspapers in addition to its Colombian subscribers. It is generally friendly to the United States and frequently makes use of information material supplied by the USIA. Teleprensa is owned by the left-wing Liberal, Oscar Cuevas, but is managed by José A. Guzmán Alandete, a Conservative. Other domestic news agencies include Interpress, directed by the Laureanista Conservative, Hugo Velasco, and *Prensa Norte*, with headquarters in Cali. The latter, under the management of Guillermo Baena, a former editor with Colombia Press, specializes in news of the Caribbean countries.

RADIO

Stations and Programs

Under Colombian law, individuals or groups wishing to operate radio stations must obtain a license from the Ministry of Communications. This provision, however, has not discouraged the pro-

lification of radio stations: their number in 1958 totaled 202. All licensed stations are members of the Asociación Nacional de Radiodifusoras (National Association of Radio Broadcasters).

Of the 202 stations, 179 operate AM transmitters of which 137 are medium wave and 42 short wave. There are 23 FM stations (see table 1). The most powerful (50 kilowatts) AM stations are the Emisora Nuevo Mundo (New World Station) in Bogotá, la Voz del Río Cauca (The Voice of the Cauca River) in Cali, and la Voz de Antioquia (The Voice of Antioquia) in Medellín. From Sutatenza, three 25-kilowatt transmitters broadcast to a countrywide network of radio schools operated by the Catholic Church (see ch. 10, Education). Most other AM stations are powered by less than 10 kilowatts. Radiodifusora Militar (Military Radio Broadcasting Stations) and Emisora Sur America (Station South America), both in Bogotá are the highest powered FM stations, with 10 kilowatts each.

The Ministry of Communications operates Radiotelevisora Nacional de Colombia with stations in Bogotá and one in Manizales. They feature government bulletins (Boletín de Noticias), United Nations programs, and cultural programs sponsored by various embassies.

The principal national networks are the Radio Cadena Nacional (National Radio Chain), with 36 stations; Circuito Todelar (Todelar Circuit), with 22 stations; and the Primera Cadena Radial Colombiana (First Colombian Radio Chain—known as Caracol), with 26 stations. The key station of the latter is the 50-kilowatt Emisora Nuevo Mundo (New World Station) (on 840 kilocycles) in Bogotá. The country's two other 50-kilowatt stations, in Cali (820 kilocycles) and Medellín (770 kilocycles), are also within this network. Caracol broadcasts features, music, and a five-minute news program entitled "Reporter Easo," which is given from 1200 Greenwich Mean Time every hour except on Sundays to 2305 and from 0100 to 0505 every day except Mondays. On Mondays, from 0205 to 0230, there is an interview period during which five prominent journalists question persons in public life on national issues. Emisora Nueva Mundo has a nightly program from 0505 to 0530 GMT for Colombians abroad. The program includes both national and regional cultural and sports news, as well as music and general comments.

Music, special features, and one- to two-minute newscasts, usually every hour on the hour, constitute the basic program on the Radio Cadena Nacional network. The brief hourly newscasts are supplemented by "Actualidades RCN," a 30-minute program of news and comments given at 1050, 1200, and 1730 GMT every day except Sunday and at 0001 and 0445, except on Mondays. Some of the news items originate in the network's studios in Manizales, Medellín, and Cali.

Table 1. Radio Stations of Colombia *

AM stations			
City	Station name	Wave length (in meters)	Frequency
Barranquilla	Emisoras Unidas	411.0	730
	La Vos de Barranquilla ^b	245.9	1220
Bogotá	Emisora Nueva Granada ^b	500.0	600
	Radiotelevisora Nacional de Colombia ^a	441.2	680
	La Vos de Colombia	422.5	710
	Emisora Radio Tricolor	405.4	740
	Radio Militar de Colombia	375.0	800
	Emisora Nuevo Mundo ^d	357.1	840
	La Vos de Bogotá ^f	348.8	860
	La Vos de la Victor	337.1	880
	Radio Continental ^f	326.1	920
	Emisora Nuevo Mundo	62.7	4785
	Radio Militar de Colombia	62.57	4795
	Radio Continental ^f	62.05	4835
	Radiotelevisora Nacional de Colombia ^a	60.54	4955
	La Vos de Bogotá ^f	50.34	5980
	Radiodifusora Militar de Colombia	48.74	6155
	Emisora Nueva Granada ^b	48.67	6162
	Radiotelevisora Nacional de Colombia ^a	48.52	6183
	Radiodifusora Militar de Colombia	31.19	9620
	Radiotelevisora Nacional de Colombia ^a	25.61	11715
	Radiodifusora Militar de Colombia	19.45	15425
Cali	La Vos del Río Cauca ^d	365.9	820
	La Vos de Cali ^f	48.43	6195
Cartagena	Emisoras Fuentes	322.6	930
	do	60.42	4965
Ibagué	La Vos de Tolima ^f	315.8	950
Manizales	Radio Manizales ^f	483.9	620
	Radiotelevisora Nacional de Colombia ^a	312.5	960
Medellín	La Vos de Antioquia ^d	389.6	770
	Radio Sinfonia ^b	329.7	910
	La Vos de Medellín	306.1	980
	Radio Sinfonia	50.17	5980
	La Vos de Antioquia	48.82	6145
Pereira	La Vos del Café ^d	309.3	970
Sutatenza	Radio Sutatenza	92.31	3250
	do ^b	59.11	5075
	do	49.38	6075
	do ^b	30.77	9750
	do ^b	25.21	11900

* Only those stations with 10,000-watt power and over are listed. Those having more than 10,000 watts are indicated by footnotes.

^b Radio Cadena Nacional.

^c Government owned.

^d Primera Cadena Radial Colombiana (Caracol).

^e 50,000-watt power.

^f Circuito Todoter.

^g 20,000-watt power.

^h 25,000-watt power.

Table 1. Radio Stations of Columbia—Continued

FM stations		
City	Station name	Frequency
Bogotá.....	Radiodifusora Militar de Colombia.....	99000
	Emisora Sur America.....	99100

Source: Adapted from Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Broadcasting Stations of the World*, January 1, 1959, Pt. I, p. 162, 163; and Pt. IV, p. 8.

On the Circuito Todelar (Cali) network, the general program of music and features is interspersed with newscasts presented from 1200 to 1230 and 1730 to 1800, except on Sundays, and 0001 to 0030, except on Mondays. La Voz de Cali (The Voice of Cali—on 6195-900 kcs. and 91.50 megacycle) is the key station of this network.

The programs of the respective networks are broken up intermittently during the day, at which times the key stations broadcast programs of local interest. Most other member stations have individual programs and join the network for certain broadcasts only. Classical and popular music, live broadcasts of local events, and cultural features are included in the local program schedules. There are some stations featuring special types of programs: "El Mundo" ("The World"), in Bogotá, for instance, is popular because of its fine programs of classical music. All programs are heavily interspersed with commercials, which are an important source of income for the stations. Critical comments on the programs are frequently voiced by radio listeners in letters to newspaper editors.

Many stations feature the *radioperiódicos* (radio newspapers)—programs of news and comment with strong political overtones. Identified by their titles and the names of their editors, *radioperiódicos* are independent enterprises which may serve several stations. Some of them have become a source of concern to the government because of their alleged tendency to spread inaccurate news and for their excessive political partisanship. For example, Moisés Durán Prieto's Radioperiódico Universo (Universal Radio-Newspaper), which served the Bogotá stations La Voz de Colombia and Emisora Sur America, was suspended in the fall of 1960 for broadcasting items tending to incite civil disorder. Another station in Bogotá, Emisora Radio Tricolor (Radio Station Tricolor), features the new Radioperiódico Síntesis (Radio-Newspaper Synthesis), which supports the policies of the national coalition.

In 1958, radio stations broadcast a total of 594,184 hours. A partial breakdown of the total broadcasting time indicates that 43.7

percent was devoted to popular music; 8.8 percent, to classical music; 6.1 percent, to cultural subjects and lectures; 10.4 percent, to programs featuring folklore; 2.3 percent, to sports; and 6 percent, to *radioperiódicos*.

In 1959 there were 2,084,300 radio receivers in the country. All were imported sets, with the German Telefunken and the American-made Zenith and RCA sets representing the most popular makes in use. Since the cost of radio sets was high (about Col\$300), most owners were members of the better-paid middle or upper classes. The only relatively low-price sets available were the single-wave length short-wave receivers tuned to the literacy classes of Radio Sutatenza, which could be purchased through the Acción Cultural Popular for the approximate equivalent of U.S.\$14 (see ch. 10, Education). Receiving conditions throughout the country are generally excellent.

Foreign Broadcasts

Spanish-language programs are broadcast to Latin America every day by the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Voice of America, and Radio Moscow. However, it is not known what proportion of the Colombian radio audience listens to these broadcasts regularly.

The BBC broadcasts daily news and news commentary on one specific news item of paramount importance from 0100 to 0230 GMT on "Comentario del Día." "Actualidades RCN" is a feature program on medical and scientific discoveries and other cultural topics. An English-language instruction program for beginners and advanced students is also included. The news, news commentaries, and "Actualidades RCN" have gained special favor with the Colombian audience. The technical reception of BBC programs is generally good. The broadcasts are on wave lengths of 31.25 and 25.53 meters.

The Voice of America broadcasts daily from 2000 to 2100 Eastern Standard Time, on wave lengths of 16.78, 19.65, 16.94, 19.68, 31.09, and 48.58 meters. The broadcasts are repeated from 2100 to 2200 on 16.92 and 19.83 meters. Each program includes news and commentary, special features, and music. During the first quarter of 1961, some of the features presented were "Press Opinion," "Labor Notes," "Women Today," "The March of Science," and "University Life." "Music of Today and Always," "The World of Jazz," and "Musical Folkways" were presented in the music programs.

Radio Moscow broadcasts from 1600 to 1630 GMT on wave lengths of 25, 16, and 13 meters; from 2300 to 2400 and from 0100 to 0200 on wave lengths of 31, 25, 19, and 16 meters. The reception of these broadcasts on short-wave sets in Colombia is very good.

TELEVISION

The television network is undergoing considerable expansion. In 1960, there were 14 television stations (see table 2). The most powerful among them were the stations at Cali (Channel A 7, 120/30 kilowatts) and Manjui; the latter is an experimental station powered by 400/200 kilowatts. An additional 7 television stations were under construction—on the Cerro Quemado hill, in El Carmen de Bolívar, Monteiro, Las Jurisdicciones, Neiva, Puracé, and Galeras. In 1959, there were 150,000 television sets in the country.

*Table 2. Television Stations of Colombia **

City	Channel	Effective radiated power (in kilowatts)		Frequency (in megacycles per second)	
		Video	Audio	Video	Audio
Alto Magdalena.....	A7	40	20	175.25	179.75
Bogotá.....	A9	5	2	187.25	191.75
Boyacá.....	A7	20	10	175.25	179.75
Bucaramanga.....	A10	5	2	193.25	197.75
Cali.....	A7	120	30	175.25	179.75
Cali (weekdays only).....	A10	10	2	193.25	197.75
El Quindío (relay station).....	A9	40	20	187.25	191.75
Madrono.....	A11	80	40	199.25	203.75
Manizales.....	A5	40	20	77.25	81.75
Manjui (experimental station).....	A7	400	200	175.25	179.75
Medellín.....	A3	25	12.5	61.25	65.75
Pas del Río (satellite station).....	A7	150	40	175.25	179.75
Tunja.....	A10	20	5	193.25	197.75
Valle del Cauca (satellite station).....	A7	60	30	175.25	179.75

* General data for all stations: Owner: Government
Call letters: HJRN-TV
Sound: FM
Vision: Negative modulation
Number of lines: 625
Picture frequency: 30 cycles per second
Channel width: 6 megacycles per second
Video band width: 4 megacycles per second

Source: Adapted from *World Radio and TV Handbook*, 1961, p. 196

The television network (Televisora Nacional) is owned and operated by the government. Televising times are from 2320 to 0400 GMT Monday through Friday and from 2130 and 1910 to 0400 on Saturdays and Sundays respectively. Cultural and musical programs are presented, as well as political commentaries reflecting the views of both major political parties and their respective factions. The government, however, discourages the expression of excessive partisan-

ship in political programs presented on government television channels. Commercial announcements are featured during 60 percent of the programs.

To improve television programs and to establish policies governing the allotment of time to various types of programs, the Junta Supervisora de Programas (The Supervisory Council on Programming) was organized in 1960. The Junta will serve as a consultative body to the governing board of Televisora Nacional and include representatives of different political and cultural organizations and trends.

FILM

Films are a favorite form of recreation in the cities, but they are not accessible to a large part of the rural population. In 1958 a total of 55,452,954 persons attended performances in the country's 691 movie theaters equipped for the showing of 35-mm. feature films. During the same year, the annual per capita movie attendance was slightly over 4.

The Government Board of Censorship reviews all feature and documentary films. With half of its members appointed by the Catholic Church, it strives particularly to restrict the depicting of violence and organized crime. If such films are shown they are limited to audiences over 18 or 21 years of age. Films showing scenes of violence may be completely banned in certain localities. The Roman Catholic Church applies its own code in evaluating and condemning films which are contrary to Catholic moral or religious principles. Film ratings according to the Catholic code are featured in many of the newspapers.

Domestic motion picture production is limited to that of three small companies. These produce newsreels and documentary films in black and white or in color and mainly feature national events. No full-length feature films are produced domestically.

The principal source for the import of feature films is the United States. The United States in 1960 was the country of origin of 55 percent of all imported motion pictures. American films are popular with both educated and less sophisticated movie audiences. *The Best Years of Our Lives*, *Wuthering Heights*, *You Can't Take It With You*, and *Around the World in 80 Days* have had month-long runs in movie theatres throughout the country. In 1960, American films shown in Bogotá theaters included *Ben Hur*, *The Unforgiven*, and *The Bramble Bush*. Mexico also figures as an important source of imported films. French and Italian films have been gaining favor with the educated audiences. Ten Soviet feature films were shown in 1957. In 1959, Cinecolombia, S.A., announced the

import of four Soviet films—*Los Hermanos*, *Boris Godunov*, *Ilya Muromets*, and *El Mexicano*.

Documentary films gradually have been gaining significance, although their distribution has been hampered by the prevalence of unsettled conditions in many provinces. Documentaries and newsreels are often shown by Roman Catholic parishes or under local government sponsorship. The government has also equipped some schools with projectors and educational films. In 1959, the number of 16-mm. sound projectors owned by Roman Catholic parishes, government offices, and private persons totaled 558.

The United States Information Agency operates an extensive documentary film program which includes the use of mobile film units (see ch. 25, Propaganda).

PUBLISHING

Publishing and the book trade are vigorously pursued activities, but no specific figures are available regarding the number of titles published by domestic firms in any one year. The latest figures—for 1956—merely indicate that a total of 317 new titles were published and imported in that year. Of this total, 157 were published and imported by commercial firms, 88 by the government, and 44 by learned societies. The social sciences, history, geography, biography, literature, and religion were the main categories of subjects of books published and imported by commercial firms.

There are 116 major publishing and printing establishments in the country, 41 of them in Bogotá. The majority of the remaining 75 are located in Bucaramanga, Medellín, and Cali. Many of the firms specialize in the publishing and printing of professional reviews and magazines catering to special interests. Among the publishing houses located in Bogotá is the nationally known Minerva Ltda., which publishes the *Revista del Banco de la República* in addition to reviews in engineering and commerce. Minerva also specializes in the publication of cultural, legal, and scientific works, as well as books of poetry and theses. Communist Party pamphlets, the Communist monthly *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, and works by Lenin—in addition to professional reviews and works in law, medicine, and religion—are published by the Menorah publishing firm. La Prensa Católica is the leading house publishing for the Catholic Church. Voluntad Ltda. specializes in works dealing with Colombia, scholarly texts, and works by national authors. Antares and Guerra are also leading publishing houses of the capital. Tipografía Bedout in Medellín is nationally known as a publisher of belles lettres.

A publishing program of considerable scope is carried out by Imprente Nacional, the Government Printing Office. The materials published include annuals and bulletins of the National Administrative Department for Statistics, the Annals of Congress, legal texts, political speeches, and cultural, scientific, and educational monographs.

Reading is a popular pastime only with the educated upper and middle classes. These readers, however, may freely select from a variety of publications representing diverse social and political opinions and literary styles. Restrictive provisions governing printed matter are limited to laws prohibiting the promulgation of pornography and to the Roman Catholic Index, which forbids the reading of certain books by members of that faith. Political books and those dealing with the national past, including historical biographies, are preferred literary subjects, although the best sellers are most likely to come from the ranks of romantic novels and those dealing with sociological problems within the framework of a fictional plot. Recent (1958) bestsellers in the latter category included *La Vóragine* by José Eustacio Rivera and *María* by Jorge Isaacs. *El Cristo de Espaldas*, by Eduardo Cabañero Calderón, has been much in demand, as were the poems by León de Greiff. Germán Arciniegas has gained great popularity with his sociological and historical novels (see ch. 9, Artistic and Intellectual Expression). The best known among them are *Los Comenieros*, dealing with the first uprising against Spain, and *El Estudiante de la Mesa Redonda*, which analyzes the problems of the new generation. *La Vida Maravillosa de los Libros*, by Jorge Zalamea Borda, and Lievano's political biographies of Nuñez and Bolívar have been popular fare with the more sophisticated readers. Although native authors are preferred, the translated works of Hemingway, Steinbeck, and John O'Hara are read by many (see ch. 9, Artistic and Intellectual Expression).

A relatively large number of books are imported from foreign countries, mostly from the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and Spain. The sums spent on book imports from these countries in 1958 totaled 356,273, 150,186, 51,333, and 37,255 pesos respectively. Books, particularly works of literature and volumes of poetry, are generally expensive. But poetry is accessible to many in newspaper columns. The publications of the Imprente Nacional, which include political works and speeches, may be purchased at small cost.

LIBRARIES

Library facilities are available only to inhabitants of the major urban centers. According to the *Directorio de Bibliotecas y Editores*

riales en Colombia, compiled by the Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (1960), the number of libraries increased from 222 in 1957 to 333 in 1958 and the number of volumes from 1,171,813 to 1,628,629 during the same period. However, the *Anuario General de Estadística* of 1958, compiled by the same agency, lists a total of 296 libraries with 1,625,519 volumes for the same year. The largest among these is the Biblioteca Nacional in Bogotá with 350,000 volumes. The others included 116 public libraries and 29 special libraries. Eighty-five libraries were affiliated with schools and 65 with universities. The Department of Antioqui and Bogotá, the capital city, have the largest number of public libraries, volumes, and readers. The number of public libraries in the other 15 departments averages 4.7. Of these departments, Santander and Valle have the largest number of readers and volumes. During 1958, 2,002,758 books were consulted by a total of 1,504,076 readers in public libraries throughout the country.

The scarcity of libraries has been a source of concern to the government, particularly because their number in relation to the size of the population is less satisfactory than in several other Latin American countries, notably Chile, Cuba, and Peru. Official plans, made in collaboration with UNESCO, aim at the establishment of at least one library in each municipality, as well as at the creation of better educational facilities for the training of librarians. In 1958, according to the Colombian Association of Librarians, there were only 108 trained librarians and 119 assistant librarians in the country.

CHAPTER 13

LABOR FORCE

In the absence of a census since 1951, the Office of Planning, in cooperation with the National Statistical Office, estimated in 1960 that the total population was 14,771,000 and that the labor force was 4,814,000, or 32.6 percent of the population. Slightly over 50 percent of the labor force was employed in agriculture, 17 percent in service occupations, 15.1 percent in manufacturing, 5.4 percent in commerce, 3.6 percent in electricity and transportation, 3.2 percent in construction, 1.6 percent in mining and 3.2 percent in other occupations. However, the latest detailed statistical analysis of the labor force according to sex, age and status of employment is based on the 1951 census (see tables 1 and 2). It is unlikely that the basic proportions revealed in this analysis have changed much by 1961.

Rapid population growth was shown in an increase of about one million in all occupational categories between 1951 and 1960. Urbanization, industrialization and the large-scale movement to the cities by rural inhabitants, mainly from the violence-torn areas, accounted for a marked increase in the number of persons in urban occupations. In manufacturing, employment between 1951 and 1960 rose by 32 percent, in commerce by 27 percent and in the services by 36 percent. The same factors, on the other hand, created a proportionate decrease in the number of persons in agricultural occupations from almost 54 percent in 1951 to an estimated 50.9 percent in 1960. The proportionate (although not absolute) decrease of employment in this category has been consistent since 1925, at which time 69 percent of the total labor force was engaged in agricultural activities.

Although agriculture employed half the labor force in 1960, it accounted for only about 40 percent of the national income. The large majority of the agricultural labor force worked for wages, grew subsistence crops, or at best, tiny cash crops. Frequently unemployed and nearly always underemployed, it was the country's largest under-utilized labor potential—and had the lowest living standards. Only a small fraction of the agricultural workers, including the coffee growers, produced regularly for markets. An

Table 1. Breakdown of the Economically Active Population

Branch of occupation	Total		Aged under 15		Aged 15 to 19	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	1,000,230	88,082	74,940	2,230	312,147	11,417
Mining and quarrying	45,266	15,967	1,166	366	4,022	2,237
Manufacturing industry (including artisan)	378,067	157,340	2,100	2,004	40,054	22,204
Construction	131,068	1,804	2,447	79	10,206	230
Electricity, gas, water and sanitation	9,957	515	6	1	730	70
Commerce	150,308	45,376	2,022	621	17,004	7,130
Transportation, storage and communication	123,974	6,100	1,944	126	13,264	1,200
Services	225,874	202,219	17,671	21,765	20,030	94,200
Unclassified	116,007	18,847	6,000	500	17,204	2,781
Total	2,064,430	701,100	115,267	40,790	402,128	142,000

Source: Adapted from Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, *Anuario General de Estadística*, 1964, p. 22.

Table 2. Breakdown of the Economically Active Population of

Branch of occupation	Total		Employers		Employees *	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	1,000,230	88,082	215,016	10,300	402,731	26,235
Mining and quarrying	45,266	15,967	740	36	7,000	8,100
Manufacturing industry (including artisan)	378,067	157,340	10,614	2,100	71,404	20,200
Construction	131,068	1,804	2,406	9	14,400	230
Electricity, gas, water and sanitation	9,957	515	77	3	261	14
Commerce	150,308	45,376	71,731	1,220	62,000	19,740
Transportation, storage and communication	123,974	6,100	2,200	26	10,016	344
Services	225,874	202,219	6,128	1,766	27,306	22,120
Unclassified	116,007	18,847	5,178	300	42,371	5,271
Total	2,064,430	701,100	200,627	26,116	720,277	141,400

* Those earning monthly salaries.

• Those earning hourly wages.

antiquated system of land tenure and indifference to the fate of the landless agricultural laborer prevented the effective contribution of the agricultural labor force to national production. In spite of much official lip service, reforms designed to effect a change met with opposition and delay.

The large-scale movement of the rural population to the cities since the 1920's created a spectacular upsurge in the number of persons in urban occupations. In spite of industrial growth, min-

of Columbia by Occupation, Sex and Age, 1961

Aged 20 to 24		Aged 25 to 44		Aged 45 to 64		Aged 65 or older	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
208,273	9,899	771,196	26,089	268,892	26,671	87,962	6,895
7,531	2,199	23,049	7,095	6,987	2,117	895	791
88,329	23,051	137,983	64,478	43,334	19,892	6,853	2,971
22,311	611	62,887	761	72,886	239	2,392	45
1,999	123	5,893	233	1,999	86	142	7
21,378	8,787	74,735	19,138	26,788	6,419	5,489	1,895
24,999	1,763	66,999	2,325	15,734	539	1,213	69
51,913	79,392	95,149	129,346	39,982	42,994	4,359	7,395
16,494	4,999	49,397	7,214	28,199	2,995	2,713	518
697,963	131,421	1,287,539	294,418	666,619	191,673	114,985	19,739

Columbia by Occupation, Status of Employment and Sex, '661

Workers *		Wage earners		Unpaid family workers		Unclassified	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
24,991	4,149	794,975	24,131	292,512	15,963	79,973	4,396
4,996	792	26,792	1,299	2,111	5,574	1,946	197
24,996	9,918	161,978	82,936	5,439	8,547	14,419	2,993
4,496	824	98,213	715	549	12	6,892	276
4,993	437	5,143	37	1		423	24
46,515	16,611	8,612	2,499	3,911	2,479	6,919	997
66,529	4,993	29,161	375	123	11	6,761	379
187,399	239,474	12,375	4,137	991	1,197	21,999	6,999
18,993	6,412	14,314	2,491	1,767	543	26,493	2,792
299,399	272,297	1,199,563	98,239	277,995	21,999	117,179	19,999

Source: Adapted from Departamento Administrativo de Estadística, *Anuario General de Estadística, 1962*, p. 28.

ing, construction and manufacturing absorbed only a relatively small portion of the nearly 100,000 additional persons who sought urban employment each year. The limited capacity of the industries to provide jobs was shown by the disproportionately large number of persons in service occupations in 1960—some 820,000 persons, or 17 percent of the labor force, representing the largest nonagricultural occupational category. An unknown, but presumably very large, number of urban workers depended on temporary

or occasional jobs. Subsisting on small earnings and ineligible for most of the protection under the labor laws, they were often reduced to slum living and destitution.

In 1960 the manufacturing industries employed about 724,000 persons, or the second largest number of persons in nonagricultural occupations, but only about 240,000 were employed in factories. The rest worked in artisan shops, making shoes, leather goods, furniture and traditional articles of clothing (*ruanas*).

Compared to the 1920's and earlier periods, conditions of workers permanently employed in construction, mining and manufacturing had materially improved by 1961. But organized labor contests the validity of statistics which seem to indicate that wages have kept up with the rising cost of living. Workers in the large manufacturing enterprises received good wages and enjoyed better working conditions than did workers and employees in small firms. They also formed the hard core of trade union membership (see ch. 15, Labor Relations and Organization).

White-collar employees in commerce represented another prominent urban occupational group. Although jobs in commercial enterprises often paid less than those in the manufacturing industries, they attracted many middle-class youths with partial or complete secondary education who rejected manual labor.

Some urban areas had extensive unemployment because of the continuous movement of rural workers to the cities and the large-scale layoffs necessitated by occasional slumps affecting the industries. The number of urban unemployed persons was estimated at between 150,000 and 400,000 annually during the late 1950's. The preoccupation of labor unions and of the Ministry of Labor with layoffs in early 1961 indicated that unemployment had assumed serious proportions. Because of the absence of unemployment compensation and the disparity of living standards between the temporary workers and those permanently employed, workers were much concerned with job security. Their concern was expressed in demands for protection against dismissals without cause and by protests against mechanization and technical innovations.

Industrial expansion and productivity were hampered by the lack of skilled personnel. Training programs under the auspices of the National Apprenticeship Service (*Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje—SENA*) were in progress in 1961 to meet the needs for skilled laborers, junior and senior managers and technicians. But the traditional contempt for manual labor, particularly among the middle and upper classes, limited the public response to programs offering technical training. In 1960 many skilled jobs in industry and business had to be filled by qualified foreigners. Although

the Labor Code of 1950 restricts their numbers, their presence elicited protests from organized labor and professional associations alike. Lawyers and doctors continued to represent the majority among professional workers although there was an increasing demand for candidates to fill well-paid jobs in agronomy, veterinary medicine, mechanical and electronic engineering and business administration.

The labor laws adopted since the 1930's, and compiled in the Labor Code of 1950, extended numerous social benefits to workers and employees. They reflected the government's paternalistic concern with workers' welfare and tended to encourage similar attitudes on the part of management. In 1960 a bill was presented to Congress proposing several amendments designed to adjust the Labor Code to current social and economic conditions. In connection with the proposed amendments, the paternalistic spirit of the present Code was criticized by many employers and some labor leaders. The National Association of Industrialists (Asociación Nacional de Industriales—ANDI) asked for the abolition of regulations covering minute details of working conditions and of employer-employee relations. Labor unions, on the other hand, urged the adoption of measures designed to strengthen employment security. Other proposed amendments envisaged the restriction of supervisory positions to Colombians and changes in the wage structure.

The administration of President Lleras Camargo followed a policy of vigorous government initiative in labor affairs. Besides mediating frequently between management and labor to avert strikes, the Ministry of Labor investigated the reasons for, and procedures followed in, large-scale layoffs of workers necessitated by business conditions. It has enacted measures designed to reduce the scope of dismissals and to protect the interest of workers affected by them.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Agriculture

The number of agricultural workers was estimated in 1960 at 2,452,000. There was no estimate, however, of how they were distributed among the various kinds of agriculture or about their status of employment. In 1955-56 it was estimated that 1.16 million, or 93 percent of a total of 1.25 million workers in the coffee-growing areas, worked on coffee farms. Women and children represented 55.7 percent of the labor force engaged in coffee growing. According to the 1951 census, 40.4 percent of the labor force then engaged in agriculture worked for wages, 13.7 percent were unpaid family workers and 24.1 percent were self-employed. It is unlikely that these proportions had changed much by 1960.

Most of the agricultural labor force in 1960 was engaged in subsistence farming as sharecroppers or as owners of *minifundis* (small tracts of land) which are uneconomical to farm because of their size (see ch. 27, Agricultural Potential). In either case, cash remuneration obtained from the sale of surplus products was either minimal or totally absent. The *minifundis* were usually under 12 acres and, more often, under 4 acres, and were barely able to produce enough for their owners' subsistence. Many families lived near starvation since part of the subsistence crop had to be sold in order to obtain clothing, medicine, tobacco and liquor (see ch. 17, Living Conditions and Public Welfare). The small plots were also unable to absorb the labor potential of a typical family of four to seven members, particularly since most crops did not require year-round care.

Initiative to improve production, in the few cases where it existed, was frustrated by the involved bureaucratic procedures required to obtain government credit for the purchase of modern tools and fertilizers. The farmer usually turned to usurers for credit which he obtained only at exorbitant interest rates and by mortgaging whatever little cash he might earn.

Because of the decisive role of coffee in the economy, the owners of coffee farms represented a more prosperous sector of independent agriculturists. Coffee farms generally relied on family labor, although at harvest time they hired a few helpers. Technical assistance and favorable terms of trade and credit extended by the Government and the National Federation of Coffee Growers (Federación Nacional de Cafeteros) enabled most coffee farmers to attain favorable production rates and to obtain good cash returns from the sale of their crop. These factors were largely responsible for the higher per capita income of coffee farmers as compared to other agriculturists.

In 1953 the yearly per capita income of coffee growers was Col \$475 (Col\$3.41 equaled U.S. \$1 in 1953) which was 24 percent higher than that of persons engaged in all other branches of the crop and livestock sector. During the same year, however, workers in the manufacturing industries earned an average per capita income of Col\$580. Coffee growers also benefited by welfare and health programs sponsored by the National Federation of Coffee Growers; many of them received grants for the building of adequate housing and for the installation of water supplies and septic tanks.

The majority of sharecroppers were landless farmers. Some owned land too small to yield subsistence crops. Remuneration to sharecroppers accrued in the form of a small portion (ranging from one-half to one-fifth) of the harvest which was grown for the

owner. As in the case of most independent farmers, the land allotted to the sharecropper was usually too small (sometimes less than 1.2 acres) to allow for an adequate cash crop after the consumption needs of the family had been filled. Even when the tracts were larger, the owners rarely extended technical assistance to tenants to improve crop yields, although a few sharecropping agreements provided for such assistance.

The largest number of sharecroppers—and the most difficult conditions of sharecropping—were to be found in the tobacco regions of the Department of Santander, among the cotton planters of Atlántico and the rice-growers of Bajo Sinu in Córdoba. In Santander the tobacco sharecropper, with his wife and his children, worked for a period of about six months from daybreak until sunset, clearing land, making seed beds, planting, irrigating, weeding, weeding and harvesting. Because of the demand for their labor in the fields, most of the children never attended school. Whatever crop was left, after the landowner's quota had been filled, was sold at very low prices on the tobacco market which was virtually dominated by a few buyers who use the leaves in the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes.

In the western highlands, especially in the department of Boyacá where the population was dense and arable land short, the competition for sharecropping tenancies created further deterioration in the conditions of sharecropping contracts.

Hired agricultural laborers worked on the plantations and farms of big landowners and, to a lesser extent, in the livestock sector. This form of agricultural employment predominated in the less densely populated eastern areas where sharecropping was not common. Most hired laborers depended on seasonal work and were unemployed during four to six months a year. Adding to their numbers were owners of *minifundios* and sharecroppers for whom the land provided neither subsistence nor full employment. During periods of unemployment, farm laborers migrated from place to place in search of work. Many times the migrations involved the temporary or permanent breakup of families, thus contributing to juvenile delinquency and prostitution. Often near starvation, homeless and without any medical or social assistance, these workers represented one of the country's major social problems in 1961.

Workers on the banana plantations of the northern coastal areas and on the sugar plantations of the Cauca and Magdalena Valleys received wages which were considerably above the national average and enjoyed various social and medical benefits. Both the banana and the sugar plantations employed some workers the year around, but the number of such workers was small as compared to the number hired on a seasonal basis only.

The landless, underemployed agricultural laborers (*peons*) have been the subject of many political speeches, newspaper articles and sociological essays. No data were available, however, concerning their numbers, the extent of their unemployment and the pattern and frequency of their migrations. Agricultural reform plans designed to improve their lot have been implemented only on a minute scale or, by mid-1961, were still in the planning stage (see ch. 27, *Agricultural Potential*).

Mining and Construction

There were an estimated 75,000 mine workers in 1960, of whom 12,629 worked for the petroleum industry. Organized in the powerful Petroleum Workers' Federation (*Federación de Petroleros*), they represented a relatively prosperous sector of the industrial labor force. Their wages were about 112 percent higher than those paid to workers in other industrial sectors. Construction workers numbered 115,000 during the same year, most of them employed on the payrolls of government-sponsored public works projects. Some 15,000 workers were employed in highway construction.

Urban Labor

Since the 1920's an increasing number of workers have migrated from the countryside to the cities to escape rural poverty and unemployment. The violence and internecine warfare in the rural areas between 1948 and 1957 gave added impetus to the movement (see ch. 22, *Public Order and Safety*).

The migration from country to city has been a principal factor in the striking growth of cities since World War I. From 1918 to 1953 the yearly population increase in urban areas was 4.2 percent as compared to 1.2 percent in the rural areas. During the same period the total proportion of the urban population rose from 21 to 42.8 percent. Between 1938 and 1951 the number of urban centers with populations of over 100,000 rose from four to eight. Simultaneously the number of municipalities with populations of less than 5,000 fell by 24 percent.

The annual rate of growth for urban areas reached its climax at 5.2 percent between 1945 and 1953, an era of political violence and unrest in the countryside. In the four major cities, Bogotá, Medellín, Barranquilla and Cali, the growth rate reached an annual 6.5 percent during this period.

It has been estimated that, of the approximately 150,000 persons who enter the labor market each year, some 100,000 seek employment in urban areas. Of this annual increment to the labor force,

manufacturing enterprises, although they represent the major industrial employers, absorb only about 16,000—a figure which represents the average annual increase of employment in this industrial branch between 1951 and 1960. Another factor contributing to the crowding of the urban labor market is the reluctance of professionally trained persons to accept positions in rural areas. Physicians, lawyers and engineers, and even the few experts in such fields as agronomy or veterinary medicine, refused to accept rural assignments, favorable salaries notwithstanding (see ch. 10, Education).

Although no statistics have been published, the continued large-scale migration from country to city has created serious unemployment in some cities, notably in Barranquilla where the number of unemployables from rural areas was swelled by the layoffs resulting from business slumps in local industries. In the spring of 1961 layoffs in the textile and aluminum industry in Barranquilla affected about 20 percent of the total potential labor force of the area, according to reports by trade union officials. Other large-scale dismissals took place in some industrial enterprises in Bogotá because of the water shortage of hydroelectric power plants which curtailed industrial production by 30 percent.

Alleged curtailment of exploratory activities necessitated layoffs among workers of the Shell-Condor Petroleum Company. In the case of the latter, however, some of the workers scheduled for dismissal were retained and those who had to leave received three months wages in severance pay, largely because of the efforts of the powerful Petroleum Workers' Federation.

The general rise of unemployment early in 1961 prompted the Minister of Labor to investigate the causes of the layoffs. At the same time, one of the leading labor federations, the Colombian Confederation of Workers (Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia—CTC) suggested the holding of conferences between management and labor to curb the tide of unemployment.

Rural workers moving to the cities were attracted by higher wages, greater public safety and better working conditions. Many also hoped to acquire an education and penetrate social barriers (see ch. 6, Social Structure). Nearly all workers entering the urban labor market hoped to obtain permanent employment with a large manufacturing enterprise or to work in the well-paid construction industry. However, the jobs available in these sectors were limited. Most workers coming from the countryside were also handicapped by illiteracy and a total lack of skills. Therefore, most of them were absorbed by the services sector which, in 1960, employed some 820,000 persons, or 17 percent of the labor force. These were predominantly women, working as servants, waitresses,

entertainers or laundry workers. In 1961, for example, 51.6 percent of all female wage and salary earners worked in the service occupations—a proportion which had probably changed little by 1961.

A considerable proportion of the urban labor force held only occasional or temporary jobs. Since their earnings were insufficient for maintenance, many turned to vagrancy and prostitution (see ch 17, Living Conditions and Public Welfare). Those who succeeded in acquiring some rudimentary education became cab drivers, street vendors, sellers of lottery tickets or artisans' helpers.

Industrial and Artisan Manufacturing

Next to the services branch, the manufacturing industry included the largest number of persons employed in the nonagricultural sector. In 1960 approximately 724,000 persons worked in manufacturing enterprises employing more than five persons. The figure also includes self-employed artisans and their helpers. Although the percentage of persons employed in artisan workshops decreased from 64 percent in 1938 to 56 percent in 1953, such persons still represented an estimated two-thirds of the 724,000 in the manufacturing industries in 1960. Particularly numerous in the garment, footwear and furniture-making branches, artisan shops relied extensively on unpaid family help. Sometimes they were operated by self-employed craftsmen working with one or two helpers. Most artisans worked by hand, without modern machinery and, in some rural areas, even without electricity. They catered to small local markets or to a limited number of customers and therefore were usually not interested in increasing productivity.

In the manufacturing branch, the beverage, food-processing, textile, garment and metal-processing enterprises represented the principal employers. A large number of women worked in the textile, garment and food-processing plants. Employment by the large manufacturing enterprises entailed benefits far in excess of those prescribed by the Labor Code. They included housing assistance, scholarship funds, recreational facilities, meals for nominal fees, credit facilities and stock-purchasing plans. Coltejer, the country's largest textile enterprise employing some 7,000 workers, financed the building of 243 houses for its employees in the Medellín area. A twenty-year credit was extended to employees who wished to purchase these houses. Coltejer also operated 3 free primary schools and maintained 200 scholarship funds for secondary and university studies for the children of workers and employees. Workers of the brewing industry also enjoyed excellent working conditions and fringe benefits.

Because of the keen competition among urban workers for employment in manufacturing enterprises, employers rarely resorted to

formal recruiting devices such as advertising or the posting of notices. In most cases, vacancies were made known informally to the workers already employed. They in turn informed family members, relatives or friends. Many employers, in fact, preferred this method of recruiting since it eliminated the need for inquiry into the worker's family background and personal circumstances. Illiteracy disqualified persons for employment in most manufacturing enterprises. Whenever possible, preference was given to applicants with some degree of skill or at least with previous work experience.

In the absence of skill or experience, the choice of new employees was usually made on the basis of physical condition and general reputation. Once hired, workers were more concerned with attaining permanent status than with advancement. Most of them remained on the same job level throughout their tenure, since poor educational background and inadequate vocational training prevented their promotion to the supervisory or low-level managerial positions. Such positions were nearly always filled by applicants from outside. Horizontal shifts from job to job were, however, frequent, depending on operational needs of the enterprise. Rewards were given to workers in the form of wage raises or bonuses for increasing periods of service or on special occasions, such as marriage or the birth of children.

In the hiring and promotion of supervisory and junior or senior managerial personnel, and in the determination of their salaries, family connections and social background played an important role, particularly in the family-owned industrial enterprises. Since the 1950's, however, many employers have realized the importance of professional qualification and have adopted the practice of hiring and rewarding on the basis of professional background and merit. In the family-owned enterprises, the son or the closest male relative was still the logical candidate for managerial and supervisory positions, but generally only after he had returned from professional studies abroad.

Commercial and Government Employees

In 1960 an estimated 260,000 persons were employed in commerce. Secretaries, clerks, bookkeepers and typists in private offices accounted for a large proportion of the figure. Some 12,000 bank employees were also included. Commercial jobs were favored by young men and women of the middle class who were reluctant to engage in manual occupations. In addition to maintaining social prestige by holding a white-collar job, commercial employees also earned relatively good salaries. In 1958 a typist-stenographer was paid between Col\$350 and Col\$500 per month (Col\$1 equaled

U.S.\$17 in 1958). The average monthly salary of an accountant was Col\$600 per month; that of a bank cashier about Col\$400.

Approximately 10,000 persons were on the payrolls of the various ministries in 1959. In most ministries the average monthly salary of a majority of employees ranged from Col\$300 to Col\$600. In the Ministries of Agriculture, Mines and Petroleum and Public Works, between 24 and 29 percent of the employees earned over Col\$1,000 per month. These salaries were paid for professional jobs which were often vacant because of the lack of qualified personnel. In 1960, for example, the Ministry of Agriculture was unable to fill some 69 positions in agronomy, agricultural economics, veterinary medicine and rural sociology because of unavailability of personnel.

Political affiliations and family connections were also important in obtaining government jobs. The principle of parity between Liberal and Conservative candidates prevailed in the assignment of top-level jobs but it was not always applied in the case of applicants for lesser positions. Although many among the candidates for the top positions held law degrees, their qualifications were often irrelevant to the tasks which the position applied for entailed. Candidates for lesser positions generally attempted to qualify by presenting evidence of possession of a secondary-school graduation certificate (*bachillerato*) and a letter of recommendation from the local chairman of their political party. In 1960 the Lleras government introduced a civil service system under which all applicants for government positions were required to take examinations, but the system was not yet full operative by mid-1961.

PRODUCTIVITY

Labor productivity was low in all economic sectors, although some improvements had been made since 1953—particularly in some branches of manufacturing. Uneconomic land tenure, lack of mechanization and an average of only 216 working days per year accounted for low production levels in agriculture. On some large farms, mainly in the coffee- and cotton-growing areas, satisfactory and even high labor productivity was attained through the introduction of mechanization and advanced production methods. But such farms were too few to raise substantially the rate of agricultural productivity which, in 1953 was still four times lower than that of industry. In industry the labor productivity index rose from 100 in 1953 to 125 in 1958, although it dropped to 120 in 1957. Increased capitalization per worker, in the form of investments in new machinery, was the main factor contributing to improved industrial productivity. The possibility of increasing

productivity by this method exclusively was limited, however, by the need to import machinery under high tariff rates and the difficulty in obtaining import licenses. Unions, moreover, objected to increased mechanization on the grounds that it would rapidly lead to further unemployment.

In general the concept of improved productivity was, in 19 still relatively new to employers and workers alike. Many among the former found it more profitable to draw on the cheap and abundant labor supply than to invest in new machinery or training programs. Such attitudes were still common among many landowners and even among some industrial employers.

Because of the very limited use of piece rates, workers saw little advantage in increasing their output. A more extensive application of piece rates was rendered difficult by the vigorous opposition of labor unions which considered this method of remuneration unfair to older and inexperienced workers. Many workers were also handicapped by illness, malnutrition and the psychological impact of inferior living conditions (see ch. 17, Living Conditions and Public Welfare). Traditions of paternalism and rigid social barriers strengthened the worker's inclination to indifference and his rejection of initiative as a means of attaining personal betterment.

MANPOWER PROBLEMS AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

All sectors of the economy were affected by the lack of skilled workers, technicians, and intermediate-level managerial personnel. On the professional level, traditional attachment to such fields as law, medicine and engineering led to an acute shortage of agronomists, administrators, metallurgical and chemical engineers (see ch. 10, Education).

To determine the degree of need for skilled personnel, the National Apprenticeship Service (SENA), a semiautonomous organization financed by a 1 percent payroll tax on enterprises employing more than 20 persons or capitalized at more than Col\$100,000, conducted a survey of such enterprises. Total employment in the firms surveyed was 249,831. It was found that their existing or anticipated shortages in skilled labor amounted to 30,437, or 12 percent, of the total employment. Of this figure, industrial enterprises reported 45 percent and commercial firms 35 percent of the unfilled need.

Vocational training was given at 96 secondary-level industrial and trade schools, in training centers of the SENA and in factories on the job. Traditional contempt for manual labor, inadequate primary-school preparation and the need for most to start earning wages at an early age accounted for the low enrollment and high

drop-out rates in secondary technical schools. In 1958 they furnished only 2 percent of the country's need for skilled personnel. Poor teaching equipment and unfavorable physical location further reduced their effectiveness. Many of the schools were out of touch with the development and conditions of employment in the industries. Many students of the vocational schools tended to seek non-manual occupations even though they had only completed one or two grades. Those who continued to the higher grades, which led to the training of technicians usually applied for supervisory positions involving little or no manual activities—if they remained in industry at all.

A program to increase the number and improve the qualifications of the country's skilled labor supply has been launched by SENA. During 1959 and 1960 it built eight industrial apprenticeship centers in Bogotá, Medellín, Barranquilla, Belencito, Cali, Cartagena, Manizales and Pereira, as well as a center for commercial apprenticeship in Bogotá and one for agricultural apprentices in Armenia. In 1959, 1,190 students graduated from the daytime courses offered at SENA's industrial centers. The number of adult graduates from night courses offered at these centers was 5,500. Corresponding figures for graduates for commercial centers were 1,120 and 4,500 respectively.

Two commercial apprenticeship centers in Cali and Bucaramanga, two industrial apprenticeship centers in Cúcuta and Barrancabermeja and additional agricultural apprenticeship centers were in the planning stage in 1961. SENA also extended technical assistance to enterprises operating permanent training programs on their own premises.

Although the establishment of training facilities under the SENA program was gaining momentum during the late 1950's, about 90 percent of the workers were still trained on the job. Such training was empirical, without theoretical instruction, and was given by persons who themselves were not thoroughly skilled. The need was also urgent for intermediate-level supervisors (foremen), particularly since workers' morale and relations between workers and supervisors have become important factors, largely because of the influence of organized labor (see ch. 15, Labor Relations and Organization). In many enterprises improper supervision contributed to low production and to unrest among workers. Courses for workers selected by employers to fill supervisory positions were offered in a few large enterprises and by SENA. In Medellín the Colombian Institute of Administration (INCOLDA) has established a school for the training of senior level industrial personnel.

The acute shortage of skilled laborers, technicians and managers necessitated the employment of foreign personnel in many enterprises. In 1958 some 750 European immigrants were admitted to the country to work as technical experts, but, in accordance with provisions of the Labor Code, enterprises were required to limit the number of foreign workers or employees. In enterprises employing more than 10 persons, the proportion of foreigners could not exceed 10 percent of the unskilled workers or 20 percent of skilled workers, specialists and managers. The Minister of Labor could raise these percentages when no Colombian personnel was available for positions involving essential technical skills. But in such cases the specialists hired in excess of the legally established percentages might remain only until such time as Colombian replacements could be trained. The employment of foreigners in supervisory positions gave rise to friction and to requests that these positions be given only to Colombians.

LABOR LEGISLATION

The first major labor laws were passed during the first administration of President Alfonso López (1934-38), an era noted for extensive social legislation. During the same period the principle of protection of labor by the state was written into the recodified Constitution of 1936, Article 17 of which provided that "labor is a social obligation and it shall enjoy the special protection of the state." President López' Decree No. 2350, passed by Congress as Law No. 6, is usually referred to as the Colombian Charter of Labor. In addition to establishing minimum wages, severance pay, paid holidays and employers' liability for sickness and accidents, the law established conditions favorable to labor organization and guaranteed the right to strike (see ch. 15, Labor Relations and Organization). This law, and others passed subsequently, were compiled in the Labor Code of 1950. The Code itself was amended many times after 1950 by a number of specific laws and regulations reflecting the government's paternalistic attitude toward labor.

The first book of the Labor Code contained provisions regulating relations between employers and employees as well as fundamental rules governing the employment contract, apprenticeship, wages, social benefits and hours of work. The second book dealt with collective labor contracts, workers and employers organizations and labor disputes (see ch. 15, Labor Relations and Organization). The third book regulated labor administration and procedures for enforcement.

Labor and social laws were enforced by the Ministry of Labor, notably by its Technical Branch. The latter included Divisions of

Individual, Collective and Rural Labor Affairs, a Division of Medical Care and Industrial Safety and a Division of Occupational Health. The main advisory body of the Ministry of Labor in matters of policy and planning was the National Labor Council. It was composed of the Ministers of Development, Public Health and Agriculture and the representatives of the Social Security Institute, SENA, the National Wage Council and the two central organizations of trade unions and of employers' organizations. Labor inspectors and regional labor councils were charged with the local enforcement of labor laws.

In the urban areas, and particularly in large enterprises, the labor and social laws were effectively enforced. Enforcement was less stringent and often neglected in the rural areas. Because of the general reluctance to accept employment in the countryside, the posts of labor inspectors were often vacant. Moreover, it is likely that in some rural areas employers bribed local labor inspectors to ignore noncompliance with labor laws—a custom which was extensively practiced in the 1920's and 1930's. Agricultural workers, mostly illiterate, were often unaware of the benefits to which they were entitled and so failed to claim them.

Theoretically provisions of the Labor Code applied to all workers regardless of their status in the labor force. In fact, however, the neediest category, notably occasional, temporary and unpaid family workers, were ineligible in many parts of the country for benefits in cases of nonoccupational sickness and maternity. Other benefits applicable only to permanent workers were severance pay, wage bonuses, paid vacations, group insurance and work clothes.

Contracts of Employment

Employers in all sectors of the economy who employed more than five persons were required to adopt rules of employment, governing such subjects as apprenticeship, probationary periods, working hours, overtime work, minimum wages and discipline. In some cases the terms of the contract represented legal minimums as prescribed in the Labor Code. More often they were established after individual or collective bargaining and were considerably above minimum standards. In accordance with the provisions of the Labor Code, the employment of youths under 18 was subject to prior approval by parents or guardians, or, in the absence of these, by departmental or municipal labor inspectors.

The minimum duration of employment contracts for fixed periods was four months. Contracts without a fixed period of duration were presumed to continue for six months. Such contracts could be terminated by either party on at least 45 days of written notice.

Employers were not obligated to give advance notice if they paid the wages and salaries for 45 days. Nearly all employers insisted on including this provision, called the "reserve clause," in the employment contract. The reserve clause represented the main point of controversy between management and labor. Both trade unions and nonorganized workers have demanded its repeal and its replacement by provisions curtailing and even abolishing the employers' right to dismiss without cause, but it was still in effect in 1961.

Severance pay had to be given to all workers and employees upon termination of the work contract or upon dismissal for nondisciplinary reasons. Artisans employing less than five persons were exempted from the obligation to give severance pay. The severance pay amounted to one month's wages for each year served and an additional proportionate sum for every fraction of a year of service. In industrial firms capitalized at less than Col\$20,000, and in agricultural and forestry enterprises capitalized at less than Col\$60,000, the severance pay equaled 15 days' wages for each year and a proportionate amount for fractions of a year. Grounds for the denial of severance pay included criminal acts against the employer or his family, intentional damage of business property and the disclosure of business secrets.

Wages

Structure

In accordance with regulations of the Labor Code, the remuneration of employees and workers in 1961 consisted of a basic wage or salary, premiums paid for overtime and Sunday work and fringe benefits. Service bonuses and commissions were also considered to be part of the regular wage. Fringe benefits were much more extensive than in the United States. Many of these were social benefits for which employers were held responsible, although they will be relieved of some of this burden when social security legislation is fully implemented (see ch. 17, Living Conditions and Public Welfare). Some employers, mainly in the large enterprises, provided additional benefits beyond those prescribed by law. In these enterprises, the cost of fringe benefits amounted to 50 percent and sometimes to 80 percent of the wage. The high proportion of the total wage applied to social benefits was one of the main factors which kept basic wages and salaries relatively low. During the late 1950's some workers and employers called for the abolition of at least some of the overprotective benefits and for the payment of higher basic wages instead.

Most employees felt, however, that the educational standard of workers was too low to justify the assumption that they would apply the higher wages to the purchase of insurance protection. Employers also tended to agree that additional fringe benefits increased

total labor costs to a lesser extent than higher basic wages. The extension of benefits far in excess of those prescribed by law in many enterprises illustrated the generally favorable managerial attitudes toward fringe benefits. Small enterprises, however, often found it difficult to meet the cost of these benefits.

Among the workers too, there was relatively little support for the change in wage structure. Most of them felt that an increase in basic wages would not make up for the benefits which they received under the present system. Trade unions, on the other hand, demanded still further increases in both benefits and basic wages (see ch. 15, Labor Relations and Organization).

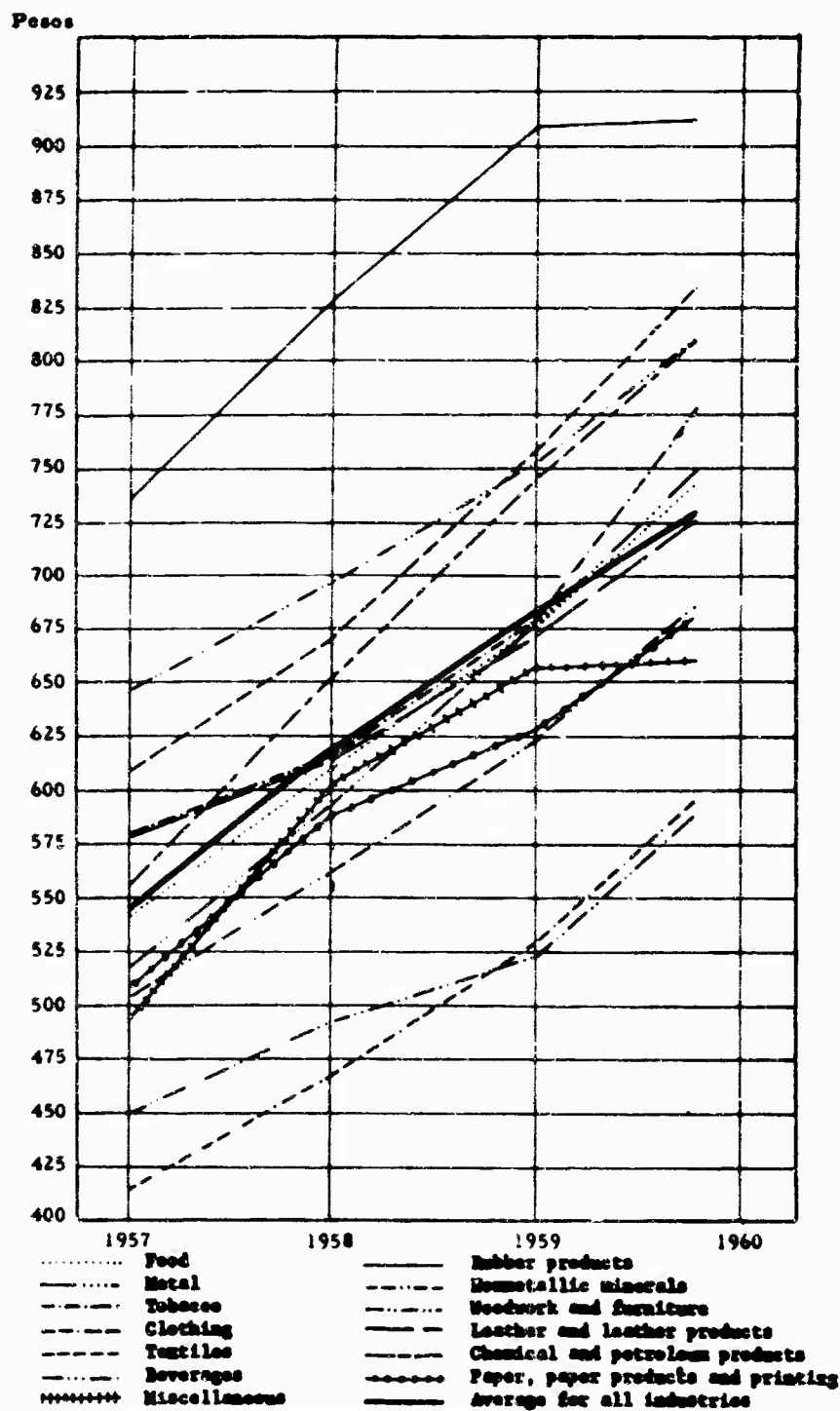
Minimum Wage

Minimum wages were determined periodically by the National Wage Council. The wage rates were based on the cost of living, business conditions in the various branches of the economy and the nature of the work. In 1960 minimum wages ranged from Col\$2.80 per day in rural Nariño to Col\$6.30 in more industrialized areas (Col\$1 equaled U.S.\$1.14 in 1960). Legislation passed in late 1959 provided for the adjustment of wages and salaries to the cost of living. According to the law, bonuses were added in proportion to the rise in living costs to the wages and salaries. If the cost of living continued to rise by more than 20 percent over two successive six-month periods, the bonus became part of the salaries or wages.

Levels of Income

Between 1957 and 1960 both salaries and wages in the industries increased by 33.8 and 56.8 percent respectively (see figs. 6 and 7). The higher percentage of increase in wages as compared to salaries reflected the vigorous bargaining efforts of the unions. Since only a small percentage of salary earners were unionized, they were less successful in obtaining higher wages. Although statistics indicate that the increases in wages and salaries generally followed the rise in living costs (see table 3), the unions dispute the validity of these statistics and the cost of living was a major concern to most workers and employees in 1961. Labor unions considered the 1960-61 wages too low and called many strikes in these years to obtain wage increases.

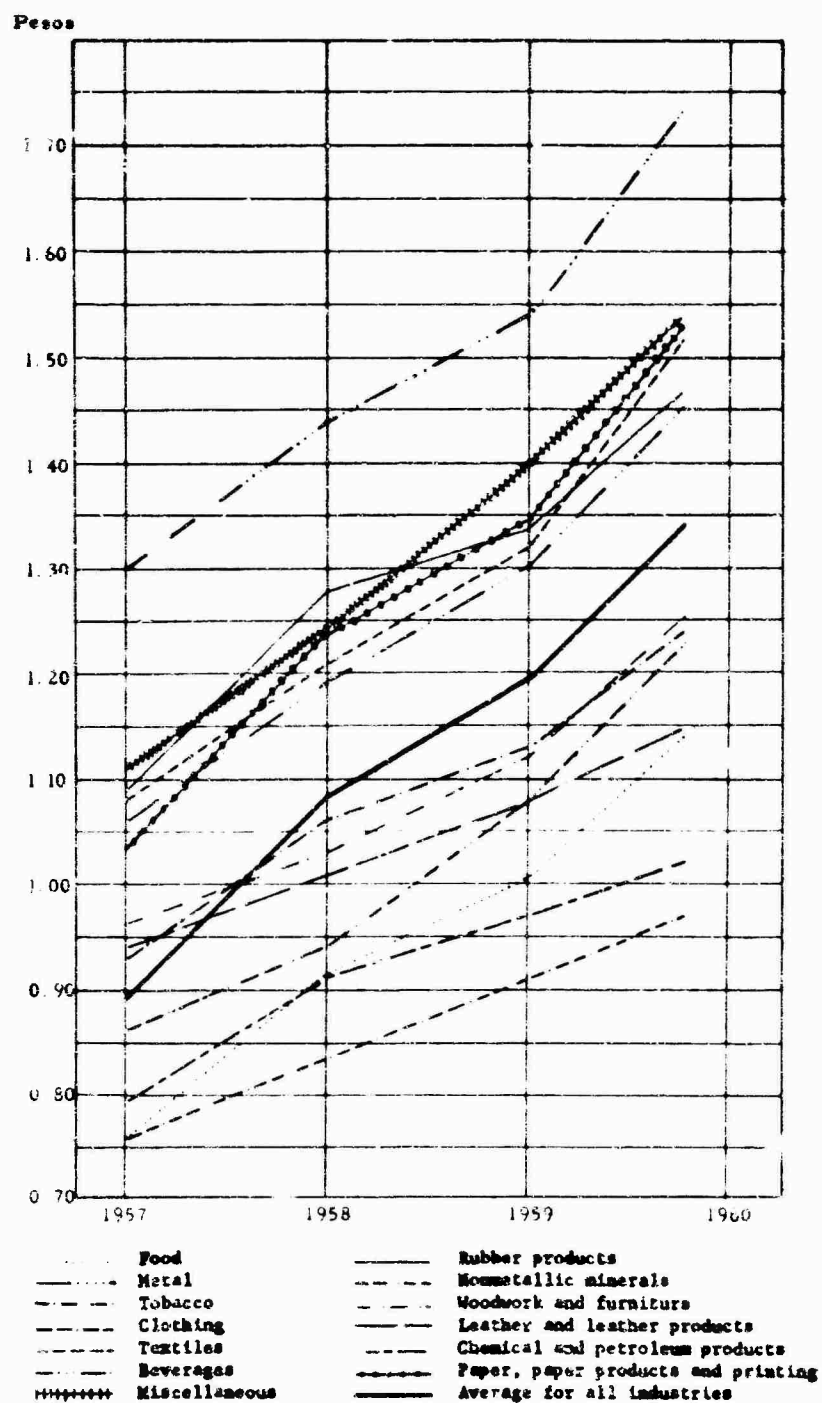
In the industries average hourly wages rose from about Col\$0.90 in 1957 to Col\$1.32 in mid-1960. During the first half of 1960, average hourly wages ranged from Col\$0.91 in the clothing industry to about Col\$1.66 pesos in the beverage industry. The range of average monthly salaries during the same period was from Col\$558 in the wood industries to about Col\$900 in the rubber industry.



Note: Based on annual averages in all industries.

Source: Adapted from Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, *Anuario General de Estadística*, 1958, p. 611, and *Boletín Mensual de Estadística*, Nov. 1960, pp. 96, 97.

Figure 8. Average monthly salaries in Colombia, 1957-60.



Note Based on annual averages in all industries

Source Adapted from Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, *Anuario General de Estadística*, 1958, p. 611, and *Boletín Mensual de Estadística*, Nov. 1960, pp. 96, 97

Figure 7. Average hourly wage rates in Colombia, 1957-60.

Table 3. Money Income and Real Income of Colombian Employees^a and Workers,^b 1957-60

Year	Employees				Workers			
	Consumer price index	Monthly salaries		Real salary index	Consumer price index	Hourly wages		Real wage index
		Pesos	Index			Pesos	Index	
1957 ^c	120.8	546	116.9	96.8	123.9	0.97	149.2	120.4
1958 ^c	136.7	618	132.3	96.8	139.9	1.10	169.2	120.9
1959 ^c	148.3	682	146.0	98.4	151.7	1.20	184.6	121.7
1959 ^d	145.5	666	142.7	98.0	149.7	1.16	178.2	119.1
1960 ^d	154.6	723	154.9	100.2	157.7	1.29	197.9	125.5

^a Those earning monthly salaries.

^b Those earning hourly wages.

^c Annual average.

^d January to June average.

Source: Adapted from Departamento Administrativo Nacional Estadística, *Boletín Mensual de Estadística*, March 1960, p. 91, and September 1960, p. 87.

For male agricultural workers the daily wage in the hot regions was Col\$5.78 or Col\$3.33 plus food. In the cold regions the daily wages were Col\$4.90 and Col\$8.80 respectively. During the harvest season, however, daily wages for some crops were probably as high as Col\$10 per day. Standard day wages paid to the workers on banana plantations of the northern coastal areas and to those working on sugar plantations of the Cauca and Magdalena valleys were in excess of Col\$10 per day.

The highest wage rates were paid by the petroleum industry. Petroleum workers in the first half of 1961 earned an average daily wage of Col\$20.40 as compared to Col\$12 earned by textile workers, even though the latter were considered to be among the best paid workers in the manufacturing industry. Even higher wages were paid early in 1961 in the construction industry in Bogotá. Average daily wages ranged from Col\$28 for drivers of earth-moving equipment to Col\$16 for machinists and Col\$7 for watchmen.

Overtime work was paid at the rate of time-and-one-fourth and, if performed at night, at the rate of time-and-three-fourths. Wages paid for regular night work were 35 percent higher than day wages. Wage earners working on Sundays and on public holidays received twice the daily wage.

Workers and employees in enterprises capitalized at Col\$200,000 or more were entitled to a special service bonus equaling 2 weeks' wages, to be paid twice a year. In enterprises capitalized at less than Col\$200,000, the bonus equaled 15 days' wages.

Working Hours and Holidays

The Labor Code provided for an 8-hour day and a 48-hour work week. In some enterprises the working day was increased to 9 hours and a free Saturday afternoon was granted instead. Hours of work could be shifted by the management as long as they were not in excess of 8 per day and 48 per week. Minors under 16 could not work more than 6 hours per day and could not work nights at all except in domestic service. The 8-hour day was not applicable to directors, drivers employed by transport firms and to those performing services of vigilance.

All permanent workers and employers were entitled to 15 days of paid vacation for every year of service. Regular wages were paid on Sunday to blue-collar workers only, provided that they had not been absent from work during the preceding week. In addition workers and employees received paid leave on 17 religious and national holidays.

Benefits

Since, in 1961, workmens' compensation under social security laws was still inoperative, employers were still responsible for the medical expenses of persons injured during work or contracting occupational diseases. The expenses to be covered included first aid, medications, surgical treatment and hospitalization not in excess of two years. In addition workers and employees were entitled to cash benefits for disability caused by accident or sickness. The sum of the benefits varied depending on the degree and duration of the disability: full wages for up to 6 months might be paid for temporary disability and a full 24 months' wages for total permanent disability.

For nonoccupational sickness and maternity, employees and workers were covered by social security in the departments of Antioquia, Cundinamarca, Caldas and Valle del Cauca. Elsewhere, however, employers were required to provide coverage. Cash allowances for disability due to nonoccupational sickness were payable up to 180 days.

Pregnant women were entitled to eight weeks of maternity leave during which they received cash benefits and free prenatal care, hospitalization, obstetric care during confinement and postnatal care. Enterprises employing more than 50 women were required to establish a nursery for small children.

Enterprises with large payrolls or with high basic capital were required to provide group life insurance, retirement pensions and family allowances, but, in 1961, it was expected that such benefits eventually became available under social security.

Enterprises with at least 20 employees or capitalized at Col\$100,000 or more were also required to pay 4 percent of their monthly payroll into "family compensation funds." In 1960 the allowance averaged a monthly Col\$12 per child for workers in the manufacturing industries.

Enterprises employing one or more permanent worker were compelled to issue work clothes twice a year to workers earning less than Col\$200 per month. The payment of transportation benefits to workers in the lower wage brackets was required of employers in urban centers.

The Labor Code included special provisions to assist workers employed under difficult climatic and physical conditions. For workers in certain agricultural, cattle-raising and forestry enterprises, for example, employers were required to provide special housing and food as part of the wages and also to establish preventive and curative medical facilities. There were similar provisions for those employed in the petroleum and construction industries, in banana plantations, in gold, silver and platinum mines and those employed in mining and industrial enterprises in the remote province of Chocó.

CHAPTER 14

FORCED LABOR

Each of the constitutions passed since 1853 bars slavery. Article 22 of the Constitution of 1886, retained unchanged in the codifications of 1936 and 1945, states, "... there shall be no slaves in Colombia. Any person being a slave who shall enter the territory of the Republic shall be free." Slavery survives vestigiously among some Indians. There is no forced labor in the sense in which it has been defined by the United Nations Economic and Social Council—a "system of forced or corrective labor which is employed as a means of political coercion or punishment for holding or expressing political views, and which is on such a scale as to constitute an important element in the economy of a . . . country."

Slavery was widespread among the Indians at the time of the Spanish conquest. The decimation of the Indian population under Spanish rule sharply reduced the number of Indian slave-owners and slaves. Even now, however, slavery may not yet have become extinct among the Guajira Indians, who reportedly still sell slaves to nearby areas of Venezuela and islands of the Caribbean.

The Spanish rulers considered the surviving Indian population to be tributaries and required them to work for certain periods during the year, in mines or on public works. This system, known as the *mita*, survived into the first half of the nineteenth century, even after independence (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups). In addition, they imported large numbers of negroes whom they used as slaves. Slavery was abolished gradually in the nineteenth century, and in 1851 legislation gave all slaves their freedom.

Except among the Guajiras, forced labor no longer exists in the country, but two types of unpaid labor are still found in the western highlands, where most of the remaining Indian communities are found.

In accordance with a tradition common to many parts of Latin America, Indian men still perform unpaid labor on public works. Within their own villages, they are responsible for cleaning and

repairing the plaza, the church, paths, and other facilities. In addition, these Indians have long contributed five days per year to the performance of similar work in the nearby towns.

The other type of unpaid labor is generally associated with the Indians, but it may also involve other rural residents. This actually constitutes abuse of the farm tenancy system. In the past, at least, landlords have required extra services of their tenants or have made use of the labor of family members of the tenants without remuneration. While neither of these two types of unpaid labor is forced labor in the sense of the definition, their abuse may create hardships which resemble those of forced labor.

CHAPTER 15

LABOR RELATIONS AND ORGANIZATION

Although unionization has been increasing more rapidly since 1958, only slightly more than 15 percent of the labor force (approximately 325,000 of the total of 4.8 million) was unionized in 1960. A majority of these were urban industrial workers. The unionization of the large agricultural labor force has proceeded slowly and is strongly opposed by rural employers. Salaried employees first began to form unions in 1959.

Since its beginnings in the 1920's, the labor movement has been associated with political parties. The first unions and their federations were led by Communists, but the first major labor confederation, the Colombian Confederation of Workers (Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia—CTC) was formed under Liberal auspices in 1935. Because of its association with the Liberal Party, the movement declined under Conservative governments. A period of dictatorship (1953-57), frequent political upheavals and a decade of public violence prevented its steady, organic development. The organization of the national Union of Colombian Workers (Unión de Trabajadores de Colombia—UTC) in 1946, under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church, represented an attempt to divorce the labor movement from politics. However, because of UTC's favored position under Conservative regimes (and under Dictator Rojas who wooed Church support), Liberals tended to associate it with their rival political party and with Church influence in politics.

Persistent Communist attempts to gain control over the unions have damaged the unity and prestige of the labor movement. Communist efforts were directed mainly against the leadership and local federations of CTC which, in 1960, finally expelled its Communist-ruled affiliates. However, Communist influence remained strong among local unions, mainly in the departments of Santander and Valle del Cauca and also among rural workers who were just beginning to organize under UTC auspices. Communist association with the labor movement has also intensified the suspicion and hostility of employers toward unions.

The strength and prestige of organized labor has not been sufficient to influence social legislation. Governmental paternalism,

rather than union initiative, was responsible for laws regulating employment conditions, wages and fringe benefits. Labor leaders who have entered political life have tended to forget the interests of organized labor and to become preoccupied with party politics. However, unions have used collective bargaining successfully to increase wages. In the 1960's wage levels established in collective bargaining came to be used as bases for adjustment, rather than those in the minimum wage law. The terms of collective contracts negotiated by major unions have been generally extended to non-organized employees.

The policies and attitudes of the Lleras government toward organized labor have been friendly and protective. The government has not favored one national federation over the other and has not interfered with their organizational activities. It has extended financial assistance to UTC and CTC and has supported their labor-leader training programs. Since 1960 labor leaders have been appointed to serve on official bodies for the study and implementation of economic and social reform programs. In advocating the creation of a unified, nonpolitical labor movement, President Lleras has lent additional emphasis to the concept of nonpartisan cooperation which represents the principal aspiration of his National Front government. However, traditional resentments between UTC and CTC and the political ambitions of many of their local leaders have been powerful obstacles to any practical steps leading to the unification of organized labor and to its renunciation of political ties.

On the other hand, the government has readily intervened to maintain labor peace. Mediation efforts by the government have often succeeded in averting strikes or in shortening their duration. Strike demands have often been submitted to the President or to the Minister of Labor for arbitration. The government has been inclined to use its broad powers to declare a strike illegal, particularly when Communist agitation was involved or when a work stoppage tended to interfere seriously with national production. In some cases the government protected participants in illegal strikes from retaliation by management. Such protection has not been extended, however, to workers who refused to return to work after a strike was declared illegal. In 1959-60 the national leadership of UTC and CTC cooperated with the government in trying to reduce the incidence of strikes. But these efforts were not supported by local unions, which were pressed by their members to call strikes in protest against living conditions.

Relations between employers and workers have always been marked by mutual distrust and much strife because of traditional class cleavages and frequent upheavals in the national economy.

To discourage the growth of union membership, many employers have adopted a paternalistic policy of extending various benefits to their workers. White-collar employees, composed mainly of middle-class elements and of impoverished members of the upper class, have tended to sympathize with management even though their economic conditions were scarcely better than those of common workers. This attitude is changing, however, with the growing trend among salaried employees to form their own unions.

Although relations between the national leaders of UTC and CTC and employers have improved, industrial relations between 1958 and 1961 have generally been unstable and marred by many strikes and threats of strikes. In most cases the strikes were called for higher wages, the curtailment of managerial privileges or in protest against the high cost of living. Communist agitation, however, was responsible for a number of strikes.

Employers' associations have been primarily concerned with the economic interests although, since the late 1950's, some of them have also dealt with labor relations and with problems of meeting the demands of organized labor.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The country's earliest labor organizations were the artisans' mutual benefit societies which flourished during the colonial era in the seventeenth century. During the middle of the nineteenth century the Democratic Society of Artisans and Workers was formed by young intellectuals influenced by the ideas of Louis Blanc and François Fourier. The Society gained considerable influence in the cities; by 1853 it included some 90 local branches, but after 1860 membership declined. A few mutual welfare associations of workers survived until the early 1920's.

The antecedents of today's labor unions emerged during the 1920's. Their early ideological orientation was anarcho-syndicalist, but after 1925 Communist trade union leaders gradually gained control over them. In 1925 the Second Workers Congress met in Bogotá to form the National Workers' Confederation (Confederación Obrera Nacional). Ignacio Torres Giraldo, a member of the country's early Communist party, the Grupo Comunista, presided over the Congress. Although the majority of the delegates were anarcho-syndicalists or socialists, Torres Giraldo succeeded in affiliating the nascent National Workers' Confederation with the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU), the global labor counterpart of the Communist International. The Third Workers Congress in 1926 considered forming a workers party; the majority of delegates decided to organize the Socialist Revolutionary Party (Par-

tido Socialista Revolucionario—PSR), a party which adopted Communist programs and objectives although it was not Communist in name. Upon the suggestion of Torres Giraldo, the PSR joined the Communist International in 1927. During the same year Torres Giraldo became a member of the presidium of RILU.

Liberal and Marxist factions competed within the PSR. Under the leadership of Torres Giraldo the Marxists gained control, during the late 1920's, over the banana workers union which had been first organized by an anarcho-syndicalist, Raúl Mahecha. Torres Giraldo and his "solidarity committees" were instrumental in organizing the banana zone strike in 1928 which was violently suppressed by the government. Communist influence was dominant in most regional labor federations although some had Liberal leaders. Those under Communist auspices included the Magdalena Syndical Union (Unión Sindical de Magdalena), the Federation of the Zone of Atlántico (Federación del Zona Atlántico) and the Workers' Federation of Bolívar (Federación Obrera de Bolívar). In addition, there were the National Workers' Confederation of Colombia (Confederación Obrera Nacional de Colombia) and the National Center of Workers and Peasants (Central Nacional Obrera y Campesina), although these national federations were largely mythical. Both the regional and national federations were among the signatories of the first Communist regional labor union organization affiliated with RILU, the Syndical Confederation for Latin America (Confederación Sindical Latino Americana—CSLA), organized in Montevideo in 1929. In addition to the propagandistic exploitation of the social and ethnic problems of Latin American countries, CSLA denounced the non-Communist Pan American Federation of Labor (PAFL) as an instrument of "yankee and British colonialism."

The close association of the early labor unions with Communists accentuated the hostility with which employers and Conservative political elements looked upon the labor movement. In the absence of legal guarantees for union organization and the right to strike, employers often resorted to the use of strike breakers and the arbitrary dismissal of workers for membership in the labor movement.

The elections of 1930 marked the beginnings of cooperation between the Liberal Party and the labor movement. The Liberal faction of the PSR supported the winning candidate for the presidency, Enrique Olaya Herrera (1930-34). The original PSR, weakened by factional strife, disappeared during the same year but re-emerged as the Colombian Communist Party (Partido Comunista Colombiano—PCC) during the early 1930's. Following the instructions

of the Comintern, the PCC concentrated on the labor movement and particularly on agricultural workers of Indian ethnic origin in the Department of Tolima.

Laws passed during the administration of Liberal President Alfonso López (1934-38)—granting freedom of association and the right to strike—enabled the labor movement to gather strength. In 1935 the labor unions controlled by Liberals formed the Syndical Confederation of Colombia (Confederación Sindical de Colombia) which later changed its name to Colombian Confederation of Workers (Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia—CTC). By 1937 CTC had 900 locals with a total claimed membership of about 100,000. Communist influence was strong in the central committee of the CTC and also in many of the local unions. The CTC was among the first major labor federations which participated in the charter congress of the Confederation of Latin American Workers (Confederación de Trabajadores de América Latina—CTAL) which met in Mexico City in 1938. CTAL was the second Communist-dominated regional labor union organization to be formed in Latin America. An instrument of the popular front technique, it urged the cooperation of labor unions regardless of political affiliation. Its first executive committee included two Colombians, Clodomiro Clavijo and Cristiano Costillo. After World War II, CTAL became one of the main platforms in Latin America for the denunciation of the influence of the United States and of the activities of the American Federation of Labor.

In 1939 and 1945 anti-Communist members of the Liberal Party tried to change the Communist orientation of the CTC. Their efforts succeeded only in temporarily splitting the organization into Communist and Liberal factions—after which the Communists succeeded each time in reasserting themselves. During the late 1940's, however, factionalism within the PCC and the growing influence of left-wing liberal Jorge Eliécer Gaitán with the lower classes precipitated a decline of Communist influence in CTC and among workers in general. Labor organization, under the auspices of the Church, also began during the same period and contributed to the decline. In 1946 Jesuit Father Vincent Andrade, supported by the Colombian Church hierarchy, organized the Colombian Workers' Union (Unión de Trabajadores de Colombia—UTC). UTC's objective was to imbue the labor movement with Christian socialist ideals, to combat Communist influence and to strengthen the Roman Catholic faith among workers. In 1950 UTC became an affiliate of the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

The decisive split between Liberals and Communists in the CTC finally occurred in 1950. At the CTC convention in May of that

year, two rival groups were organized under Liberal and Communist leadership respectively. The Liberal CTC promptly joined the ICFTU. The Communist faction called itself National Confederation of Independent Workers (Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores Independientes—CNTI). After the split the government withdrew legal recognition from CTC, but in October 1950 the liberal CTC regained its legal status. The Communist CNTI, on the other hand, was never legally recognized and disappeared in subsequent years.

The CTC suffered serious setbacks during the Conservative government of Laureano Gómez (1950-53). The repeal of the law prohibiting the parallel operation of employer-subsidized unions together with regular unions had particularly serious effects. Employers not only created their own unions in most enterprises, but evoked police force to break up the meeting of regular unions. Union leaders were put on blacklists for perpetrating "acts of violence." Because of the association of Liberal elements with the CTC, and because of the Liberal political sympathies of most workers, Conservatives regarded the labor movement as an appendage of their political rivals. Affiliation with the Liberal Party or membership in a CTC union constituted sufficient reason for dismissal of employees. Workers with 15 to 20 years of service were fired for union activity. Between 1951 and 1952 the National Railways dismissed 4,772 workers because they were members of the Liberal Party. UTC unions, on the other hand, were not affected by the antilabor policies and actions of the Conservative government. Because of its close connections with the Church and its combative attitude towards communism, UTC enjoyed the tacit approval and sympathy of many Conservatives, including President Gómez.

The development of the labor movement remained relatively stagnant during the Rojas Pinilla dictatorship (1953-57). Both UTC and CTC temporarily lost some of their membership to the National Confederation of Workers (Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores—CNT), a branch of the Peronist (Argentine) labor movement. The Rojas government supported the CNT and gave it preferred treatment in the granting of legal status, in spite of opposition from UTC and CTC. However, CNT's anticlerical stand, notably its opposition to Church interference in social affairs, and its support of Rojas elicited strong protests from the Church as well as from Conservatives and Liberals. CNT also failed to attract the majority of devoutly Catholic workers and automatically disappeared with the demise of the Peron government in 1955. The remainder of Rojas' term was noted for his attempts to consolidate the labor movement in a government-controlled labor or-

ganization, the Great Labor Center (Grán Central Obrera). Both Liberals and Conservatives opposed the Grán Central Obrera which they considered a potential mass organization in support of the dictatorship. The UTC, although it was allowed to flourish under Rojas, vigorously objected to what it considered an attempt to establish state syndicalism.

By the late 1950's the UTC emerged as the stronger and more influential labor federation. The Liberal CTC was disunited and nearly bankrupt after nearly seven years of Conservative persecution and the efforts of the Rojas dictatorship to consolidate the labor movement under its own auspices. In spite of its break with the Communist faction, Communists continued to dominate many of CTC's regional federations. CTC had been unable to expel them from these federations because the holding of departmental conventions was prohibited under the Conservative regimes.

LEGISLATION

Freedom of association was granted in the revised Constitution of 1936 and was further elaborated in the Labor Code of 1950. The right to form associations for the representation of occupational and professional interests was recognized as applying to all employers, to self-employed persons and to private and public employees, except to those serving in the police or in the armed forces.

The Labor Code prohibits the use of pressure by employers upon employees who organize or join labor unions. Employees are likewise forbidden to force fellow employees to join, or refrain from joining, a union. Interference with the right to form associations is punishable by fines or imprisonment, and administrative fines may be imposed by governmental agencies in charge of the enforcement of labor laws.

The Second Book of the Labor Code contains collective labor law dealing with employees' and employers' organizations, collective labor contracts, labor disputes and strikes. The enforcement of these laws rests with the Ministry of Labor, notably with its Division of Collective Labor Matters, and, on the local level, with departmental and local labor inspectors and regional labor councils (see ch. 12, Labor Force).

The Labor Code contains extensive provisions for the control and regulation of industrial associations—the Colombian legal term for labor unions and employers organizations. A minimum of 25 members is required for the organization of a union; 5 for the organization of an employers' association. To be legally recognized, at least two-thirds of the members of any industrial association must be Colombian nationals.

The Labor Code recognizes craft unions representing persons pursuing the same trade, industrial unions formed by persons working in enterprises in a single industrial field and company unions consisting of employees working for the same enterprise. Catch-all unions, those which represent employees of all types belonging to any craft or industry, are also recognized—although they may operate only where the number of workers available to form a union in any one trade is below the legal minimum. If several company unions exist in the same enterprise, only the largest one may be legally recognized. Unions representing public employees who work for administrative branches of the government may not bargain collectively or present demands except in the form of petitions. Their activities are restricted to the rendering of legal advice, the representation of their members before law courts, the extension of mutual help in emergencies and the establishment of facilities designed to promote education, training or general welfare of members.

Employees participating in the organization of a labor union, or joining a labor union during its formative stage are protected by union immunity (*fuero sindical*) from discharge, demotion or transfer. The same protection is extended to members of central executive committees, subcommittees and sectional committees. These committees, however, may not have more than five regular and five deputy members. The union immunity of the committee members becomes effective when the employer and labor inspector are notified of their election and it expires three months after their term of office ends. Before it can begin to function, the union must apply for and be granted a charter giving it legal status. Subjects to be regulated in the bylaws include administrative and financial management, amounts of dues and disciplinary procedures. Changes of personnel on the executive committees and amendments of bylaws are recognized as valid only if approved by the Minister of Labor.

The internal government of labor unions is also regulated in detail by the Labor Code. Membership meetings are to be held every six months. Persons eligible for election to executive committees must have been members of the organization six months of the year preceding their election. They must be Colombians and regularly employed in an occupation or trade. Persons who have been sentenced for crimes, or whose trial is pending at the time of the elections, may not be made members of an executive committee. The Code also regulates the use of funds, bookkeeping and budgets. The use of funds for commercial operations is prohibited. Collection of dues by the checkoff system, that is, by the automatic deduction of union dues by employers, is permitted only if approved by two-thirds of union members.

Labor Code regulations pertaining to the functions of industrial associations forbid participation in party politics or in denominational affairs—a provision which is practically never applied. The giving of financial assistance to religious organizations or political parties and the nomination of candidates for public office are also prohibited.

The Labor Code determines the forms of collective agreements rather than procedures governing collective bargaining. In the most commonly used collective agreements the labor union signs on behalf of its members for their individual terms of employment. Collective covenants, signed between employers and nonorganized employees, cover the same aspects as collective agreements, but they apply only to the individual employees who signed them. Union contracts are signed between the employer and a labor union for the performance of a specific job by members of the contracting union. Collective contracts must be filed with the Minister of Labor to be considered valid. Either party to the agreement may bring suit if it claims to have suffered damages through failure of the other to comply with the terms of the contract. Contracts are usually signed for successive six-month periods. Although collective agreements apply only to the members of the union which negotiated the contract, their scope may be extended. Nonunion employees, or those who are members of a union other than the contracting one, may be covered by the agreement if they contribute monthly payments to the contracting union amounting to half of its regular dues. Unions have generally been willing to extend the terms of the collective contract to nonunion employees without insisting that the latter pay dues.

Some collective bargaining agreements may provide for the establishment of a conciliation or arbitration facility for the settlement of labor disputes. The Code provides that, if such a facility is established, it must render awards within 10 days after it convenes. The awards have the effect of court judgments and may only be appealed at labor courts of appropriate jurisdictions. In practice, however, few contracts provide for such a facility.

A nationwide system of labor courts operates for the settlement of individual and collective labor disputes. The territorial limits of labor courts of the first instance correspond with those of the circuit courts. Labor courts of the second instance (called Labor Divisions of Superior Tribunals) hear appeals against judgments of local labor courts or against arbitration awards. The latter, however, are generally only reversed if violation of constitutional rights or noncompliance with the arbitration award is involved. Decisions of labor courts of the second instance may be appealed to the Labor Division of the Supreme Court. The jurisdiction of labor

courts extends over controversies involving contracts of employment, compensation claims for personal services and claims involving social insurance laws. Such courts also hear claims concerning the discrimination against employees for union activities and bring judgments in cases involving strikes and the legal status of industrial associations. However, the most frequent cases before labor courts are those involving compensation or benefits, brought by individual employees against employers.

Before a strike can legally be declared, employers and employees must initiate certain conciliatory procedures prescribed by the Labor Code. A three-man committee appointed by the union or by the employees concerned must submit a statement of demands to the employer. The latter must begin negotiations with the committee not later than five days following the receipt of the statement. The duration of negotiations between employers and employees varies, but does not generally exceed 10 days. If no agreement is reached, the issues must be submitted to conciliation. According to the Labor Code, the conciliation may be handled by an individual agreed upon by the employer and employees or by a board composed of one member from each side. If agreement still cannot be reached employees are free, after notifying the Minister of Labor, to resort to strike.

The right to strike, except in the public services, is constitutionally guaranteed (1936). Public services are defined as including: all enterprises supplying the population with water, electric power and transportation; health and welfare establishments; dairies; slaughter houses; markets; and sanitation facilities. Moreover, the government has the power to declare any activity which affects the safety, health or economic life of the nation a public service. The freedom to strike does not extend to sit-downs. Strikes called without resort to conciliatory procedures, or those for which a majority of the employees has not signified agreement by vote, are illegal. The calling of strikes for other than economic reasons is also unlawful. The legality of a strike is determined by the Minister of Labor. Appeal against his decision may be made only to the Council of State. Unions which call illegal strikes may be temporarily suspended or dissolved. Workers who participate in illegal strikes may be dismissed, although such dismissals are subject to approval by the labor inspector.

The Labor Code provides for a 10-day cooling-off period following the strike declaration. Commencement of the strike before the expiration of this period constitutes another reason for declaring it illegal. If a strike continues longer than eight days, the Minister of Labor must organize a nine-member conciliation board on which employer, employees and the Minister of Labor are represented with

three members each. The Board's suggestions for settlement of the dispute are presented to the employees for a vote of acceptance or rejection. The procedure must be repeated every eight days if the suggestions are rejected. In practice, however, the provision calling for compulsory conciliation of strikes lasting over eight days is rarely complied with.

LABOR UNIONS UNDER THE NATIONAL FRONT

During the late 1950's the CTC continued to maintain close ties with the Liberal Party. Víctor Julio Silva and Liborio Chica, respectively president and vice-president of CTC in 1960, were both members of Congress, although they had not used their positions to introduce legislation beneficial to workers and organized labor. On the other hand, the rift between the official wing of the Liberal Party and the one led by Alfonso López Michelsen has affected the leadership of CTC and has contributed to its lack of internal cohesion (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). The shift of Liborio Chica from the official to the Lopista wing of the Liberal Party resulted in competition between CTC officials of the two factions for the political allegiance of the labor unions.

The UTC has professed neutrality toward both political parties. According to its bylaws, its officials may not hold political positions while serving in the confederation—a provision which was reiterated before the elections in March 1960. In fact, however, UTC remained closely affiliated with the Church and counted many supporters in the Conservative Party.

The leaders of both confederations have commented on the desirability of a UTC-CTC merger to promote the creation of a unified, nonpolitical labor movement. However, differences in official attitudes regarding the role of organized labor in national life have constituted major obstacles to such a move. UTC's philosophy, which is guided by an implicit reliance on the prestige and influence of the Church, has favored a nonpolitical labor pressure group, free of political alignments and capable of exerting an over-all influence on government and society. CTC has emphasized the need for reliance on political contacts and political action to advance the objectives of organized labor. UTC's Church-oriented and largely Conservative membership has resented CTC's close alignment with the Liberal Party and Communist infiltration among local CTC federations and unions. CTC, on the other hand, has objected to the ties between UTC and the Conservative Party and to the powerful role of the Church within the confederation.

Among regional and local officials of both confederations, the concept of a nonpolitical labor movement has found little acceptance.

Most of these, including local officials of the nonpolitical UTC, have combined their activities with political campaigning and verbal attacks on rival unions in terms of Liberal and Conservative politics. Their ultimate goal has been a political position, at least on the departmental level, with the party of their preference and the attainment of corresponding social and financial advantages.

The national leadership of UTC and CTC has officially supported the policies and aspirations of President Lleras Camargo's National Front government. However, legislative inertia and delay in implementing the agrarian reform, the social security program and the Labor Code reform have been freely criticized by both UTC and CTC leaders. The UTC, which has taken the initiative in organizing agricultural workers, submitted a detailed study of the proposed agrarian reform to its Eighth National Congress held in April 1961 in Barranquilla. The report pointed out that the reform falls short of solving fundamental problems although it creates the conditions necessary for handling the land problem within the framework of democratic evolution. The UTC economic platform, published in connection with the Congress, called for a workers' share in profits, unemployment assistance, higher minimum wages and greater participation of workers in total national consumption. The platform also dealt with such national problems as education, health services, political patronage in public administration, exports, public investment and restrictions on the sale of liquor.

Communism and Castroism were condemned in strongly worded statements by UTC and CTC. The CTC statement accused Castro of establishing Soviet Communist rule over Cuba and emphasized the need for an organized fight against the Communist invasion of Latin America. Referring to Soviet blandishments in the form of economic aid, the statement stressed that Colombians were unwilling to sell their freedom for a few pesos. In conclusion the statement praised Alfonso López Michelson for publicly disassociating himself from the aims and policies of communism and for refusing to cooperate with Colombian Communist leaders (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

The UTC statement emphasized Castro's betrayal of the aims of the Cuban revolution. In reference to the unsuccessful invasion of Cuban freedom fighters in April 1961, the statement invoked the example of the Hungarian uprising in 1956 when patriots were slain with Soviet weapons. In delivering Cuba to communism, the statement continued, Castro adopted methods used by the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe. The statement closed with the assertion of the belief of the Colombian labor movement in free labor unions and its rejection of communism.

Since the inauguration of the Lleras government in August 1958, both UTC and CTC have been the recipients of governmental assistance designed to strengthen the labor movement and to enhance its prestige. In the fall of 1958 Congress appropriated Col\$30,000 to cover convention expenses of UTC and CTC (in 1958 U.S. \$1 equaled Col \$8.23). In 1960 three courses for the training of labor leaders were organized at the National University of Bogotá under the auspices of the Ministry of Labor. The Minister of Labor, Otto Morales Benítez spoke at the UTC Congress in April 1961. President Lleras himself addressed the opening session of the CTC Congress at Cartagena in December 1960. During the same year the President appointed Eugenio Colorado, UTC's secretary for agricultural affairs, and a CTC representative, Arnoldo Tabares, to serve on the National Agricultural Commission. Lleras also selected UTC president Antonio Díaz and CTC president Víctor Julio Silvo to accompany him on his visit to the United States.

Membership and Organization

The Lleras government's policy of nonintervention in the organizational activities of the labor movement has created favorable conditions for unionization. Although no official figures were available, union membership was estimated at 325,000 in 1960, or about 15 percent of the labor force.

Unionism was much stronger in urban than in rural areas. Unskilled workers represented a higher proportion of unionized workers than skilled ones. About 90 percent of the oil workers and 80 percent of the textile workers were unionized. Unionization was also high among brewery, soft drink, transportation, communication, steel and metal workers. With the exception of bank and insurance employees, relatively few salary earners were unionized. Some of them have joined unions which accept mixed memberships of wage and salary earners. Few workers in the agricultural sector were unionized except those employed permanently on banana and sugar plantations.

Representative union types included industrial, craft and catch-all unions, but company unions were predominant. Contrary to practice in the 1920's and 1930's, the latter were no longer employer-dominated. Company unions usually joined industrial federations.

Most unions were affiliated with one of the two major federations, the CTC or the UTC. In 1960, however, some large independent unions were organized including the National Federation of Gastronomical Workers, the National Federation of Telecommunication Unions of Colombia (Federación Nacional de Telecomunicaciones de Colombia—FENATEL) and the Union of Workers of the Colom-

bian Tobacco Company (Sindicato de Compañía Colombiana de Tobacco). The Colombian Association of Banking Employees (Asociación Colombiana de Empleados Bancarios), which represented the majority of about 3,000 organized bank employees, was also unaffiliated. Area and industrial federations formed the middle level of the structure of UTC and CTC. Generally, industrial federations were national organizations, such as the 20,000-member Colombian Union of Textile Workers (Unión de Trabajadores Textileros de Colombia—UTRATTEXCO), affiliated with UTC, and the 10,000-member Federation of Railway Workers (Federación de Trabajadores Ferroviarios), a CTC affiliate.

Since the passing of the Rojas dictatorship, CTC has gained in strength and influence. Several unions formerly affiliated with UTC changed to CTC after 1958, including nearly all their petroleum unions. However, massive Communist infiltration among local CTC affiliates and fellow-traveling by some members of the national leadership created internal crises and financial dilemmas which hampered and often completely arrested the progress. Anti-Communist elements finally prevailed and, in September 1960, expelled the entire Communist-dominated, 40,000-member Federation of Workers of Valle (Federación de Trabajadores del Valle—FEDETAV), six locals in the Bogotá area and the 5,000-member Petroleum Workers' Federation (Federación de Petroleros—FEDEPETROL) in Barrancabermeja. Communist influence was also eliminated from CTC's key affiliate in the Bogotá area, the Federation of Workers of Cundinamarca (Federación de Trabajadores de Cundinamarca—FTC) when, in 1959, the federation elected a 25-man executive committee composed entirely of non-Communists. In mid-1961 CTC was still in financial difficulties, however, because local officials of Communist-dominated unions had prevented the forwarding of dues to national headquarters. The election in December 1960, by which José Raquel Mercado became CTC president and Virgilio Conde, a Point-4 labor trainee, became secretary general, indicated the rise of a younger, more vigorously anti-Communist leadership. Mercado has also stressed the desirability of a nonpolitical labor movement.

In 1959 CTC claimed a total membership of about 200,000. Representatives of 400 affiliated organizations attended its national congress in December 1960. CTC's largest and most important organizations were the 40,000-member Federation of Workers of Cundinamarca and the 350,000-member Federation of Workers of Atlántico (Federación de Trabajadores del Atlántico—FEDETRAL) in Barranquilla. CTC was strongest in the transportation sector (railway, aviation, river and ocean transport) and also in the petroleum industry since the local unions of the Petroleum Workers'

Federation were not expelled. In 1961 two new federations joined the CTC—the Colombian Federation of Transport Workers, with a claimed membership of 30,000 and the National Federation of Municipal Workers of Colombia.

In spite of the withdrawal of some of its unions and difficulties on the local level because of Communist agitation, UTC has progressed organizationally and improved its financial position since 1958. In 1959 it formed over 100 new unions. In 1960 it purchased additional printing equipment and its Cundinamarca affiliate, the Union of Workers of Cundinamarca (Unión de Trabajadores de Cundinamarca—UTRACUN), acquired a new headquarters building.

UTC has been noted for its unostentatious but effective organizational work. Its success has been largely due to a relatively large number of dedicated leaders, although opportunism is not uncommon among local officials. UTC leaders, many of whom are former members of the Catholic Working Youth (Juventud Obrero Católica), have spent much time traveling and extending services to local affiliates. Priests working as spiritual advisors to UTC unions have assisted workers in personal problems and have also advised officials in certain administrative matters. UTC has also benefited from the dynamic interest in labor of Father Vincent Andrade, its founder and present moral advisor, and of Father José Joaquín Salcedó, a leader of Catholic rural improvement activities (see ch. 10, Education; ch. 17, Living Conditions and Public Welfare).

Between 1959 and 1960 UTC was also active in the organization of agricultural workers in an effort to counteract Communist efforts to gain influence over the *campesinos* (peasants). In November 1959 UTC reactivated the dormant National Federation of Farmers (Federación Agraria Nacional—FANAL). During the same month 5,000 peasants attended the first National Congress of Rural Workers in Bogotá. In his address to the Congress President Lleras spoke of issues with which it was concerned—notably rural violence, land reform, education and community improvement. He also stressed the desirability of labor unions for rural workers and their affiliation with the International Land Workers' Federation. In 1960 UTC's regional federation for Atlántico, the Union of Workers of Atlántico (Unión de Trabajadores del Atlántico—UTRAL), sponsored the resettlement of landless agricultural workers on islands of the Magdalena River. Although the settlement of idle fluvial land by landless claimants is permitted under existing laws, local landowners and officials have objected. UTRAL led the protest of the settlers against attempts of local officials to dislodge them.

UTC's claimed total membership in 1959 was 118,000 members in 597 affiliated organizations. The largest number of UTC workers were in the steel and textile industries and on the plantations. The

Union of the Workers of Valle (Unión de Trabajadores del Valle—UTRAVAL) in Cali and the Union of Workers of Antioquia (Unión de Trabajadores de Antioquia—UTRAN) in Medellín had the largest number of affiliated unions (117 and 110 respectively). Among the largest of its national industrial federations were the 20,000-member Colombian Union of Textile Workers (Unión de Trabajadores Textileros de Colombia—UTRATExCO), the 15,000-member national Federation of Highway Workers (Federación de Trabajadores de Carreteras) in Bogotá and the 9,000-member Federation of Metal Workers (Federación de Trabajadores Metalúrgicos—UTRAMETALCO) in Duitama.

UTC and CTC were also engaged in various educational and cultural activities. Courses in labor-leader training were given under UTC auspices at the Universities of Bogotá, Cali and Bucaramanga. The Jesuit Javeriana University offered an extension course in labor-management relations. CTC also offered night courses to train union officials in such subjects as labor law, unionism, sociology, public speaking and accounting. Some area federations and their unions offered recreational and cultural activities. The representative press organ of the UTC is the biweekly *Justicia Social*; CTC publishes the monthly *CTC Revista*.

CTC and UTC have maintained their affiliation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and its regional branch (formed in 1951), the Inter-American Regional Organization (ORIT). ORIT activities in Colombia have been designed to promote labor-leader training and to encourage UTC-CTC cooperation. The AFL-CIO has also been active in assisting the Colombian labor movement. In January 1961 Andrew McLellan, Inter-American representative of AFL-CIO, visited Colombia to discuss possibilities of aid to CTC and UTC in developing their public information media and housing projects for workers.

A number of unions have become affiliated with International Trade Secretariats, notably with the International Union of Food, Drink and Tobacco Workers, the International Federation of Petroleum Workers, the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International, the International Transport Workers' Federation, the Public Service International and the International Textile and Garment Workers' Federation.

Labor leaders have been sent to the United States for training under the Point-4 Labor-Training Program, administered by the International Cooperation Administration. Sixty-five prospective labor leaders were trained in the United States between 1952 and 1958 under this program.

Efforts of the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and of labor organizations in Communist countries to

establish relations with Colombian labor unions have had only moderate success. In 1959 the CTC executive board rejected an invitation to attend May Day celebrations in Moscow although seven CTC functionaries accepted the invitation on a personal basis. In 1960 UTC and CTC refused friendship offers by WFTU, East German labor unions and the Confederation of Cuban Workers. Members of the Communist-dominated Petroleum Workers' Federation, however, accepted an invitation to Red China during the same year.

Communist Infiltration

Since the communists were first expelled from the CTC national congress in 1953, their infiltration maneuvers have centered on the departmental and local level of the labor movement. In the departments of Santander and Valle del Cauca, in the cities of Cali and Bucaramanga, and, since 1959, also in the departments of Atlántico and Cundinamarca, the Communists have been successful in bringing a large number of unions under their control. When the Communist Party regained legal status in 1958, its functionaries in the labor movement intensified their efforts to capture the CTC and to gain control over the organization of the large mass of non-unionized rural workers. By late 1958 they had succeeded in bringing the majority of petroleum workers under their control. At the same time Communist influence was also gaining among the sugar workers of the Cauca Valley. The unions in 6 out of a total of 18 plantations and mills were Communist-ruled. UTC unions operated in 2 of the establishments. In the remaining 10, where the workers were not unionized, Communists agitated vigorously. UTC, however, has also intensified its organizational work among the uncommitted workers. Nevertheless, in July 1960, the sugar workers of the area threatened to stage a pro-Castro sympathy strike. By exploiting strong feelings of regionalism, Communists often succeeded in cutting communications between local unions and national headquarters. This tactic enabled them to isolate and finally take over CTC's regional federation in Valle, the Federation of Workers of Valle.

Efficient, well-trained labor functionaries have been mainly responsible for the Communist success. Communist infiltration often begins when one of their functionaries in a labor union volunteers to perform routine jobs which have been neglected by regular officials. He gradually concentrates correspondence and financial matters in his own hands. Then, when he has become well-known and popular for his services, he strives for the position of secretary-general, yielding figurehead presidencies and vice-presidencies to

others. However, the key agents of Communist power within a union are the legal advisors (*asesores legales*). They are also the main exponents of militant Communist tactics at the bargaining table which have been so successful in obtaining favorable terms—and in widening the gulf between management and labor.

Because of the decisive role of legal advice in the process of collective bargaining, unions have come to depend strongly on the services of lawyers. Most non-Communist lawyers, however, have been unwilling to lend their services to organized labor since their affiliation with a union nearly always means the loss of wealthy clients representing management. Communist lawyers, on the other hand, have been readily available to assist unions. A Communist legal advisor, Diego Montaña Cuellar, was, for example, mainly responsible for establishing Communist dominance over the Petroleum Workers' Federation. After he had negotiated several advantageous collective agreements on behalf of petroleum workers, he was able to pose as a true representative of their interests and his influence and popularity among them rose rapidly.

Although most Communist functionaries in the labor movement have been under the central direction of the Communist Party, there have been a number of free-lance Communist labor agitators. They have usually been dissident Communists, like Augusto Durán who was expelled from the party following a rift with secretary-general Gilberto Vieira (see ch. 24, Subversive Potential; ch. 25, Propaganda). Free-lance agitators have been instrumental in the spreading of Communist propaganda and in the staging of wildcat strikes.

In spite of their successes between 1958 and 1960, Communists appeared to be losing ground in the labor movement by early 1961. The expulsion of Communist-ruled unions from CTC helped to unveil Communist tactics. Communist activities among rural workers faced keen competition from UTC. Communist propaganda campaigns among workers, however, have been stepped up and have been supported by media of Communist countries abroad. Much Castro propaganda also reaches workers through the Worker-Students' Rural Movement (Movimiento Obrero Estudiantil Campesino—MOEC) which is supported by the Cuban embassy (see ch. 25, Propaganda). A favorite target of Communist and Castro propaganda is The Inter-American Regional Organization, which is denounced as an instrument of "yankee imperialism." Communists have also denounced the cooperation of CTC and UTC national leaders with government and management as a betrayal of workers' interests.

EMPLOYERS' ORGANIZATIONS

Employers' organizations represent business interests of entrepreneurs in various sectors of the economy. Labor policy and practice and the representation of employers' interests against those of organized labor have become subjects of concern to some of them only since the late 1950's.

The oldest and most influential is the National Association of Industrialists (Asociación Nacional de Industriales—ANDI), established in 1944. In the labor field, ANDI has shown considerable interest in, and concern over, the problem of Communist infiltration among workers. In 1961 the organization was in the process of establishing a social affairs department to handle other aspects of labor, including workers' education. ANDI has also operated an employment exchange for foreign technicians interested in working in Colombia.

Other employers' organizations include the Colombian Association of Small Industrialists (Asociación Colombiana de Pequeños Industriales—ACOPI) and the National Federation of Merchants (Federación Nacional de Comerciantes—FENALCO), composed mainly of commercial employers. The Bankers' Association (Asociación Bancaria) represents employers in the banking field. In agriculture, the largest and most influential employers' organization is the National Federation of Coffee Growers (Federación Nacional de Cafeteros). It operates extensive social and educational programs for the benefit of coffee growers and workers (see ch. 17, Living Conditions and Public Welfare; ch. 10, Education; ch. 13, Labor Force). The Farmers' Association of Colombia (Sociedad de Agricultores de Colombia—SAC) and the National Association of Cattlemen (Asociación Nacional de Ganaderos—ANG) are other employers' organizations in the nonindustrial sector.

LABOR RELATIONS

Although labor relations have improved since the 1920's, mutual distrust and suspicion have continued to prevail between employers and employees. Glaring social and economic differences have intensified the workers' hatred for the owners of land and business. Employers, on the other hand, have regarded labor unions as seditious organizations, ever prone to violence and ready to proclaim the dictatorship of the proletariat.

From the seventeenth century to the beginning of industrialization in the 1920's, the large mass of agricultural workers and tenants depended on the paternalistic goodwill of the land-owning *patrón*. The granting of assistance to the *campesino* in case of sickness,

dire need or family difficulties was general practice among landowners. But absentee landownership and the indifference of some *patrones* deprived many agricultural workers of any protection in return for their labors and services. The *pat. in campesino* relationship gradually deteriorated during the 1930's as landowners became increasingly concerned about the pressure for land reform. Law 200 of 1936, granting squatters' rights to peasants on public and private land if they had made certain improvements, alarmed landowners even though it was implemented on a minute scale. By 1961 agrarian workers had found no real substitute for the paternalistic protection by landowners which they had once enjoyed.

General unrest among industrial and agricultural workers and violent strikes marred labor relations during the so-called prosperity years of the late 1920's. The few labor laws which existed were disregarded by most employers, usually with the connivance of officials. Starvation wages were paid even to workers employed in public works projects. Workers retorted with rioting and strikes. The deplorable conditions among the banana workers precipitated a strike in 1928 in which 1,400 peasants were killed when the army was called in to suppress the disturbance. The strike of railway workers was also met by force of arms. In Cundinamarca, Tolima and Cauca, rioting landless peasants clashed with the police.

Labor laws passed during the Liberal administration of President López showed a return to paternalism. After some initial reluctance, employers appeared generally willing to extend to their workers the benefits prescribed by the laws. Many of them, in fact, preferred to act as protectors of their workers than to yield this role to labor unions.

In the 1960's most employers were still opposed to unions although a certain rapport has been established between employers and the national leadership of UTC and CTC. In the spring of 1961 the first roundtable conference between CTC representatives and industrialists from Valle del Cauca was held in Cali. Problems of industrial relations and the need to improve the workers' standards of living were the main topics of discussion. José Raquel Mercado, newly elected president of CTC, urged employers to abandon their policy of opposing labor unions and to support CTC efforts to build a free labor movement. He stressed that, although CTC had purged itself of Communist-ruled unions and fellow-traveling officials, Communist agitation was still powerful among workers, particularly in Cali and other industrial centers in the department of Valle del Cauca. To resist the inducements to violence and subversion, Mercado said, workers' living standards must be materially improved by at least a 30 percent wage increase.

Relations, however, have remained strained between management and individual unions and area federations. To a large extent, this has resulted from the militant tactics of Communist unions. By their show of intransigence and free use of strike threats in collective bargaining negotiations, these unions succeeded in obtaining very favorable terms from employers who were anxious to avoid the violence, disorder and demagoguery associated with Communist-led strikes. Non-Communist unions often had to adopt similar methods in an effort to keep the loyalty of their own members (who were impressed by the success of Communist unions) and to refute Communist propaganda accusing them of servility toward management. In such cases, however, management retorted with unyielding attitudes and accused the unions of being foils of communism. Consequently many non-Communist unions have faced crises regarding their policies toward management. In the UTC-affiliated Union of Workers of Atlántico (UTRAL), for example, discord over policies precipitated a controversy which led to the resignation of some of its officers.

Collective Bargaining

Collective bargaining between organized labor and management has become widespread, particularly in large industrial enterprises. In agriculture, however, the practice has been limited to a few large plantations in the sugar-, banana- and coffee-growing areas. No statistics have been published regarding the number of collective agreements in force and the number of workers covered by their terms. It was estimated, however, that collective contracts covered more than 500,000 workers in 1960. About 150 collective agreements were concluded between August 1959 and June 1960.

Since minimum wages, fringe benefits and other conditions of employment are regulated in detail in the Labor Code of 1950, the scope of collective bargaining has been limited to obtaining terms more favorable than the legal minima. Wage raises and provisions to improve employment security were the main objects of collective bargaining between 1957 and 1960. According to the Minister of Labor, more than 1.5 million workers received wage increases in 1959 as a result of collective bargaining. For example, workers and employees of the National Colombian Air Lines (Aerovías Nacionales de Colombia—AVIANCA) bargained for and obtained wage raises ranging from 20 percent for workers earning less than Col\$300 per month to 10 percent for those earning between Col\$800 and Col\$1,000 per month (U.S.\$1 equaled Col\$7.01 at the end of 1959). Labor leaders, however, were dissatisfied with the 1961 level of wages established by collective bargaining. According to the president of a textile workers' federation in Medellín, prices have

increased at a much more rapid rate than wages. He added that this fact has not been accurately shown in cost of living indices published by the Banco de la República for the Medellín area.

Other subjects of collective bargaining included improved terms for workmens' compensation and other social benefits, higher pay for vacations, the establishment of dispensaries and other medical facilities, housing assistance, recreational and restaurant services and funeral grants. In an effort to discourage the joining of labor unions, many employers extended these and other similar benefits on their own initiative.

There has also been a growing tendency on the part of labor unions to include provisions for the establishment of grievance machinery and to regulate grievance procedures within the framework of collective bargaining. In the past such grievances have generally been handled unilaterally by management or jointly by management and government labor inspectors. In the latter case, employers often succeeded in securing the labor inspector's support for their cause. Grievance arrangements proposed by labor unions, however, include representatives of labor and management only.

Strikes

Strikes were frequent throughout 1959-60. Most of them were called in the hope of gaining wage increases or additional fringe benefits and abolishing the employers' prerogative to dismiss at will (reserve clause) (see ch. 13, Labor Force). To settle the strikes, management has nearly always adjusted the wages upward while refusing to grant the full amount of the wage raise asked by unions. In strikes involving the reserve clause, management has been adamant in upholding its right of dismissal, although in some cases the period of notice has been extended or the amount of severance pay increased.

In the summer of 1960, some 2,000 workers affiliated with the Federation of Workers of Atlántico and the Union of Workers of Atlántico, regional organizations of the rival CTC and UTC, jointly demonstrated against the high costs of living in Barranquilla. A 14 percent wage increase was obtained by 1,200 employees of Calcesterias Pepalfa, a stocking manufacturing plant in Medellín, following a 57-day strike in which some strikers were injured in clashes with the police. President Lleras and the Minister of Labor were instrumental in obtaining the settlement which terminated the strike. Government mediation also succeeded in averting an area-wide sympathy strike ordered in December 1960 by the Federation of Workers of Atlántico on behalf of the workers of the Posada Tobón bottling plant in Barranquilla who were refused a wage raise.

The nationwide strike of a large majority of some 12,000 bank employees in June 1959 reflected the effects of low salaries and high living costs on white collar workers. Represented by the Colombian Association of Banking Employees, an independent union of bank employees founded in early 1959, and by the National Union of Banking Employees (Unión Nacional de Empleados Bancarios—UNEB), a UTC affiliate, bank employees presented their demands for wage raises, fringe benefits and protection against dismissal. Following the failure of the Minister of Labor to attain results by mediation, President Lleras declared banking to be a public service and the strike of banking employees illegal, although UTC and CTC protested. The strike continued in spite of the presidential declaration, but the government did not apply force to end it. In fact, President Lleras made a relatively favorable award to bank employees when they submitted their demands to him for arbitration. The award ordered wage increases ranging from 35 percent on the first Col\$150 per month to 3 percent on monthly salaries exceeding Col\$300. A yearly bonus in the amount of two month's salary was also granted, and limitations were imposed upon employers' power of dismissal under the reserve clause. Attempts by management to have the latter provision reversed by an arbitration tribunal brought threats of another bank employees' strike in the fall of 1960. Ultimately, however, the Supreme Court upheld the reserve clause in a decision handed down in January 1961.

Communist agitation was involved in many strikes. The economic motives of these strikes were ostensible only, and their timing coincided with politically critical periods. Domingues Perra, Communist legal advisor of the union of the Colombian Petroleum Company, prolonged collective bargaining negotiations for seven months then called a strike which was to coincide with the meeting in Bogota in September 1960 of the "Committee of 21"—a meeting of representatives of the 21 Latin American states to study measures for economic cooperations. However, a presidential warning and firm attitudes on the part of management ultimately prevented the strike and the industry-wide sympathy strike which was also urged by Perra. Communist agitation also resulted in a three-month strike involving about 60 employees of the Loffland Brothers Drilling Company. Government forces were called in to lend emphasis to the decision of the Minister of Labor which declared the strike illegal and ordered workers to return to their jobs. The strike at the Marysol Textile Factory in Barranquilla was called for wage raises, but it also involved Communist agitation and threats of sympathy strike. It was declared illegal and the eight workers, including four union officials, responsible for organizing the strike were dismissed.

CHAPTER 16

HEALTH AND SANITATION

Crowded living conditions, lack of sanitation and basic nutritional deficiencies impede the attainment for the great majority of the population of all but the most primitive standards of health. In both rural and urban areas, high rates of infectious and other communicable diseases are found. Dysentery is endemic throughout the country. In some areas, the incidence of goiter is as high as 80 percent, and diseases resulting from inadequate nutrition such as anemia, scurvy and pellagra are present in large segments of the chronically malnourished population. Only the few at the top of the social scale are relieved of these conditions through their access to the small number of excellent but costly medical facilities and physicians in the larger cities.

Until recently, reliable information on health conditions in Colombia has been lacking, and almost all authorities consider the information now available from official and semiofficial sources—census figures and health surveys—to be largely unreliable. As late as the mid-1940's, the largest classification in the breakdown on causes of death was "causes not specified or ill-defined," which accounted for 18.4 percent of the total number of deaths. The next largest group was labeled simply "diarrhoea and enteritis," a classification embracing a broad spectrum of diseases. Other classifications were equally vague.

Improvements in methods of public health reporting have been made, particularly since the advent of the Lleras government. Still, various factors frustrate the attainment of greater accuracy. Much of the population, particularly in the rural areas, is out of reach, either geographically or sociologically, of public health statisticians. That part of the population which is canvassed is often reluctant to provide data, associating such contacts with liability to taxation or conscription for military service. Near complete blocks are encountered in areas which involve personally sensitive areas of health or behavior. For instance, although Le Bret, the author of the most complete sociological and health survey yet undertaken in the country, found obvious evidences of a high rate of venereal infec-

tion, the reported incidence of venereal disease was extremely low. Such difficulties in reporting intensify the problem of taking corrective action.

In addition, in a people ridden with epidemic diseases, public—and even professional—consciousness of disease is deficient by North American standards. For instance, where a majority of the population suffers from intestinal parasites, as in Colombia, the awareness of parasitic infestation as a pathological condition begins to fade.

The determinants of public health conditions in Colombia appear to be attitudes toward disease, deficient nutrition, inadequate diagnostic and treatment facilities and extremely unhealthy living conditions. There is great variation among these factors, depending on location and ethnic or class background. Attitudes towards health range from the peasant who seeks the services of a *curandero* (a practitioner of folk medicine) and avoids the wind as a source of contagion to the well-to-do urban dweller who has access to modern medical facilities.

An equally wide range of variation is found with respect to the other factors. The result is a broad spectrum of health conditions with high standards at the top of the social pyramid and highly active pathological conditions at the base. Because in general, only the upper and middle classes have access to modern medical facilities and treatment, most of the population is concentrated near the unhealthy end of the spectrum. This is reflected in unusually high disease rates, with Colombia leading Latin America in rates for yellow fever, typhus, hookworm, rabies and amoebiasis. High pathological levels for other diseases are encountered also.

These conditions are unlikely to change rapidly. The Lleras government has supported more adequate health programs and will probably continue to do so. Projects to improve health conditions, particularly in the area of nutrition, are imaginative and will, if carried out, bring improvement. Governmental social welfare programs such as *Acción Comunal* (Community Action) will also benefit health conditions. Other positive aspects are relatively high standards of practice and training in the medical profession and notable examples of cooperation among international health organizations working in Colombia. But the lack of trained personnel and facilities is so extreme and the backwardness of cultural attitudes so great that notable improvements for the bulk of the population cannot be realistically expected in the near future.

ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES

Attitudes towards disease are a blend of Hispanic and Indian beliefs. Many folk beliefs, present in Spanish culture of the conquest period, have been carried over and integrated into Colombian

patterns. In addition, pre-Colombian beliefs have been retained and still influence the rural population's attitudes towards disease. Spirits are thought to inhabit the lakes, woods and mountains. To incur their displeasure is to invite some severe misfortune, and illness is often so interpreted. Omens are sought for and found in natural phenomena. Thus, in some areas, a particular type of dragon fly is regarded as a sign of approaching evil: death may occur if it enters a house.

A person who knows witchcraft may cast spells, sometimes in the form of illness, over his enemies. The identity of the originator can be discovered and a cure effected only through the offices of a shaman-type practitioner—known variously as a *tegua*, *curandero*, etc. Such persons may diagnose and treat ailments which are felt to fall into either the natural or supernatural category, the line of distinction being extremely blurred. In a large number of cases, cure—or what appears to be cure—is effected. Treatment may involve complex water ceremonies, mirrors, and other spiritualistic-type methods. In some instances, *curanderos* demonstrate considerable knowledge of folk medicine, particularly in the realm of herbology.

The list of supernaturalistic beliefs is practically endless. Moonlight is thought to be a source of infection and therefore is avoided. Ill health is often associated with sudden changes in temperature, and certain diseases are thought, in some regions, to be caused by exposure to cold or warm winds (see ch. 17 Living Conditions and Public Welfare).

Boils can be caused by sitting on a stone warmed by the hot midday sun. The fur of cats is, not unreasonably, associated with asthma. A variety of curative practices are found. Onions are placed on ulcerated varicose veins. Leprosy is treated with turpentine spirits or gasoline. Sweetened butter is eaten for throat conditions. A black sheep's wool is reputed to have a beneficial effect if wrapped around the neck of a person suffering from mumps. Internal infections are thought to be helped by eating boiled vulture meat or drinking the raw blood of the bird. Certain types of foot conditions are treated by placing the foot on a warm brick saturated with urine. Creosote in water solution is prescribed for toothaches. Most such remedies, other than some of the herbological ones, offer little relief for the endemic diseases found in both town and village. Such beliefs and practices vary widely from area to area, but distrust of scientific medicine and acceptance of nonrational theories of causation by the masses are widespread. By and large, it is only the upper and middle classes who think in terms of modern medicine.

There is, however, evidence that even in some rural areas scientific measures are making inroads on traditional folk medicine. The

therapeutic effects of the antibiotics have particularly impressed the less advanced part of the population. Patent medicines of some efficacy are gaining adherents, and even such relatively untrained workers as practical nurses and competent midwives can achieve much in directing attitudes and beliefs in the direction of greater rationality.

NUTRITION

Most of the population is chronically malnourished and thus highly susceptible to disease. Deficiencies exist not only in level of caloric consumption but in minerals and vitamins needed for maintenance of proper health. There are readily observable economic, social and cultural reasons for the inadequate state of nutrition. In a society with an approximate daily income of U.S.\$0.65 per person and U.S.\$3.95 per family, the cost of adequate nutrition is beyond the means of most of the population. As of 1957, the price of a bottle of milk was U.S.\$0.40, a pound of beef cost U.S.\$1.80 and a single egg cost U.S.\$0.25.

Private food distribution programs and public assistance do not make up the deficiencies for the deprived part of the population, and cultural attitudes prevent the population from using such food resources as are available (see ch. 17, Living Conditions and Public Welfare). For example, although the climate of the country is ideally suited to citriculture, consumption of fruit, other than plantains and bananas, is thought to account for considerably less than 2 percent of the total diet. Even the rural population, living in the midst of food staples, does not as a rule consume milk or meat.

Quantitative estimates of the diet vary. The widely circulated figure established by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of approximately 2,400 calories per person per day as a national average is reported to be considerably inflated. That of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)—of just over 2,000 calories for the 1950-53 period—is probably more realistic. For 1953, the last year thoroughly analyzed by ECLA, average caloric consumption was up to 2,135 calories per day. Even these insufficient levels represented a considerable improvement over those of preceding decades, when, for example, an average consumption of 1,881 calories per day was reported for the period 1935-39.

Various figures are projected as the minimum necessary for healthy subsistence in the country. Of these probably the most accurate is 2,640 calories, cited by Lebret. Even assuming some improvement since 1953, the average diet is far below this minimum. The question of caloric consumption is even more serious than would appear from these figures, for the national average is raised

considerably by greater consumption at more fortunate socioeconomic levels. Thus, 25 percent of the population probably consume an average of 2,800 calories per day, whereas the remaining 75 percent have a diet of approximately 1,900 calories per day.

In addition to quantitative deficiencies, national diet patterns are strikingly unbalanced. It is estimated that 50 to 80 percent of the population do not have meat or milk in their diet. The absence of these items is paradoxical in view of the use of nearly 50 percent of cultivated land for pasture. Part of the explanation lies in the low level of milk production, which frequently is only three to four liters per day per cow. Deprivation is acutely felt by children and is reflected in the subnormal growth of many, particularly in the lower class.

The extreme imbalance can be seen from the annual consumption levels of various foods per person: 123 liters of milk; 26.5 kilograms of meat; 1.5 kilograms of fish; 3.1 kilograms of eggs; 60.1 kilograms of sugar, panela and honey; 81.3 kilograms of tubers, buds and root foods such as potatoes and yucca; 3.3 kilograms of fats and vegetable oils; 48.9 kilograms of cereals; and 75.8 kilograms of fruit. The milk consumption is less than 40 percent of the recommended amount—285 liters annually. The consumption of 3.3 kilograms of fats is extremely low, and a usual source of energy is thus lacking.

The small amounts of milk, meat and eggs in the diet have led to a nearly universal protein deficiency. Another result of dietary inadequacy is that much of the population relies for extra, needed calories upon heavy alcohol consumption (see ch. 17, *Living Conditions and Public Welfare*).

Diet patterns reflect the tenacious food habits of the population, which is extremely resistant to change. Education in nutrition has been attempted but is difficult in view of the low literacy rates and lack of schooling among the part of the population which suffers most from nutritional deficiencies. The unhealthy effects of improper conditioning are seen in the rejection of foods containing needed protein and mineral nutrients. Fish, a good source of both, is seldom eaten.

In addition, food storage methods are unsanitary, and refrigeration facilities are rarely available. Food is left unprotected and sometimes placed on the ground. Flies and other disease carriers come into contact with the food, and contagion is spread. Primitive attitudes toward food also affect methods of food preparation. The press has reported used crankcase oil being sold as cooking oil and the addition of formol to milk, chalk to bread flour, and tallow to cooking fat.

A vicious circle results when attitudinal backwardness impairs nutrition and the resultant low energy levels of the population in turn impede education and greater acculturation. Conversely, raising the level of nutrition has in certain instances had a dramatic and observable effect on the improvement of social conditions. There are reports of substantially higher attendance at primary schools in those areas receiving CARE aid. Such attendance was reportedly 20 percent higher the year after a CARE food distribution program. Similarly, a high correlation has been noted between the degree of malnutrition and the level of civil violence in particular areas.

The government has for some time recognized the importance of better nutrition in improving general health and social conditions in the country. A program to achieve better nutrition was initiated in 1943, and the National Institute of Nutrition was established to work in this field in 1947. It has been active in attempting to educate both industry and the general public to the importance of better food selection. Under the Lleras government, these efforts have been intensified. The Director of the National Institute of Nutrition, Mejia Mejia, has been instrumental in developing an imaginative new project in the field of nutrition—the Integrated Program of Nutrition and Nourishment (PINA).

PINA grew out of a pilot program in the Department of Caldas initiated under the combined auspices of four ministries—Finance, Agriculture, Labor and Health. In addition, four international organizations—the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), FAO, the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the World Health Organization (WHO)—combined their efforts with those of the government departments to assist in an integrated attack on the nutrition problems of this key province. Caldas was apparently chosen because it had a high potential for improvement as soon as education of the population could interrupt the cycle of deficient nutrition, low work yield and resultant social enervation. This department had been a prime example of the effect of the attitudinal factor in nutritional levels: though one of the richest departments, Caldas still suffered extreme nutritional problems.

The skeletal organization for expanding PINA from departmental scale (as of late 1960, it functioned only in Caldas) to nationwide dimensions was set up under a National Council of Nutrition and Nourishment. Plans have called for a coordinating committee to direct the program in each department. A Technical Executive Committee, with a staff of agronomists and educational and nutrition specialists, is to provide evaluation, programing and general supervision. Two major goals have been formulated for the program: the development of a body of specialists who can, at the departmental level, supervise improvement in the agricultural services

available to farmers and the educational activities in schools, health centers, and individual homes; and the establishment of a large-scale training program for home economists, apprentices, and teachers to be employed by the various secretariats of the participating ministries.

The program has already been responsible for introducing information programs on nutrition in all schools in the department. A relatively small-scale program for teaching better cultivation methods was in progress early in 1961. In addition to the national ministries sponsoring the program, the departmental government, the National Federation of Coffee Growers, the Agrarian Bank and university personnel will all be involved. Preliminary reports on the success of the program have been encouraging.

DISEASE

Health conditions are extremely bad, in large measure because of crowded living conditions and lack of proper facilities in dwellings. Practically 40 percent of the total housing units contain one or two rooms; 38.6 percent were in the three- to four-room category. In 1957, only 28.4 percent of dwellings in the country had piped water available. An even smaller number—16.2 percent—possessed some sort of facility for bathing.

Translated into terms of population, the figures become more meaningful. In 1956, out of a total urban population of 4,415,257, approximately 2,827,000 were in houses with a water supply. An additional 160,000 had access to some other private or public water supply. The remainder had no such access. The situation in the rural areas was even less satisfactory. There, out of a total population of 6,873,921, approximately 531,000 had access to independent water supply sources.

As late as the 1940's, some of the larger cities had extremely deficient sewage facilities, and several had none at all. At that time, no metropolitan community provided sewage facilities throughout its incorporated area. Cartagena had no sewage system at all. Even those cities which had more thorough provision for sewage itself were wholly lacking in sewage-disposal plants.

Since that time, there has been some improvement. A WHO survey in 1956 reported the following sewage facilities for the total urban population of 4,415,257: sewage disposal systems serving 2,285,000; cesspools serving 8,491; latrines serving 875,000. In the rural areas, once again, more backward conditions prevailed: out of a total rural population of 6,873,921, less than 820,000 had access to any facility at all. The existing facilities were all of the more primitive sort—latrine and cesspool-type arrangements.

Conditions in two urban, working-class *barrios* (districts) are indicative of the origins of urban health and sanitation problems. The first had been sold to a real estate speculator by the original owners; he in turn transferred the property in the form of unimproved lots to the current owners. This *barrio* was outside the corporate limits of its municipality—hence, ineligible for much of the aid provided by the city government. Though 13 years old at the time of the study, its more recent residents had fled to the *barrio* as refugees of the civil war. With 6,000 people crowded into a small space, on an undesirable hillside site, without even the usual amenity of a public square, sanitary conditions were extremely primitive. The whole problem of crowding was intensified by the lack of birth control information which was nationwide. The only medical practitioners readily consulted by the population were unskilled midwives and neighborhood pharmacists who provided advice and simple medicines, usually of the patent-medicine type, to clients. Only a very few residents ever consulted medical clinics or hospitals in the larger community.

The second *barrio* presented a similar picture: a total of 6,500 people with an average of 10 people to a dwelling. Extremely poor living conditions, particularly in sanitation and general hygiene, were the rule. Few public services were provided, although this particular *barrio* was fortunate in having access to two primary schools, a kindergarten and a public hygiene center.

In general, the extremely inadequate provision for waste disposal, the frequent contamination of water supply and unsanitary conditions for food storage combine to encourage the spread of bacteriological diseases. These factors are further aggravated by the tropical climate in much of the country, with its abundance of disease carriers. In 1955, the reported total for amoebiasis (62,000 cases) nearly equaled that for all other Latin American countries supplying statistical information for this disease; this extremely high rate undoubtedly results in part from the greater coverage of reporting in Colombia—88 percent of the population was covered in the reports for 1955.

Individual studies also reveal high pathological levels. In certain departments, as much as 80 percent of the total population suffers from goiter. A study of 165,000 school-age children revealed an incidence of 55.4 percent for this disease. Other conditions such as anemia, scurvy and pellagra—all resulting from inadequate nutrition—occur with high frequency.

The rate of parasitic infestation is likewise high. A majority of the people apparently suffer from some form of enteric parasite. In the rural areas, it is the exceptional child who does not have some type of infestation. The weakened condition of children because of

deficient nutrition leads to high mortality rates from this type of illness. Resulting deaths are frequently classified under the heading "tropical anaemia," and under the circumstances, the medical profession tends to disregard the concept of infestation as an abnormal, pathological condition.

Other conditions which pose serious problems are typhoid, leprosy, tetanus, relapsing fever, yaws, smallpox, typhus, malaria and hookworm disease. As of 1956 the leading cause of death was gastroenterological disease. Following it were pediatric diseases, influenza and pneumonia, heart diseases and bronchitis, in that order. Bronchitis probably includes tuberculosis, which has traditionally been a difficult problem. Venereal disease also constitutes a serious public health problem, though reported rates for this category tend to be low.

The crude death rate is one of the highest in Latin America—18.3 per 1,000 persons, compared with 15.2 for Ecuador, 9.0 for Peru, 9.9 for Venezuela, and 12.9 for Mexico. (All figures are for 1956 or 1957.) Infant mortality also is extremely high because of the lack of sanitary facilities and backward concepts of hygiene. The rate for Colombia was 103.8 per 1,000 live births for 1956, compared with 68.9 for Mexico, 66.7 for Venezuela, 94.8 for Peru, and 111.4 for Ecuador.

Although the self-perpetuating nature of the health problem makes improvement very difficult, progress has been recorded in areas where intensive programs have been undertaken. Malaria is a case in point. A coordinated attack by United States agencies—principally the Inter-American Cooperative Service for Public Health (Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Salud Publica—SCISP) now administered under the aegis of the local United States Operations Mission—and United Nations specialists achieved a breakthrough in a joint malaria eradication program begun in September 1958. This disease had been one of the worst public health problems in the country, with the highest incidence rate of any reported disease during the 1940's. The attack on malaria consisted of massive spraying of DDT in order to stamp out the eight species of malarial mosquito in the country. The program was notably successful. The SCISP has also been effective in implementing a yaws control program. In areas along the Pacific coast, where in 1950 three out of four persons suffered from this debilitating condition, the incidence had dropped to 1 percent in 1960.

In the past leprosy received a disproportionately large share of public health funds; in 1956, one-sixth of all such expenditures went to control this disease. Previously, leprosy programs had received as much as one-fourth of the total public health budget. Nonetheless, in 1956, 25,000 to 30,000 cases were reported. Another

disease which may be rapidly controlled once large-scale programs reach impact stage is endemic goiter. The government's approach here has been to launch a campaign to encourage the addition of iodine to food products. Again, as with malaria, substantial improvement can be expected because disease etiology can be rather easily interrupted at a crucial point. In the case of other diseases, with more complicated causes, progress will presumably be more difficult.

MEDICAL PROGRAMS AND FACILITIES

Most hospitals are local facilities which derive their financing from lotteries. Others are administered by the various Roman Catholic nursing orders which function in the country. The Ministry of Public Health also supervises certain hospital and clinic facilities. As of 1957, there were estimated to be 40,000 hospital beds, distributed among 502 different institutions. On the basis of population, this amounts to 3 beds per 1,000 inhabitants. It is estimated that of these hospitals perhaps half are equipped to perform competent surgery, and a somewhat greater proportion are competent to provide obstetrical facilities and treatment. In general, only the upper and middle classes patronize the hospitals.

As of the 1940's, there was 1 physician to every 3,310 people in the country; by 1957, the ratio was 1 physician to every 2,800 people, compared with the same ratio in Ecuador, 1 for 1,700 inhabitants in Venezuela, and 1 for every 2,200 in Mexico. There is still a great need for more physicians and a more even distribution of them throughout the country. They are heavily concentrated in Bogotá and the departmental capitals, with very few in the rural areas. Of the seven medical schools in Colombia, two—the Javeriana University (Roman Catholic) and the National University—are in Bogotá. The institution providing the most distinguished training in medicine is probably the University of Valle in Cali. The San Juan de Dios Hospital in Bogotá and the State General Hospital in Cali provide reputedly excellent clinical facilities.

Medical education is complicated by the legal requirement that schools admit without examination any applicant who has served a year in the armed forces. This has considerably complicated the task of medical schools, because of the high dropout rate among the student body. Three-fourths of the entering class at the National University are reported to be admitted on such a basis.

A study of Colombian medical school facilities in clinical medicine, done by the Tulane University School of Medicine working under an International Cooperation Administration (ICA) contract,

singled out for criticism the tendency for politics to influence medical school appointments and the distribution of the limited funds for medical research. Nonetheless, standards in the Colombian medical schools are not low, and the country is well known for the surgeons it produces.

Four dental schools and seven schools of nursing were functioning in Colombia in 1960. The National University has a school of public hygiene and the Javeriana University's Department of Preventive Medicine, which is part of its medical faculty, has attempted a well-publicized effort to focus attention on the sociological roots of health problems in the country.

A high level of competence is generally found among personnel at the top of each group, but standards rapidly deteriorate as one proceeds farther down the professional ladder. The lack of competent nurses and facilities for training them is a particularly acute problem. Standards in this profession are notably deficient, and many persons practice nursing with only a "certificate" conferred by a physician with whom she has worked in a hospital in the past. The lack of public health nurses is keenly felt as it frustrates the usual avenue of approach to medicosociological problems—that of visiting nurses. This deficiency is all the more serious as physicians frequently carry over the patronizing attitudes of their class in treating nonelite patients, and much of the public health services, as a consequence, enjoy little empathy or rapport with the masses.

In addition to the local services provided by municipalities, the Ministry of Public Health maintains an all-inclusive national health service. Under the Minister is grouped a Secretariat-General, with administrative and legal sections, and a separate section for evaluation and statistical coordination. The two main areas of the Ministry's activity are in public health and public assistance (see ch. 17, Living Conditions and Public Welfare). The Public Assistance Division supervises hospitals and other public medical facilities. The Public Health Division is subdivided into seven sections overseeing control and treatment in rural public health, epidemiology and communicable diseases, tuberculosis, leprosy, environmental health, maternal and child treatment, and health problems in the ports of the country. The Secretariat-General supervises sections in charge of professional practice, the cancer and nutrition institutes, the work of the Inter-American Cooperative Public Health Service and two other special health institutes.

In 1957, budget expenditures for public health and social security, which are reported together, amounted to Col\$82.7 million out of a total expenditure of Col\$1,227.4 million (U.S.\$1 equaled Col\$2.50 in

1957). Spending for health has fluctuated widely depending on the incumbent government's interest in this field and the degree of urgency of other claims on public income. Since the creation of the Ministry of Public Health in 1947, spending has been low. The first year, it was assigned 4.4 percent of the budget, which fell to the low point of 1.8 percent in 1955. It then increased to 3.7 percent in 1957. Although a study group—the Currie Mission of 1950—had recommended the expenditure of Col\$1 billion on health over a five-year period, actual spending for the years 1951–55 totaled only Col\$184 million—less than 20 percent of the recommended amount.

Goals projected by the Lleras government have been more imaginative and, at the same time, more rational than in the past. A determined effort to cut down the hospital shortage by 33 percent over the next four years is projected in a building program which will provide a total of 15,000 additional beds. The cost is estimated to be approximately Col\$450 million for this expansion, and the government plans to furnish 75 percent—Col\$300 million—at the rate of Col\$75 million annually.

Colombia is a notable example of cooperation among international organizations in the field of health. In addition to SCISP, WHO, UNICEF and the Pan American Sanitary Bureau are active in the country. The SCISP carries on the cooperative health and sanitation programs begun during World War II by the United States Government in Latin America. Formerly under the auspices of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, it is now integrated into the ICA. Its operations have recently been reorganized so that they mesh more closely with those of the Ministry of Public Health.

Under the new arrangement initiated in 1960, all Servicio projects have been assigned to sections under the appropriate division of the Ministry. The SCISP will continue, as before, to meet certain administrative needs of these projects, but supervision will be vested in the respective Division Director of the Ministry of Public Health. Over-all direction of SCISP will be furnished by two co-directors—the Director-General of the Ministry and the present Director of the SCISP. This organization has been very active in working with a wide range of problems in health education, public health engineering, public health dentistry, state and local health services, nutrition and occupational health services. The SCISP was largely responsible for initiating the malaria eradication program.

Its accomplishments are well known and respected in the country, both among professional public health administrators and in government circles. It has played a particularly notable role in developing programs on the local level, well before the government was

willing to do so. The current program of decentralizing facilities for public health is partly due to the example set by SCISP. In 1960 the organization's expenditure was somewhat in excess of U.S.\$1 million.

Soon after coming into power, the Lleras government gave the public health authorities strong support for a broad program of disease eradication. In 1958 the Ministry of Public Health, under J. P. Llinas, developed a series of campaigns against leprosy, malaria, goiter, poliomyelitis, and tuberculosis. In these programs, the Ministry cooperated with a wide range of national and international groups: SCISP, the Bank of the Republic, the Ministries of Agriculture and Education, UNICEF, ICA, WHO, and the Pan American Sanitary Bureau. Thus far, it is difficult to evaluate the progress of these programs.

The increased scope of public health planning does reflect genuine concern with this area in the government, though more often than not reality does not conform to planning. In 1958 soon after taking office, Llinas spoke boldly of establishing 10 percent—a level equivalent to that of education—as a goal for health spending rather than the then prevailing rate of 4.4 percent. He attacked the policy of high spending for education without equivalent emphasis on health, as one of “filling the cemeteries with enlightened youths.” With the best of intentions, however, the projected budgetary expenditure on health for 1961 fell far short of the goal, amounting to only 5.9 percent of the total budget. With increased capitalization of the society and with economic growth, Colombia may in the future have greater resources to apply to health problems than at present. But the level of general awareness of health problems still needs to be raised, even among professional groups.

CHAPTER 17

LIVING CONDITIONS AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Standards of material and physical welfare in Colombia are the result of the mixture of class and ethnic groups, their different values and attitudes towards life, their physical surroundings and interaction among these factors. Conditions in the rural areas provide only the barest living standards for the masses. The upper class, on the other hand, traditionally enjoys an elevated standard of living in striking contrast to that of the lower strata of society.

In the cities a similar gulf separates the privileged upper class and the masses. Only in the very recent past has the distance between these two been bridged by the appearance of a middle class with substantial living standards and an energetic mass of urban workers associated with rapid industrial development of the postwar period. Poverty and the social enervation it brings affect most of the population excepting only the *criollo* upper class and the small middle class. Traditional levels of acquiescence have been extremely high and they appear likely to remain so in the foreseeable future. The rural citizenry of Indian and *mestizo* (mixed white and Indian) background have assimilated the republican values of the white elite, but seem to sense no conflict between these social principles and the glaring contrast of living conditions.

The *criollo* upper class itself is generally insensitive to the contradiction between the values of the Hispanic republican tradition and the living conditions of the masses. But certain elements in the elite—intellectuals, ecclesiastical leaders, politicians associated with the Lleras government—have been sensitive to the backwardness of conditions and have supported programs of improvement. The question is whether the impact of these programs for social development will be felt before the population becomes actively aware of its own deprived living standards.

Prediction is extremely difficult as to future improvement in living conditions. If the general political and social equilibrium which exists under the Lleras administration is maintained, attempts at progress will continue to be made and possibly enlarged over their present scale. But with actual social conditions so backward, it is doubtful if any foreseeable welfare efforts will work significant improvement.

The expectation level of lower-class Colombians has always been low, leading to a high tolerance of the great deprivations in living standards which has continued up through the 1950's and early 1960's. But the continuing movement of the rural masses to the cities—where they will accept new standards and expectations—will lead to greater awareness of poverty and backwardness. The continued growth of the middle class will also put new pressures on traditional social patterns.

The upper class is largely unconscious of any very serious need for changes in institutions, but there are limited foci within the elite—which is generally conservative and tradition-bound—of those who are aware of needs and eager to meet them. It is doubtful, however, that the extremely introverted upper class will be willing to accept the necessary changes in institutions, knowing that status and privilege will inevitably be lost in the process.

Demand will grow among the masses for a more equitable sharing of life's opportunities and rewards. As the population's knowledge of its own deprivation increases, the need for changes will grow proportionately, if revolution is to be avoided.

Urbanization and the efforts of the extreme left to educate the public points to a tremendous rise in the expectation levels of the population in the very near future. If these expectations are not met with greater speed, it appears likely that the equilibrium of Colombia's institutions and social patterns will be drastically upset.

URBAN LIVING CONDITIONS

The phenomenal growth of the cities from 1918 to 1961 has posed major problems for the maintenance of urban living conditions. Cali, for example, with an estimated population of 500,000 and an annual growth rate of 8 percent per annum, by conservative estimates needed 30,000 additional housing units in 1960. In response to this need, the Cauca Valley Corporation (CVC), after a previous, unsuccessful housing project attempted by the United States technical assistance mission, has undertaken a reclamation project for a 1,200-acre area adjacent to the city. To develop the land being reclaimed by the CVC, an association was formed by 2,200 of the most deprived families. A fund of Col\$250,000 (U.S.\$1 equaled Col\$7.08 in 1960) was collected by each family's contributing Col\$1 weekly, and a large plot of land was purchased for Col\$5 million. A favorable mortgage was expected to enable each member of the association to amortize his share through a payment of approximately Col\$30 per month. By mid-1960 the individual members had begun to construct their own houses; assistance with the archi-

tectural and engineering planning required had been promised both by the CVC and the architecture faculty of the Universidad del Valle.

But such programs of self-help were exceptional. Typically the Colombian city of the 1950's and early 1960's contained sky-scrapers, clubs for the wealthy and extremely luxurious homes, but alongside these were the *barrios* (districts) of the working classes. Here, around the older colonial-type residential sections, slums have sprung up to house the tremendous natural increase of the lower class and the newcomers from the countryside.

This rural-urban trend in population movement was accelerated by the rapid industrialization of the postwar period, by the jobs thus created, and by a decade of violence which induced people to seek the shelter of the cities. (It has been estimated that 300,000 rural inhabitants moved to urban areas to escape the civil war.) The rapid growth of the cities was also enhanced by the inevitable attraction urban life exerts on the less acculturated part of the population in a transition society.

The condition of the *barrio* inhabitants is, in its way, as deprived as that of the peasants. Since the urban proletariat, unlike the rural masses, is dependent on the market economy, one of its major problems is making ends meet. Of all groups in the country, it has been perhaps most directly affected by inflation. According to official figures, a selected index of food items rose 272 percent from 1935 to 1949 in the absence or failure of price controls.

The over-all rise in the cost of living was even greater. The average worker in the 1950's labored a month for a suit, three days for a pair of shoes and one and a half days for a shirt. He expended two-thirds of his income for food, one-sixth for shelter, and the remainder on light and heat, recreational pursuits (including tobacco and alcohol) and clothing. Both his limited financial means and his inclination led him to purchase carbohydrate-rich food items, severely lacking in the nutrients necessary for basic health. This constant state of subnutrition drastically reduced his productivity and, consequently, his income. Even assuming strenuous efforts on the part of the urban worker, he could never close the inexorable gap between what he earned and the cost of living.

The rise in the worker's cost of living scale in Bogotá is not atypical. Calculated on a 1937 base of 100, the index for food and tobacco had risen to 518 in 1956. By the beginning of 1961 it had risen to nearly 800. The index for housing in Bogotá—placed at 467 in 1956—had risen to 662 in 1961. The total index rose from 483 in 1956 to 732 by 1961. Medellín showed an even more spectacular rise. Based on 100 for 1938, the over-all cost of living shot up from 458 to 1956 to 735 in 1961.

The conditions in which the urban proletariat live have been deteriorating under the impact of the mass population movement since World War II. As late as the 1940's some entire cities, such as Cartagena, were totally lacking in sewage facilities. Very little is known, however, about actual living conditions in the cities. But a post-war study of a working-class *barrio* offers some insight. For example, in 1953, Barrio Castilla, situated northeast of Medellín, housed refugees from the civil war in the provinces. The dwellings generally lacked electricity, running water and sewers. Street gutters serving as open sewers were also utilized by the women for laundering purposes. The road connecting the *barrio* and the city was in severe disrepair and the neighborhood streets were impassable during the frequent rains. The only medical practitioners readily accessible to *barrio* residents were untrained midwives.

Although outside aid in improving living conditions was practically unobtainable, the *barrio* still developed leaders interested in social improvement. Two factors frustrated their attempts to obtain direction and assistance from the larger community: destructive partisan rivalry between Liberals and Conservatives, and the *barrio's* position outside the formal municipal structure. Public services were, as a result, extremely difficult to get. Presumably, such a *barrio* would be ineligible for the funds municipalities are legally obligated to expend on aid to housing. This has been a severe problem as a great part of recent urban settlement has taken place outside the legal limits of the municipalities.

The prevailing outlook of the *barrio* was bitterly cynical. Intensely critical of their surroundings and envious of the more privileged outside the *barrio*, most of the residents were unable to avail themselves of the advantages they had sought in coming to the city. Such efforts as they exerted toward betterment of their condition were frustrated by their own lack of energy and the general feeling of hopelessness.

These conditions were not atypical. In most working-class neighborhoods, a high level of unemployment and lack of social integration produce a strongly defeatist attitude. The transition from village to city is extremely disruptive of family life and often results in "a *barrio* of abandoned wives and illegitimate children" (see ch. 7, Family). In many such districts, children formed a disproportionately large part of the population.

All of these problems had to be borne by a workers' group with extremely low income levels. In the 1950's, the *barrio* worker's average daily wage was approximately Col\$3 or about U.S.\$1.20. Family income was \$3.95 per day, or 65 cents per capita for the average urban family of six members. Such wages were not suffi-

cient, given the inflated price levels of the cities, to sustain healthy social patterns. A large number of women turned to prostitution out of economic necessity. The general feeling of rootlessness led to abnormally high incidences of alcoholism and delinquency.

In the midst of such social isolation, the urban resident tends to abandon belief in his own ability to effect improvement in his status or condition. The attitude of this part of the population toward its present and its future becomes stoical and inert. The city-dweller is a complement to his rural counterpart, and his response to life is often "*No hay mal que dure mil años, ni cuerpo que lo resista*" (There is no evil which lasts a thousand years, nor the body which can endure it), just as the peasant says "*Para que?*" ("What's the use?").

RURAL LIVING CONDITIONS

Living conditions in the rural areas have been extremely backward even by Latin American standards. The lack of expansion in the agricultural sector of the economy has acted to prevent any improvement. Although the proportion of the rural population relative to the over-all population has consistently declined in this century, the farms and *pueblos* (villages) have had a heavy share in the estimated annual population increase of 800,000 for the entire country. Lack of agricultural development and continued population growth have combined to perpetuate a low standard of living. In addition, the systems of land tenure have frustrated any progress toward greater productivity through the use of more intensive cultivation methods. Fifty-six percent of rural holdings in 1960 were less than 12 acres in size and accounted for only 4 percent of the land. The size of these holdings, the frequent steepness of the land and the extremely backward methods and implements used combined to insure extremely low yields (see ch. 27, Agricultural Potential).

The typical rural dwelling is a mixture of hispanic and prehispanic building patterns. Materials used are most often adobe, rammed earth or wattle and daub. Tile roofs are found, but thatch seems much more common. Metal is infrequently used as a roofing material.

Floor materials apparently vary widely: mostly dirt and occasionally adobe, wood or *tolete* brick—a type of thin, baked brick. Ceilings are regarded with considerable indifference in the rural building scheme. Often no ceiling material is used at all, the thatch gradually acquiring its own covering from the accumulated

soot of the cooking fire. Popular methods of constructing a ceiling, where this is done, utilize a coat of lime on a foundation of *chusque* cane or wooden boards placed next to each other.

Many peasant homes have no windows, apparently due to the widespread belief that diseases are caused by winds. An absence of windows is thought to keep the house warmer at night, free of drafts and thus presumably healthier. Where wooden windows are found, they are very small and usually not opened. Glass windows are seldom used.

The typical rural house encloses approximately 20 square meters—10 feet by 20 feet—which, divided into three or four rooms, provides living space for about six people. The size of dwellings, however, is subject to considerable variation. Those in the upper-elevation settlements often have more space, while houses in the lower, warmer areas tend to be smaller.

Facilities for cooking in the rural areas are extremely primitive. Infrequently the kitchen is located in a separate hut, detached from the house. Most often it consists of a simple stove arrangement set up in one of the rooms—under the eaves of the dwelling if possible. The typical absence of a chimney allows the smoke and soot to circulate in the room and escape as best it can. The more advanced *estufa*, a cooking arrangement usually providing a chimney and lids on an iron top, is found only rarely in homes.

Living space is further reduced, in many instances, by the fact that families often set aside one room for grain and tool storage. Only the most well-to-do peasants can have separate shelter for the animals; usually animals are left in the open, although small, detached chicken houses are found.

Advanced sanitation facilities are usually lacking. Septic tanks are found only on the *latifundios* (large estates), the fields serving as latrines for the *campesinos* (peasants). Water is usually obtained from local sources—springs, streams and pools—which are widely distrusted, apparently with justification, as sources of pollution. Most *campesinos* possess metal basins or crockery which they utilize for washing purposes. Baths are taken with extreme infrequency, the more usual practice being simply to wash the upper part of the body and feet. Laundering is usually done at any nearby water source.

Electricity is almost entirely confined to the *latifundios* or to farms approaching them in size and status. Candles and home-made kerosene lamps are used for lighting in most peasant homes. Gasoline lamps and, very occasionally, flashlights are also used by some. Appliances dependent on electricity are, of course, precluded.

The homes of the *campesinos* usually contain only the simplest furnishings, chiefly the stool, chair and table—although, in poorer

settlements, some families lack even these. A limited variety of other household implements are normally present: simple hand spindles, basins for dish washing, charcoal irons and scissors. Earthen crockery is used to store food. The primitive *piedra de moler* (stone mortar) is increasingly being replaced by small meat grinders. The sewing machine is usually the most advanced appliance found in rural sections. Closets and dressers for clothing storage are ordinarily not found. In general, furniture seems to be regarded as a dispensable luxury rather than as a necessary part of the household.

The *junco* (mat made by tying together stalks of the *Juncus* plant) is usually used for sleeping purposes. Mattresses, when found, are stuffed with wool or straw. Woolen blankets are widely used for cover and, when these are absent, the *ruana* (a short poncho of Quechua origin worn throughout the countryside) is used as a substitute. Umbrellas and suitcases are owned by some *campesinos*; clocks are in the luxury class. Table coverings and towels are found but are, apparently, little used by their owners.

Most homes possess books, although these are usually religious volumes or almanacs kept for their practical function in weather prediction. In one peasant community, 80 percent of the homes contained books of one sort or another. Musical instruments also are found, although extensive music-making is usually confined to fiesta periods.

The possession and wearing of shoes is an important indicator of social status. Sociological studies have been made which indicate that between 50 to 90 percent of the rural population do not possess shoes. Many of the peasants wear sandals made of agave fiber, known as *alpargatas*. There is a strong tendency to prefer working barefooted. Also noticeable is a tendency to view the use of shoes on all but special occasions—Sundays and fiestas—as ostentatious and opening the wearers to social disapproval.

The *campesino's* clothes reflect his cultural and historical antecedents. The peasant girls wear long skirts of the type used by Biscay and Segovian women of the eighteenth century, a shawl of homespun cloth (most clothing material is homespun), a broad-brimmed man's hat over distinctive, braided pig-tails and the *ruana*. Males also wear the *ruana* (which marks a traditional sort of watershed separating haves and have-nots), bell-bottom type trousers and the *alpargatas* which have been worn since their introduction in 1537. Thus, there is great preservation of form in Colombian peasant dress.

The attitude of the *campesino* toward his living condition is basically acquiescent. He finds his home generally satisfactory for his needs. Warm in the evening and cool during the day, it is a

relatively durable and functional dwelling. The simple, cultural materials of the home satisfy his limited intellectual interests. Household implements, though few in number and primitive in design, are sufficient to satisfy his wants.

Such dissatisfactions as exist center around some specific frustration and do not usually give rise to generalized protest against the overwhelming poverty of life. A peasant may feel the difficulty of having marital relations in an over-crowded home and he may regret his financial inability to keep up with the general level of beer-drinking at the *tienda* (neighborhood shop and social center), but an extreme lack of cultural self-awareness prevents him from recognizing—let alone rebelling against—the sources of his frustration.

The devoutness of Colombians and their deep belief in God inclines them to view even the greatest disasters—famine, crop failure, epidemic disease—with resignation; bowing to “the will of God” is thus transmuted into an unquestioning tolerance of life’s miseries. The *campesino* is further impelled toward fatalism by the absence of alternatives. Even if he feels dissatisfaction with his living conditions, the impulse toward action is dissipated with the typical reflection “*Para que?*” (“What’s the use?”).

DIET

Food consumption patterns are indicative of Colombia’s problems in improving living conditions. In a country with great tracts of unused arable land and a climate suitable for agricultural production, the vast majority of the population exists in a state of chronic hunger. Undernutrition, malnutrition and acute vitamin deficiency are widespread in both urban and rural areas. Malnutrition is the fifth greatest direct cause of death.

This deficiency in basic nutrition is paradoxical, in that caloric intake of Colombians is unusually high for Latin America—approximately 2,400 calories per person per day, excluding alcoholic beverages (a possibly inflated figure cited by the Food and Agricultural Organization—FAO)—as against approximately 2,100 in Mexico and approximately 1,500 in Peru. The level necessary for minimal basic nutrition is estimated to be 2,100 calories per person per day. The explanation lies in the extreme imbalance of the Colombian diet. Cereals and sugar products are the main source of calories. An unusually large part of the diet is composed of starch. Fruit is seldom eaten, with the exception of bananas and plantains which are fried or prepared in soup.

Backward cultural attitudes have a pervasive and harmful effect on the diet patterns of most of the population. In an area with

prime possibilities for citrus cultivation, the consumption of fruit, other than bananas and plantains, amounts to only 27 calories out of a total caloric consumption of 2,400 calories per person per day. In addition to indigenous blackberries, cherries and papaya, the cultivation of prunes, pears, apples and peaches has been added. Nevertheless, in many areas only children will eat fruit.

An even more serious aspect of the Colombian diet is its almost universal protein deficiency. Meat is seldom eaten due to its high cost which is unnecessarily increased by the absence of any uniform system of price-setting according to quality (see ch. 26, Character and Structure of the Economy). Because of cultural prejudice, two prime sources of protein—fish and soybeans—are largely overlooked. Where meat is eaten, beef and veal are the major items. Pork, lamb, mutton, goat meat and poultry are also present in the diet, but in small quantities. The level of consumption of meat, poultry and fish at 32 pounds per capita in 1959, although low, is nonetheless a substantial increase over the level of 26 pounds in 1945.

Extremely low milk consumption is also as much due to cultural prejudice as to cost. As would be expected, the element of attitudinal prejudice in determining diet patterns is most prominent among peasants. Though living in the midst of important food items, great numbers of them do not eat such staples as bread, eggs, meat and milk.

Another important food is *panela* (a type of brown-sugar loaf) which is used both as an ingredient in food preparation and by itself, particularly when strenuous work is being performed. The use of *panela* underlines the absence of other needed elements in the Colombian diet. A *panela*-sweetened drink is served in army messes where milk is seldom provided. *Chicha* (a fiery Indian corn drink of great potency), which was universally consumed by the rural population before it was formally outlawed by the government in 1948, contained a heavy concentration of *panela*.

Alcohol consumption patterns have a direct relation to the inadequacy of diet. This is not difficult to understand in light of the ill-balanced Colombian diet, which consists in large part (80 percent) of carbohydrates and has unusually low levels of energy sources. Alcohol, therefore, provides a much-needed dietary supplement for many Colombians. Beer is widely consumed in the rural areas. Although formally outlawed, *chicha* continues to be used in many areas—in part because of the population's dependence on it as an energy source. *Guarapo*, a drink made from fermented *panela*, also serves as a dietary supplement.

The problem of dietary improvement involves the provision of physical facilities lacking in 1961 and improved popular attitudes

toward diet. To bring food items within the financial reach of the consumer, an effective transportation system permitting foodstuffs to be economically moved from producer to consumer will be needed, as well as proper storage facilities to prevent the wasting of food through spoilage or unhygienic conditions. The consumer must learn to recognize and choose foods that provide elements now lacking in his diet. Producers must also be educated or forced to provide more nutritious food items for the market.

In recent years, signs of improvement have appeared. The Lleras government has insisted that bakers accept a program to enrich their flour with the addition of 3 percent soybean flour. After initial resistance on the part of the bakers was overcome, it became apparent that the additive not only doubled the protein content of bread, but also considerably lowered production costs since soy flour is actually cheaper than wheat flour.

The Lleras government has also, by the intelligent use of price subsidies, encouraged the production and consumption of a wide range of vegetable oils, thus moving away from the almost sole reliance on copra as a source of vegetable oil. Growing urbanization has also contributed to increased sophistication in diet patterns. In general, diet deficiency is one of the few areas of need which offer a relatively bright picture for the near future provided that failures in cultural practice can be overcome.

RECREATIONAL AND CULTURAL OUTLETS

There are vivid contrasts between the recreational outlets available to the upper and lower classes. The upper class has access to luxurious facilities for golf, tennis, swimming and bowling. Restaurants, nightclubs, and modern cinemahouses also furnish fashionable outlets for the *criollo* elite and the more sophisticated members of the middle class. In contrast, an extremely limited range of recreational outlets is available to the lower class. However, the growth of the urban masses has swelled the audience for spectator sports—soccer, horse racing and bullfighting—and publicity in newspapers and magazines indicate a considerable increase of interest in these outlets.

Both domestic radio stations and foreign short-wave broadcasts are listened to by large numbers. A smaller but growing number of Colombians have access to television. Newspapers and magazines—some of the photogravure type—are read widely in the cities, but are almost wholly lacking in the rural villages (see ch. 12, Public Information). In general, cultural media do not reach the rural areas, although in some villages the presence of a school with an interested teacher may introduce reading materials other than religious texts and farmers' almanacs.

Cultural Popular Action (Acción Cultural Popular—ACP), a system of radio schools operated by the Catholic Church, has provided, wherever possible, some recreational facilities as an adjunct to its program. These have usually consisted of small courts outside the school-unit, suitable for playing games. It is hoped that these facilities will develop into social and recreational centers, filling a serious gap in rural life.

The *tienda* is the most generally encountered center of rural socializing. Formally the *tienda* is a shop which stocks cigarettes, food, sundry items and the bottled beer which *campesinos* consume in large quantities. But more than anything else it serves the function of a social center where peasants gather to gossip and spend their leisure hours. It can take the form of several rooms attached to the proprietor's house or a separate unit detached from it.

In most cases one room is fitted with a counter separating staff from patrons. The supplies usually include bread, *panela*, candy, candles and other articles of everyday use. Tables and stools or benches are provided. Adjacent to the *tienda* itself, and an integral part of it, there is often an outdoor court suitable for playing a type of quoits game, known as *tejo* or, less commonly, *turmeque*. The game is played by teams and is closely associated with the beer-drinking which is the main function of the establishment. It is pursued with great excitement and earnestness, the losers usually prorating among themselves the cost of beer consumed.

The *tienda* is open in the evening hours, but the real drinking bouts are, by force of circumstances, reserved for the weekends and *fiestas*. On Saturdays and Sundays *campesinos* usually arrive early in the afternoon and stay, playing *tejo*, cards or *pite*, a "penny-pitching" game, until, by eight or nine o'clock, they are intoxicated and often out of control. The drinking patterns of the *tienda* tend to be ritualistic, with a well-known and universally accepted set of rules governing the offering of rounds of liquor to one's friends and neighbors. By 1961 fights were much less common than in past years, apparently because *chicha* had been replaced by beer or other less potent liquors. On *fiesta* days the *tienda* becomes busy immediately after Mass and an even more intense quality prevails in the mood of the group.

Drinking, and particularly the ritualized, depressive drinking customs of the *tienda*, obviously serves to express, and perhaps relieve, the deep frustrations and hostility of the rural population. The lack of other social outlets undoubtedly also contributes to the intensity of the *campesinos'* drinking habits.

There is an interesting tendency for the patronage of the *tienda* to be polarized along political lines. Usually, in a *pueblo* that con-

tains two such establishments, Liberals will socialize at one while Conservatives patronize the other. The political complexion of the *tienda* is apparently identified with that of its owners, and a supporter of one party will seldom venture into the other's *tienda*.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Violence

Recent events have tended to exacerbate the entire spectrum of welfare problems. The decade of violence left a whole train of effects in the rural areas: refugees, resettlement problems, debts, criminality and broken families. On the other hand the cities faced many problems created by rapid urbanization, including wholesale maladjustment among rural immigrants in unfamiliar *barrios* and the denuding, for a major part of the population, of a culture which formerly had provided a texture for the daily patterns of life.

Violence was largely a phenomenon of the countryside which resulted from personalism in local politics (*caciquismo*) and impoverished social conditions. This aspect of the civil war was also in keeping with the traditions of the country. President Lleras has pointed out that "the great wars among Colombians are originated in the cities, tactically developed in the villages, and are incarnated in the fields and leave there the majority of victims."

The history of the country's recurring civil wars has indeed been impressive. From 1819 to 1902 no single decade was free from civil wars, 70 of which were recorded in all. A high loss of life distinguished these conflicts. One hundred thousand died in the 1899-1902 period; a loss of 80,000 was estimated for the 1870's. These figures are high in terms of the relatively small population involved.

The violence of the 1940's and 1950's killed 300,000. The occurrence of such large-scale brutality with high frequency would indicate a tendency to solve conflicts through recourse to violence rather than through other social processes.

The reported death rate in 1956 of 13.3 per 100,000 of the population was one of the highest in the hemisphere. It was counterbalanced by a birth rate of 41.6 per 100,000, and thus, in spite of the high death rate, population growth was estimated to be 2.3 percent per annum. Average life expectancy was 46 years, but for much of the population life expectancy at birth was considerably less.

Drug Addiction

In this milieu of poverty and disease a large part of the population seeks relief in narcotics. The leaves of the coca plant are chewed for stimulation by the inhabitants of the Cauca region, in the northern section of Boyacá and in Santander. The use of mari-

juana in the entire Atlantic coast region and in Cali has been reported. Some concern has been aroused by this latter problem and, though the use of the drug has not been proscribed, its cultivation and commercial marketing have been outlawed.

Little information was available on addiction in the population and estimates of addicts have been tenuous at best. In the study covering the Atlantic coast region opium was found to be rather widely used. The use of morphine was also reported, particularly in Manizales, as well as the use of morphine in conjunction with scopolamine to produce twilight sleep. Pilocarpine—made from the jaborandi plant—was also reported to be a drug of problem dimensions in some areas.

Alcoholism

Alcoholism has been extremely difficult to control. Its pervasiveness among the masses has been widely commented on. Though figures on the incidence of alcoholism as a disease were not obtainable, other statistics clearly indicated the seriousness of the problem. The Medical Federation reported an expenditure in 1952 of Col\$300 million on beer alone (U.S.\$1 equaled Col\$3.70 in 1952). This figure would indicate the sale of 500 million bottles of beer at an average price of Col\$0.60 per bottle. A sum of Col\$90 million was also spent on distilled liquors. In El Espinal the population, during a three-day holiday period, consumed more than 3 million bottles of beer. In addition the lower class consumes a large amount of home-made liquor, which does not appear in the figures of sales.

In some of the departments the departmental government itself produced large quantities of alcohol for sale to the public, particularly *aguardiente* (a type of brandy). Thus the authorities had a vested interest in maintaining rather than reducing consumption levels with respect to both state-produced and state-taxed liquor. In 1960, 30 percent of all the departments' revenue was derived from state monopolies, of which the majority were apparently distilleries, and, in some departments, a much larger share of revenue was derived from this source. In some areas, such as the Chocó, teachers have been paid with bottles of *aguardiente* which they, in turn, sold to the parents of their students.

Under such circumstances, it has been understandably difficult to decrease the rate of consumption. Reforms suggested have been mostly mechanical in nature, such as closing drinking establishments early or paying employees during the middle of the week. The most promising proposal suggests that liquor production be reserved to private enterprise in the hope of increasing prices and, at the same time, effecting some improvement in the quality of the liquor. This

proposal would presumably decrease consumption while preserving an important source of tax revenue for the state.

In the countryside drinking is an integral part of the *campesinos'* daily life. It is not unusual for them to spend 10 to 20 percent of their income on alcohol. Drinking usually takes place in the *tiendas* where an individual's status can only be maintained by buying generous rounds of drinks, most often of beer, for his friends and neighbors. This form of *tienda* reciprocation as a mean of upholding prestige is of great importance to a *campesino*, and he will go without things he needs to satisfy it.

In the past peasants frequently would request their employer to withhold a part of their wage for a daily ration of *chicha* or *guarapo*, although this is apparently seldom done now. However, the rural employer may still provide his workers with homemade *guarapo* even though no deduction is made.

A great improvement in this area was accomplished with the enactment of Public Law 34 of 1948 which, by requiring higher hygienic standards in breweries, effectually outlawed the making of *chicha*. The toxicity of this drink was dangerous because carelessness in its preparation frequently permitted higher alcohols to form. The toxic level of one liter had been measured at 0.0002 to 0.021 grams per 100 cubic centimeters—several times over the human toxic limit of 0.005 grams per 100 cubic centimeters. Some investigators had reported the addition of such agents as human bones, rats, pepper, lime and cow hides to the home-brewed *chicha* mix.

Prior to 1948 the consumption of *chicha* undoubtedly played a large part in the social unruliness of rural communities. Since its prohibition, there has been noticeable improvement. Nonetheless, even so salutary a reform as this had negative repercussions. The beer, to which many peasants turned as a replacement—while far more hygienically prepared and less harmful—was often as much as five times more costly. Thus a peasant, who had habitually satisfied himself with one or two pesos' worth of *chicha*, found that amount of beer unsatisfying. So, in order to achieve a comparable state of stimulation, it was necessary to spend far more than he had been accustomed to.

Since the enactment of Public Law 34 of 1948 *chicha* consumption has declined, but it is still produced and is obtainable even in metropolitan centers. Most of the population accepted the prohibition more or less readily, even *tienda* proprietors commenting on the considerable decrease in destructiveness that accompanied it.

Consumption levels remain high. In many areas *guarapo* or beer is drunk in preference to water. With the provision of healthier water services by municipalities, such drinking may decrease, but in much of the countryside alcohol will undoubtedly continue to be

consumed in preference to the unclean water available. Such heavy consumption is even more than ordinarily harmful to a population already weakened by insufficient nutrition and by living in a tropical climate.

A more adequate diet could lower the need for drink as an extra source of fuel. Nonetheless, until healthier social conditions in general are created, it is doubtful if the need for escape can be met without heavy resort to alcohol.

Prostitution

Opinion on the prevalence of prostitution varies. The only statistics that seem to be reliable are for Antioquia and indicate a notable growth in the number of prostitutes in recent years. This, however, may result from certain cultural differences between Antioquians and other Colombians. In 1930 one prostitute was reported for every 50 males in Medellín. By 1946 this ratio had increased to 1 for every 30 males—a total of 4,260. The subsequent rate of increase in the numbers of prostitutes has vastly out-stripped the rate of population growth. In 1957 an informant indicated that there were probably about 12,000 prostitutes in Medellín—1 to every 24 males or 1 to every 12 to 15 mature males.

These figures probably were not representative of the country as a whole because prostitution has traditionally been considered to be greater in Antioquia than in other departments. The entrepreneurial activity of the Antioqueños is well known. Nonetheless, rates in the country were considered to be unusually high. This would seem to be borne out by the incidence of venereal disease. Some idea is gained of the effect of such high levels of prostitution on health standards by the results of a single examination of 9,703 registered prostitutes which revealed 15,746 cases of venereal disease among them.

Although the growth of prostitution disturbs the authorities, their attitude and that of the general population seems to be one of tolerance, presumably out of fear that sexual aggressiveness might be diverted into some other form of behavior more difficult to control.

ORGANIZED WELFARE PROGRAMS

Church Welfare Programs

Attitudes towards social welfare programs are in a state of flux. Historically, the *criollo* elite has been concerned with preserving its own values and social structure rather than with improving conditions among the masses, many of whom existed outside the Hispanic-Colombian society. The Roman Catholic Church, to which Colom-

bian society relegated the function of maintaining "moral standards," had strong interests of its own to protect and, if possible, extend. With the coming of industrialization, the Church hierarchy continued to identify itself strongly with propertied interests and the status quo and was widely known in Latin America for its conservative leanings. Nonetheless the Church had acted during the colonial period to maintain minimal standards of welfare among the Indian masses. With the coming of independence, the Church customarily supported the Conservative party and alienated most elements interested in reform. Since the destructive civil war the Church, pushed by the double spectre of communism and protestantism, has increasingly identified itself with reform and social welfare.

Considerable interest and activity in this area have followed two events—the convening of the World Eucharistic Congress during 1955 in Rio de Janeiro and the agreement on coalition government (*convivencia*) in Colombia itself. The Eucharistic Congress strongly emphasized the necessity for social reform. It declared its concern for improvement in the "shocking social inequality, the existence of immense proletarian and subproletarian masses living in inhuman conditions, the monopoly of land-ownership . . . and the general lack of social awareness on the part of well-to-do Catholics." The Congress was followed by the establishment of the permanent Latin American Bishops' Conference (Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano—CELAM) with headquarters in Bogotá under a Colombian monsignor as secretary general.

Shortly thereafter the Church in Colombia found itself confronted with a new fact in the nation's political life—*convivencia* (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). The moderation of partisan conflict and an apparent realization of the advantage for the Church in a less political role further freed it to take a stand on social issues.

With the encouragement of Cardinal Luque, the Episcopate of Colombia produced a number of calls for reform. In 1958 the bishops issued a pastoral letter over the Cardinal's imprimatur on the question of industrial welfare. It called for reform in labor-management relations and housing and property matters, while expressing support for the Christian trade-union movement. A new interest in land reform was demonstrated in strong support for the right of the state to expropriate *latifundio* property.

Following the death of Cardinal Luque in 1959, the hierarchy evidenced continuing reform sentiment. In November of that year, the bishops convened a four-day national congress on rural life in Bogotá. The following year, on September 22, the 48 bishops issued a statement appealing for a "crusade for the liberation of the rural population." Attacking the absence of a comprehensive agrarian policy, the Episcopate urged making available to the rural popula-

tion "modern advances in health, housing, education, and social security." Although expressing respect for the right of private ownership, the statement called attention to the need for spreading rural holdings among a larger number of owners and for providing sufficient land for the family farm. In explicit references to social injustice, the bishops criticized sharecropping contracts and unfair land rents and wages. They proposed tax revisions, exemptions for small landholders, low-interest agricultural credit and the appropriate health, irrigation and drainage projects to support a viable program of land distribution.

Two more pronouncements by the Church followed in rapid succession. On October 15, 1960, the twentieth annual conference of bishops urged the population to place human rights ahead of private gain or profit. Following this, Archbishop Luis Concha Cordoba of Bogotá issued on November 12, a pastoral letter calling for the rapid implementation of Christian social teachings to halt the spread of communism.

Colombia has also been the site of a unique educational program under ecclesiastical auspices. This effort, sponsored by Cultural Popular Action (Acción Cultural Popular—ACP), is popularly known as Radio Sutatenza after the small Andean village where Father José Joaquín Salcedó founded and developed a system of educational radio broadcasting. Originally a response to the need for reaching parishioners scattered over a wide mountainous area, Radio Sutatenza has grown into a far-reaching educational and cultural enterprise. A powerful transmitter at Sutatenza broadcasts four hours daily to 6,500 outlets throughout the country. Most of these are radio schools—simple one- or two-room units where the course is led by a local monitor who guides pupils in following the broadcasts. There are also parish aids who supervise instructional work under the guidance of the parish priest.

With a claimed audience of 700,000, the success of Radio Sutatenza may be largely due to the self-help character of its program. Village families themselves purchase the receivers which cost approximately U.S.\$14. There are two categories of schools: controlled and uncontrolled. There are 2,500 controlled schools which administer examinations and make monthly progress reports; records are kept at Sutatenza and appropriate certificates are awarded. In uncontrolled schools a less arduous program is maintained.

The school centers in the rural area have considerable potential for effecting social change. Here the *campesino* comes into contact with more cultural material than is available to him anywhere else. Instructional equipment—notebooks, guidebooks, blackboards, pencils—is furnished. An attempt is made to develop each school unit, wherever possible, into a simple social center with emphasis on sports

and recreational activities. Any rural community willing to make serious efforts to maintain such a center is provided with equipment by the central organization. A strong influence for greater social contacts has thus been introduced into the community. In 1960 there were an estimated 5,000 of these centers in the rural areas.

Developed by a professional secretariat, the programs were directed mainly against illiteracy. There were, however, coordinated programs in agricultural methods, hygiene, home economics and religious instruction organized into four "services" for farmers, housewives, children and the armed forces. The impact of ACP has been considerable, particularly in the rural areas. Of the total number of primary students in the late 1950's, an estimated 63.7 percent were in the radio schools. There were 29 such schools for every 2,000 members of the population.

Acción Cultural Popular also maintained an impressive publishing program. From modern headquarters in Bogotá it published and distributed school texts, simple educational materials and volumes of a catechetical nature. Since its inception, eight and one-half million textbooks are said to have been distributed free to those enrolled in the controlled schools. In 1959 ACP began using a new four-color press for *El Campesino*, a weekly magazine with a circulation of 80,000 which was published as an adjunct to its radio services.

A training institute and two "peasant institutes" were maintained at Sutatenza. A United States-based organization—the American Foundation for Cultural Popular Action, Inc.—with headquarters in New York City helped in meeting the costs of Radio Sutatenza's program.

Information on other church welfare efforts is fragmentary. Catholic Action has apparently been less active in Colombia than in other Latin American countries. It has cooperated with the Colombian Workers' Union (Unión de Trabajadores de Colombia—UTC) and, in this connection, sponsored a program of workers' evening schools. It has also been active in promoting non-trade union adult education programs. A well-known example of this latter type of activity has been developed in Medellín, cosponsored by the Bolivarian Catholic University. A program called Papal Volunteers for Apostolic Collaboration in Latin America (PAVLA) has been initiated by the Vatican's Pontifical Commission for Latin America as a lay aid program for the entire area. With its national secretariat in Chicago, it is directed by the Latin American Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and is supported by that organization. It could not be determined, however, if this program had been extended to Colombia by 1961.

There have been, of course, the usual welfare activities of the local parish. But the primitiveness of conditions and a traditional lack

of clerical interest suggest that their accomplishment has not been great. Some special parochial programs—organized on a more or less *ad hoc* basis—were found. An example of this type of activity was the "Parochial Union" of South Bogotá where 15 extremely deprived parishes—too poor to afford individual schools—banded together to provide a shared, interparochial school.

Government Welfare Programs

Traditionally the government has not demonstrated great interest in welfare problems. This was partly due to the natural absence of identification between the original Spanish rulers and the masses—a lack of identification inherited by the *criollo* elite—and partly to the fact that, in the colonial period, the Church had a special responsibility for overseeing Indian welfare. The system of *latifundios* also made some provision for the welfare of its workers through the *patrón* (estate-owner) who was responsible for providing essential services for his clients. However, the combined welfare efforts of these agencies—the elite, the Church, the *patrón*—have been extremely deficient in the past.

Nonetheless, even in the colonial period, the state did recognize the need for certain interventions on its part. The *resguardos* (communal land-holdings based on former Indian settlements) were instituted to insulate some of the Indian communities and protect their holdings from the whites (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups; ch. 27, Agricultural Potential). The *resguardos* themselves had exploitative aspects—there was a tendency to designate areas adjacent to the large *latifundios* thus providing the estate-owners with a readily available labor pool.

With the coming of independence, welfare was treated in much the same pattern as other areas of public policy. On the formal level government intervention was accepted. On the level of action, however, little was done. With the growth of industrialization, there has been growing activity by the government. Several regimes have devoted substantial funds to attempts at improving social conditions. The López administration (1934–38) was notable among these for its program of general reform. Although unable to accomplish genuine land redistribution, it did provide for increased access of the landless classes to public and private land. The Rojas Pinilla government also, as a part of its attempt to develop popular support, evidenced considerable interest in welfare measures, particularly those involving trade unions where an immediate political profit was obtainable (see ch. 2, Historical Setting).

Industrial Welfare (Social Security and Insurance)

Attitudes towards welfare in industry are heavily conditioned by the *patrón* concept of earlier periods. Much of the population looks to the government for institutional paternalism. Even large elements of the urbanized middle class—while abandoning their old concepts based on the *personalismo* (personalism) of earlier institutions—have nonetheless carried over a desire and need for paternalistic attitudes. The result has been an acceptance by the government of the role of *patrón*—but on a formal rather than real basis. Welfare benefits have been based on two acts: the social security statute—Law 90 of 1946—and the Labor Code of 1950. Such legislation has been extremely progressive and all-inclusive, but most of it is not operative. An underdeveloped society, with only about half the population participating in the cash economy and great numbers of impoverished masses, cannot maintain the complex system of benefits provided by statute.

The social insurance statute—Law 90 of 1946—provides for the gradual implementation of an extensive, highly complex system of benefits covering ordinary illness, industrial accidents and occupational illness, maternity, disablement and old-age retirement insurance. It is highly inclusive, embracing all native and foreign workers in agriculture and industry as well as self-employed persons.

This act provided for the establishment of the Colombian Social Insurance Institute (Instituto Colombiano de Seguros Sociales—ICSS) to function as an independent government agency with some degree of supervision by the Superintendent of Banking. It is directed by a small governing board, with representatives from the Ministries of Labor and Public Health and presidential appointees to represent labor, management and the medical profession. This body operates hospitals and clinics throughout the country. By 1961, however, of all the benefits stipulated in the law, only the provisions for maternity and nonindustrial health insurance were operative. These latter benefits were available in the larger municipalities of Antioquia, Cundinamarca, Caldas and Valle del Cauca, where coverage was relatively complete. During the 1950's, 220,000 employees were eligible under these provisions and the number covered, including families, amounted to approximately 330,000. Even here, though, temporary employees and those covered by other insurance schemes were excluded.

Financing is accomplished through contributions by employees, employers and the government. The size of management's contribution varies with wage classification and location, but usually approximates 4 to 5 percent of the payroll. The employee must pay 2 to 2.5 percent of his salary. Cash benefits for sickness begin 4 days after the interruption of employment and expire 180 days after-

wards. Such payments amount to two-thirds of the base pay during the first 120-day period and 50 percent for the remaining 60 days. Health care, including specialized care, hospitalization, dental care and medications, are provided until the end of the 180-day coverage period.

Maternity benefits under Law 90 are the equivalent of the basic wage. Insured women receive such reimbursement from four weeks before until four weeks after childbirth. In order to gain eligibility, insurance payments must be made for 12 weeks. Medical care covers prenatal and postnatal care, obstetrical services, hospitalization, medications and free milk for a 6-month period. Obstetrical services are available, not only to insured women, but also to legal and common-law wives of men insured under the program. A more liberal and extensive social security system is provided for employees of the national, departmental and municipal governments and is apparently operative. The army and police are eligible for still more generous schemes.

Actually social insurance coverage is more complete than would appear from an examination of Law 90 alone because the Labor Code of 1950 requires employers involved in large enterprises to assume the burden of those provisions of Law 90 not yet in force. These are, in many cases, available as fringe benefits. Since 1957, for example, businesses with a minimum of 20 employees, or capitalized at Col\$100,000 or more, generally have had to pay a contribution amounting to 4 percent of their payroll into a family compensation fund. Employees are eligible for payments based on the number of dependent children. In 1960 these appeared to average about Col\$12 per month for each child. Benefits were restricted, however, to permanent employees with children under 18, who did not earn more than Col\$1,500 per month in large cities or Col\$1,000 in smaller cities. Family allowances were tax-exempt and disabled children were covered regardless of age.

The problem of persons inadequately covered still remained to be solved. For these there was some statutory provision in the form of wage supplements designed to serve as means of support until the other phases of the social security system became operative. For those persons not sufficiently protected by this combination, there were public assistance services sponsored by the Department of Public Assistance and Social Aid of the Ministry of Public Health. Hospitals, orphanages and other institutions maintained through special taxes and public lotteries fell into this category.

The attitude of many employers toward this burden has been one of voluntary acceptance, partly because they hope thus to avoid wage increases and partly because they too harbor remnants of the old *patrón*-client concept.

The Lleras government has recently attempted to begin the full implementation of the original scheme. It issued two decrees in July 1960 aimed at bringing within the state social security program certain areas now covered by employers' benefits. These areas deal with permanent disabilities, old age and survivors' insurance, and workmen's compensation. Under the decrees four new plans of coverage must be formulated for these fields. Coverage in all categories is to be relatively extensive. Costs of the first three types of coverage will be shared among the insured, the employers and the government. Employers will contribute twice as much as employees, and the state will then add not less than half of management's contribution. Workmen's compensation, on the other hand, is to be borne entirely by employers. The exact form of this expanded coverage is to be determined by future regulations, with no date yet set for the implementation stage.

Housing

Housing has always been inadequate, the rate of population increase far out-stripping the rate of building. Theoretically the municipalities have been obliged to set aside a certain percentage of their income for construction of new dwellings, but, in the past, observance of this requirement has been sketchy. Two government institutions have been active in this field: the Territorial Credit Institute (Instituto de Crédito Territorial) and the Municipal Development Fund (Fondo de Fomento Municipal). The former has been the principal agency for extending credit to build housing units, but its efforts have been strongly criticized both on the grounds of inadequacy and because the houses it did construct proved so expensive workers could hardly benefit. The latter, established in 1940 to extend credit for construction involving public services, has also been much criticized as wasteful and ineffective.

The Lleras administration has placed increasing emphasis on the need for housing. The new income tax law—Law 81 of 1960—provided special benefits for low-cost housing. Middle- and working-class housing units, assessed at not more than Col\$60,000 and erected since the effective date of the act, were exempted from the supplementary patrimony tax. This exemption was also applied on the same terms to apartment developments provided the apartments were designed for low-cost or cooperative ownership.

Chapter I, Title V of the income tax law additionally provided for a special housing development tax of 6 percent to be paid by corporations on their net taxable income over Col\$20,000. A similar tax was laid on partnerships and on certain forms of mining enter-

prise, but affected only taxable net income exceeding Col\$100,000. Funds thus collected will be expended on construction of middle- and working-class housing.

There has always been great difficulty in attracting private capital into housing. One public institution which has encouraged the channeling of private investment into that area is the Central Mortgage Bank (Banco Central Hipotecario) which supports construction loans based on its mortgage debentures. In the last few years, there has been even greater difficulty in stimulating the flow of private funds for housing construction. Official regulations require the partial use of bank savings deposits for this purpose, but enforcement has been lax. In 1960 the level of mortgage loans for construction was considerably under the 1959 level.

The preference of private capital for luxury construction has also prevented entrepreneurial investment from going to meet the housing needs of the middle and lower classes. The extreme expectations of investors, who often seek and obtain a capital return rates up to 30 percent, indicate there can be no realistic expectation that private capital will be diverted—without extreme coercion—into low-cost housing.

There have been reports in the press of local housing developments being undertaken in conjunction with the community development program. The extent of housing activity of this sort was difficult to assess, but it was presumably not extensive.

Community Development

During the period of violence an extreme deterioration of community life took place. With the coming of the Lleras regime, however, a new program of community development was formulated. The Parity Commission for Institutional Readjustment made extensive recommendations in 1957 for an investigation of possible local program development. Shortly after coming to power, the government created a special task force to investigate economic and social conditions in the departments of Cauca, Caldas, Huila, Tolima, Valle del Cauca and Cundinamarca. In May 1958 a National Investigative Commission of the Causes and Present Condition of Violence was established. This welter of organizational activity was climaxed in September when a Special Commission of Rehabilitation, made up of seven Cabinet ministers, was formed. According to the terms of the enabling decree, it was to continue until late in 1959 when its work would be absorbed into the regular ministries. This latter body was unusually effective, and, as a result, the decision was made to extend its work for another two years. Though subject to some criticism, the Commission came to play an in-

creasingly important role in policy formulation on social welfare measures. Its work was carried on by directors and sectional commissions in those departments remaining under a state of siege. In the meantime a Vocational Agricultural Technical Committee for Rehabilitation was created to assist it.

Still another important event in the development of social welfare programs was the publication in 1957 of the Lebrez report, a study of socioeconomic conditions compiled by a French scholar and previously suppressed by the Rojas regime. Its recommendations were closely followed in the subsequent programs of the Lleras government.

Out of this background there emerged in 1958 and 1959 the most important single local welfare program in the country—Acción Comunal (Community Action). (Acción Comunal should not be confused with Acción Comun—the communist welfare effort.) Long-range programing for Acción Comunal was vested in the National Council of Economic Policy and Planning, and the execution of the program was originally directed by the Ministry of Education.

At the heart of Acción Comunal were the *equipos polivalentes* (teams of community development specialists) which attempted to stimulate and assist local improvements in education, literacy, sanitation, roadbuilding, animal husbandry and farming methods. These groups moved about the provinces, bringing skills that had previously been unavailable to the local population. A typical team working in the rural areas was made up of a doctor—the group's leader—two agronomists to work with adults and 4-H groups, a nurse and a specialist in home economics to assist housewives.

Following surveys made by the Special Commission on Rehabilitation, the *equipos polivalentes* worked with already existing local community groups, placing heavy stress on local initiative. Committees were formed to deal with school, health and agricultural problems. Programs were varied to meet local needs and, wherever possible, committees were organized on a neighborhood basis. Often a particular farm in each neighborhood was used as a pilot *finca* (farm) where new techniques and implements were demonstrated. A local Junta for Community Action was formed and encouraged to accept increasing responsibility for the direction and continuance of the program. Provincial Congresses for Community Action periodically brought together local leaders and provided opportunities to learn what other communities were doing.

The considerable priority accorded Acción Comunal by the Lleras government has brought more cooperation and assistance from government departments than had ever previously been available. An important reorganization of the program took place in September

1960, when a separate Division for Community Action was set up in the Ministry of Government. Direction was centered in this Division, and it supervised activities carried out in liaison with other groups such as the Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere (CARE), the National Federation of Coffee Growers (Federación Nacional de Cafeteros) and the Inter-American Cooperative Public Health Service.

Obstacles to Acción Comunal's work have been formidable. Not only was there great difficulty in staffing the teams with skilled specialists, but there was also extreme reluctance on the part of those who were properly trained to work in the primitive communities where they were needed most. One answer to the shortage of trained personnel has already been formulated. It envisions the employment of *promotores del pueblo* (community promoters), to be drawn from among those in the general population with enough insight into community problems to follow up the work of the professional cadres. Such workers would be "generalists" and would have the function of maintaining the momentum developed by their specialist associates.

Regional differences in the provinces have further complicated the work of the *equipos polivalentes*. Another major problem has been created by the multiplicity of agencies working in community development whose activity impinges on the work of Acción Comunal. The Ministry of Agriculture, for example, sponsors a parallel program to Acción Comunal, and it alone has 80 teams working in the rural areas. In 1960 a survey found 30 such agencies in the country, indicating the necessity for coordination. As of June 1960, political considerations had prevented the selection of a new coordinating director for Acción Comunal.

Opinions on Acción Comunal's program vary. Some university and clerical figures doubt that it has yet reached a significant impact stage. Jorge Franco Holguín, Director of the Administrative Department of Planning and Technical Services of the Nation, tended to share this opinion as of the middle of 1960, though he saw great potential benefits to be derived from a large-scale, decentralized development program.

The actual extent of Acción Comunal's accomplishment could not be objectively determined in 1961. The interprofessional teams were often successful in winning a good measure of the local community's confidence and cooperation and, when they left a locality, considerable improvement in social conditions had usually taken place. Home gardens, new farm techniques and crops, community centers and vocational institutes often remained behind. But it is uncertain to what extent local communities and leaders will sustain self-help projects initiated by the *equipos polivalentes*.

Agrarian Reform

The Community Development program was closely related to the government's efforts to provide greater access to land for rural population. This was recognized as a crucial need in 1961 as there was general agreement that the *minifundios* (small tracts of land) were not large enough to support an average family. The Lebrét report concluded that no system of land tenure now available to the *campesino*—with the exception of *aparcería* (sharecropping system)—could provide yield levels sufficient for adequate subsistence.

The Ileras government has, therefore, given increasing emphasis to agrarian reform projects. The two most significant programs in this field are *colonización* (the settlement of marginal farmers on public lands) and *parcelización* (the purchase and distribution of privately owned lands). Both have attained sizeable dimensions and are often tied closely to Acción Comunal's work in the area affected. As part of its plan to contain violence the government, through the Ministry of Agriculture and the Agrarian, Industrial and Mineral Credit Bank (Caja de Crédito Agrario, Industrial y Minero), had provided as of June 1960, over 700,000 acres of land for both programs as well as financing for needed farm equipment. A broad program of land utilization is projected, involving more than two and a half million acres concentrated in the Department of Meta, south and east of Villa Vicencio (see ch. 27, Agricultural Potential).

New decrees have been enacted, requiring 10 percent of savings accounts to be devoted to financing rural improvement schemes. Further evidence of the government's seriousness about agrarian reform has been given in the implementation for the first time of a 1936 statute for expropriation of unused land. To support these agrarian development programs, a revolving Col\$50 million fund has been projected, and there is talk of the expenditure of a billion dollars for land distribution over the next decade. Nonetheless, there is a wide gap between projected goals in agrarian reform and actual achievement.

Private Welfare Programs

The general attitude of management toward the considerable welfare demands made on it by the Labor Code of 1950 has been one of acceptance, presumably in the hope that satisfaction of welfare needs in this manner will prevent demands for higher wages and larger government programs requiring higher taxes. The most notable management-sponsored welfare program is that of the National Federation of Coffee Growers (Federación Nacional de Cafeteros). For a number of years the Federation has sponsored for

its workers a broad range of programs, including vocational training, 4-H clubs, farming extension courses, home economics instruction and community development projects. As of the middle of 1960, it had 80 teams of *socio-técnicos* (village social workers) in the field working with rural development, often in collaboration with Acción Comunal.

The source of funds to support these efforts is the National Coffee Growers Fund (Fondo Nacional de Cafeteros), augmented by special allocations from the Central Bank. The Fund is derived from an export tax on coffee. By mid-1960, it had developed a surplus of at least Col\$50 million. The Ministry of Finance accordingly proposed to the Coffee Growers Federation an arrangement whereby that amount would be devoted to special projects in rural housing and education. This proposal was originally accepted by the Federation's board of directors, but the execution of the scheme has been impeded by the insistence of some coffee growers that use of the money be entrusted to departmental committees.

The coffee growers have also been brought into several related projects. In 1960 an extremely useful evaluation of community development resources was carried out by CARE in cooperation with the National Federation of Coffee Growers. This group also agreed to send a number of specialists to the Philippines, India, Iran and Israel to study development techniques. Agreement in principle has also been given to support a training program in community development at the Universidad de Manizales.

The Federation's own attempts at improving living conditions among workers employed in the industry preceded the government's program. It has accomplished much in the field of rural education, improved sanitation and water supply and the sponsorship of cooperatives. The group operated its own program of research into rural sociological problems at an experimental station in Chinchiná. One of its most important contributions has been the recent development of a program whereby local coffee growers' committees accept the sponsorship of Acción Comunal's projects, after the work has been initiated by the government. Thus public funds are freed to start new projects elsewhere. This transfer of financial responsibility has developed especially in Huila and Tolima.

The prospect of a prosperous year for coffee exports has led the National Federation to suggest an increase in its expenditures to Col\$85 million a year, though it is not certain that this expansion will take place. One of the most important aspects of this work is the example it provides. Its special Department of Socio-Economic Affairs—established in September 1960—is already considered

a model for other industries. The National Association of Industrialists (Asociación Nacional de Industriales—ANDI) has a similar division in its own organization.

International Welfare Programs

Many foreign welfare programs are being carried on in Colombia. These are under both bilateral and multilateral sponsorship and include both governmental and nongovernmental activities. In 1959 the total United Nations assistance budget in Colombia amounted to approximately U.S.\$500,000. Fifty-three specialists worked in the country during that year. These were, in the main, technical aid personnel who advised various agencies and departments of government. A broad spectrum of organizations was represented: the United Nations Technical Assistance Organization (TAO), the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Health Organization (WHO). The Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) was active through substantial support of two major projects: a grant of U.S.\$500,000 to assist the National Apprenticeship Service (Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje—SENA) in establishing a training center in Bogotá and U.S.\$350,000 for an aerial survey of the llanos (open plains).

Assistance from abroad has probably been better coordinated than the efforts of the Colombians themselves. Demarcation lines, for example, have been clearly established by tacit agreement for foreign assistance to agriculture. Thus the Food and Agriculture Organization has been active in the area of agricultural economics; the Rockefeller Foundation has concentrated on research into farm crops; and the International Cooperation Administration (ICA), sponsored by the United States government, has been concerned with agricultural extension and educational work. The Rockefeller Foundation has also made great contributions toward improving health conditions, and the ICA has notable accomplishments to its credit in the control of epidemiological diseases.

The United States Information Agency (USIA) has developed a model urban community center in one of the working-class *barrios* of Bogotá, offering typing and home economics courses as well as organized sports activities. The general level of advisers and specialists both in the United States and United Nations programs is considered to be high.

The two independent groups working with welfare that have had the widest impact are CARE and the National Catholic Welfare

Conference (NCWC), an American group which has been underwriting a food distribution program. These two agencies, by conservative estimate, were feeding 10 percent of the population in 1961. In addition to its food program, CARE has played an extremely valuable role in fertilizing activity by domestic groups. During the summer of 1960 it cosponsored, with the Coffee Growers Federation, the survey of community development activities referred to above. This particular survey apparently did much to convince the government of the effectiveness and worth of Acción Comunal.

The transfer of responsibility for this program to the Ministry of Government was partly a result of the CARE-Cafeteros study, which stressed the need for a coordinating body to oversee activity by different groups. This mission was also successful in establishing two agencies in Antioquia and Valle del Cauca to supervise development activities in those provinces. The CARE mission was additionally responsible for gaining the cooperation of the National Federation of Coffee Growers in underwriting the study tour to India and other countries in 1960. In general this body has played an important catalyzing role in stimulating interest among professionals in community development problems.

Cooperatives

Most cooperatives—90 percent—were credit funds, the bulk of whose service was in the area of short-term loans (see ch. 31, Banking and Currency System). Membership in the urban areas was usually drawn from the ranks of unskilled and semiskilled labor; the movement was little developed in the rural areas. Urban members relied on the cooperatives for clothing purchases and small cash loans for various purposes—the purchase of household furnishings, food, and so forth. Very little of the activity of the cooperatives seemed to be in the needed areas of health or housing.

Cooperative members were not sophisticated in their use of credit; profligacy often resulted, and money borrowed to meet family crises was squandered on liquor or other outlets. In order to avoid this, many of the cooperatives have developed a system of credit in merchandise. Thus the member borrowing to buy clothing for his family did not have the opportunity to waste his funds before purchasing the needed items and could obtain merchandise which the cooperatives secured at considerable discounts.

In addition to the credit funds there were cooperatives in the areas of housing and transportation as well as a small number in agriculture. Although only 2.5 percent of activity by the cooperative movement fell in the latter category, some efforts in the housing field have been effective. The Pacific Railroad Cooperative in Cali has pro-

duced approximately 2,000 housing units. In Medellin, the Housing Cooperative has built an equal number and plans 2,000 more. A notable self-help effort has been made by the Cooperative of Providence (Cooperativa de la Providencia)—one of the best-administered in the country—in Pereira where it has built 800 housing units.

There is some opposition to the cooperatives among business elements which see them as a threat. A certain amount of distrust of the cooperatives also exists among the working class, as a result of their history of fiscal unsoundness. In many cases the device for security membership dues has been the compulsory withholding of salaries, and considerable dissatisfaction has resulted.

With reform, the cooperatives could be a much more effective instrument for improvement of living conditions. One of the prerequisites would be the enactment of comprehensive legislation to secure greater fiscal soundness. Another suggestion made by economists is the establishment of a training program for administrators to insure more effective managerial policies. Finally, the cooperatives must be channeled into areas basic to the improvement of social conditions, such as health and agricultural development, and away from their present emphasis on less vital consumer goods. This probably can be accomplished only by government regulation, as self-discipline has been notably lacking in the past.

CHAPTER 18

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

The attitudes of Colombians toward their country, nation and state and toward its political institutions vary according to the position of the individual in the social structure. The members of the small *criollo* upper class, which has shaped these institutions, identify themselves with the mystique of hispanidad, strongly support the doctrines and structure of the Catholic form of Christianity and give at least formal support to the principles of republicanism and democracy. The vast majority of the people—those of lower social and educational status—are only now beginning to share the attitudes of the elite towards institutions and values brought to the country by its traditional rulers.

During centuries of direct contact with the upper class, in a society in which no middle class then existed, the lower class superficially accepted some of the elite's attitudes toward institutions from whose values they did not really benefit. They spoke Spanish and were Catholics. During recent decades they have achieved limited participation in the republican process, but even now their contacts are mainly with local government, sometimes merely on the submunicipal level, and the national government is remote. Until a generation ago, they considered that government was exclusively the prerogative of a paternalistic elite. Since then, they have barely begun to believe that they might hope to share in the exercise of national government and in the rights and benefits once the monopoly of the elite.

A middle class has developed with aspirations to be part of the upper class. It has political attitudes resembling those of the elite. Its members in fact serve as a bridge over which the attitudes of the elite can reach the lower classes. The middle class provides the political spokesmen for the lower class; yet some of its own spokesmen are increasingly found in high policy-making circles.

Domestic politics preoccupy most Colombians. To the vast majority of the people, foreign affairs are of concern only insofar as they directly affect questions of local and national politics in which they have a stake, such as subversion, violence, the National Front, and economic development. Attitudes toward certain foreign coun-

tries are formed in relation to domestic problems; the foreign governments are judged according to the manner in which they are believed to improve or hurt conditions within the country.

The United States, Cuba, and the Soviet Union arouse reactions on the part of most Colombians, because these countries are seen as pursuing policies which, in one way or another, affect the Colombian scene. Attitudes about other countries, if they exist at all, are present only among members of the upper class who, as a result of tradition, education, and travel, have been exposed to other lands.

Hispanidad is, in Latin America, the expression of the feeling that traditional Spanish culture is superior to other cultures in the Western Hemisphere. It stresses the historical ties between the Americas and Spain and seeks not only to keep alive the ties that exist, but also to develop closer cultural and political relations with Spain.

Hispanidad has served as a rallying point for anti-United States sentiment. It developed at the beginning of the twentieth century when Spain, defeated in war by the United States, lost the last of its possessions in the Western Hemisphere and United States influence moved southward. With encouragement from Spain, eager to retain cultural hegemony where its political control had disappeared, hispanidad has remained an anti-United States force—sometimes latent and implicit, sometimes manifest and explicit.

After the Falangist government under insurgent General Francisco Franco took over power in Spain, hispanidad became anti-democratic and a vehicle for the spread of Falangist ideas in Latin America. Democracy and republicanism are linked in the minds of many educated Colombians with France, England, and the United States.

Historically, Christianity in the form of Catholicism is closely linked to hispanidad because both came to Colombia from Spain, but unlike hispanidad, Catholicism is nearly universally accepted in the country. Except for the members of a few Indian groups which retain their historic cults, a few tens of thousands of converts to Protestantism, and even fewer Jews, all Colombians consider themselves Catholics. Even though they may retain elements of Indian or African religions, they view the Church as an institutional pillar of their national society.

ATTITUDES TOWARD GOVERNMENT AND COUNTRY

The upper class prides itself on its republican traditions. It is proud of what it considers the successful implanting in the country of republican, democratic, and parliamentary ideas and practices, borrowed from the classic political thinkers of eighteenth-, nine-

teenth-, and twentieth-century Western Europe and the United States. In its view, these traditions took root in Colombia more firmly than elsewhere in Central and South America. Until the acute period of violence (1948-57), or the time of the Gómez and Rojas Pinilla governments, the members of the upper class pointed to their country as the one example in Latin America of political stability and took pride in their country's record which, since the beginning of this century, had been free of military coups and of unconstitutional regimes (see ch. 2, Historical Setting; ch. 19, The Constitutional System; ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

At the same time, the upper class's own interpretation of democracy and republicanism differed from that which became increasingly accepted in the United States and parts of Western Europe. It was admittedly a republicanism of the elite. "Juan Fulano"—the Colombian "John Doe"—was not involved in the running of government. Inasmuch as the upper class was, in fact, the sole repository of education, culture, and of the skills of government, and since it had always ruled, it was taken for granted that this group was to make political decisions without reference to the masses. On the part of the oligarchy, this made for a largely conservative outlook and for a policy of preserving the status quo.

The period of violence changed many of these attitudes. It showed that, underneath the frozen surface of Colombian oligarchic politics, pressure had been building up which could undermine the stability of the system. The upper class began to realize that the republicanism of the few had to be extended and that the government had to acquire a more popular character if it was to bring about real stability. The immediate beneficiary of this change of attitude is the middle class, the entry of which on the policy-making level was speeded by political developments during the 1950's (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

At the same time, the period of violence focused attention on the lower class, especially in the rural areas. From these people came the guerrillas, as well as the victims of the period of violence. In the words of Germán Arciniegas, a liberal Colombian political thinker, these people are "the invisible America . . . the mute, repressed America, which is a vast reservoir of revolution. . . . Nobody knows what these . . . silent men and women think, feel, dream, or await in the depths of their being." Now it has become important to learn about them, to reach them, and to work with them. The universities and the government are beginning to engage in research about the rural population. Both the government and the Church are involved in rural rehabilitation work.

In the cities, the miserable condition of the lower class is a matter of increasing concern to the government, to private and

semiprivate groups, and to the press. The upper class is beginning to expand its concept of government, adding to government's responsibilities the gradual integration of the "invisible" country into traditional Colombia—the "visible" Colombia of the upper class. This is bound to have a long-range effect on the attitudes of the upper class.

In the past, such relationships as existed between the upper and lower classes were based on paternalism. The upper-class individual often maintained a personal commitment toward specific members of the lower classes—his tenants, his employees, his nonkin god-children (see ch. 6, Social Structure; ch. 7, Family). Future relationships of an institutional kind are likely to increase the government's role in social welfare at the expense of the *personalismo* (personalism) of the oligarchy. The lower class is likely to have its status improved as the personal dependence of individuals of this class upon members of the upper class wanes and their importance to the upper class and to the nation as a whole is correspondingly emphasized (see ch. 17, Living Conditions and Public Welfare).

Already, the events of the late 1950's have given greater dignity to the middle class. Many of this class, especially those of the lower middle class, have, in their own lifetimes, made considerable improvement in their economic lot and social status and have thus become symbols of change. Such instances must occur on a larger scale if the gap between the upper and lower classes is to be narrowed.

SYMBOLS OF THE NATION

The symbols of the nation date from the nineteenth century. They have historical significance to the old families who participated in the shaping of the country and are now widely accepted, although the degree of identification with these symbols and observances is likely to be less for members of the lower class than for persons of the upper class.

Coat of Arms

The coat of arms consists of an escutcheon of Swiss shape, flanked by four inclined flags and crested by a condor holding a laurel branch in its beak.

The upper third of the escutcheon shows a pomegranate, a reminder of the name of the country during major periods of its history, and two cornucopias, one overflowing with tropical fruit and the other with gold and silver coins. The central third of the shield shows a Phrygian cap, symbol of liberty, on a staff. The

lowest third of the shield shows a representation of the Isthmus of Panama and of two sailing vessels, one in the Atlantic and the other in the Pacific. The Isthmus was once part of Colombia; now this part of the escutcheon is taken to signify the position of the country on two oceans.

The coat of arms was adopted in May 1834. The legend "Libertad y Orden" (Liberty and Order) now appears under the condor. This was added by the Rojas Pinilla regime in 1954.

Flag and Flower

The upper half of the flag is yellow, and the lower half is divided into two horizontal bands, an upper one of blue and a lower one of red. The flag, like those of Ecuador and of Venezuela which it resembles, is based on the personal flag of Simón Bolívar, the national hero (see ch. 2, Historical Setting).

The national flower is an orchid of the *Gattleya Triana* variety, found in the Department of Antioquia.

Anthem

The words of the "Himno Nacional" (National Anthem) were written by Rafael Núñez who twice served as President. The music was written by Oreste Síndiga, a naturalized Colombian of Italian descent. The anthem was first used as a patriotic song in 1887 and was officially adopted in 1920. It was later rearranged musically by the director of the National Band, and this newer version was adopted in 1946.

National Holidays

There are six official holidays, of which four have patriotic and historic significance.

New Year	January 1
Labor Day	May 1
Independence Day	July 20 (1813)
Battle of Boyacá	August 7 (1819)
Discovery of America	October 12 (1492)
Independence of Cartagena	November 11 (1811)

ATTITUDES TOWARDS OTHER COUNTRIES

Attitudes toward other countries are formulated virtually entirely by the upper class on the basis of historical sentiment and the requirements of current foreign relations. Whatever attitudes these factors give rise, however, are blunted by the inherent isolationism which characterizes the views of Colombians (see ch. 23, Foreign Policies).

Traditional sympathies are directed toward Spain and certain Spanish-speaking American countries. Warmest feelings are felt for Ecuador and Venezuela. There has been recurrent antipathy and hostility toward Peru. Relatively few attitudes are expressed with respect to neighboring Brazil or the countries further south.

The intellectuals, especially those who consider themselves liberals, have a considerable appreciation for France and Great Britain. They like to think of their own country as heir to many French and British legal traditions. At the same time, these two countries are viewed as important cultural, scientific, and educational centers, and many young people from the upper class are sent to study in their educational institutions.

Pro-German sentiment has existed among the upper class since the 1920's, when the Germans played a considerable role in economic affairs and established such enterprises as the Quito Airline and the Bavaria Brewery. Pro-Germanism was strengthened as a result of the alliance between the Nazis and Franco Spain. Germany's influence in the economy is again on the increase at present.

Attitudes toward the United States are mixed. In Colombia, as in all other Latin American countries, the United States is never referred to as "America." Latin sensitivity is adversely affected by what they see as the implication that other parts of the Americas are of minor importance. United States citizens are customarily, in polite conversation or writing, referred to as "Norte Americanos" and, less polite, as *yanquis*. This attitude, logical at its base, is also emotional in its application. The United States Embassy, Consulate, or Mission is never referred to as the American Embassy, and so forth.

There is still latent antagonism toward the United States because of Panama (see ch. 2, Historical Setting; ch. 23, Foreign Policies). Adherents of hispanidad are lukewarm about the United States as a Protestant, English-speaking power. They are often critical of its culture and of its policies toward the Americas in general and their own country in particular.

Coolness toward the United States is now shared by a vociferous sector comprised of individuals of the middle and the lower classes whose more explicit anti-Americanism is the product of their leftist views and who echo with varying intensity anti-American propaganda emanating from Cuba and from the Sino-Soviet bloc (see ch. 25, Propaganda). This attitude is reinforced by resentment of the economic power of the "Norte Americanos" symbolized by the activities in the country of powerful United States economic interests and by the dependence of Colombia on trade with the United States

(see ch. 32, Foreign Economic Relations). At the same time an appreciation of United States technological achievements and technical education, a widespread sense of expectation of United States aid to the country, and an awareness of the overwhelming importance of the United States as a trading partner blunt anti-Americanism among all sectors of the population (see ch. 32, Foreign Economic Relations).

Until the emergence of the Fidel Castro regime (January 1959), there was little interest in Cuba. The leftward drift of Castro, exacerbated by Cuban propaganda directed at Colombia and by the activities there of Cuban diplomats, has had profound repercussions in Colombia (see ch. 23, Foreign Policies; ch. 25, Propaganda). Some Colombians recall the fact that Fidel Castro himself participated in the 1948 Bogotá riots, and they allude to this to illustrate the special threat which he presents to the country. Anti-Communist Colombians are against Castro and seek ways to quarantine that regime. At the same time other elements, such as the Left-wing faction of the Liberal Party, have at times indicated support for the Cuban leader (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). Because of the strength of pro-Castro feeling in the country, the government has not broken off relations with Cuba, although a number of explicit demands to this end have come from political and labor groups.

Similarly, attitudes towards the Communist bloc are largely a reflection of a person's stand on domestic affairs. To most Colombians the Soviet Union and Communist China, through their propaganda, represent threats to the stability of the country. Some prominent Liberals have, in the past, shown favorable inclinations toward aspects of the Communist system, but over the years they have, with few exceptions, broken with communism (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). There have been no diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union since 1948, nor are there any with other Sino-Soviet bloc countries (see ch. 23, Foreign Policies). Some leftist political leaders have marked pro-Communist sympathies (see ch. 24, Subversive Potentialities; ch. 25, Propaganda). On the other hand, the Church, the traditional parties, and most of the press reinforce public opinion against bloc activities.



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SECTION II. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 19

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

The constitutional system is republican in form and is based, in part, on a written constitution first enacted in 1886. The document serves not only to define the structure of the governmental machinery but also to spell out the legal relationship of the government and the people to each other (see ch. 20, Structure of Government). The constitutional document follows many of the patterns of earlier constitutions and, like them, was produced by intellectuals and politicians who took North American and European republicanism as their model.

Oligarchic traditions, which are deeply ingrained in the political consciousness of all segments of the population, are, however, of great importance in the operation of the system. They come mainly from the Spanish origin of the country's culture and major aspects of its social structure, but are reinforced by attitudes found among the lower classes, which are mainly of mixed blood or of Indian and negro descent. These traditions entrust government to the elite, the so-called "great families"—appropriately described by one authority as "white, privileged, and competent." The great families have a near-monopoly on political power. They provided the leadership of the revolutionary movement against Spain and now provide it for the Conservative and Liberal parties. They furnish the principal government officials, the highest prelates of the Church, and the senior officers of the armed forces. Both legislation and the day-to-day workings of government are the product of their thinking and of the policies they advocate. The ruling group is paternalistic, assigning to itself a monopoly of political wisdom.

Principles of democracy are permitted to operate, but only in the oligarchy itself as an application of parliamentary government. On the other hand, a tradition of autocracy and extralegal political action permits the suspension of parliamentary government and political liberties and the imposition of dictatorial government sup-

ported by the army (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). The spirit and letter of the Constitution have been violated under strong presidents.

Even in normal times the organs and institutions described by, and the offices provided for in, the written constitution function in a manner often at variance with the letter of the document. Colombians consider it proper that the President's outlook, personality, and capacity should affect the interpretation of the Constitution. The tradition of paternalism attaches greater importance to the person holding office than to the office itself; it puts few limitations on public authority and stresses the testing of individual capacity. The role of the written constitution changes markedly, therefore, from President to President. Moreover, the pressures of partisan politics often nullify the limitations imposed by the formal constitution, leaving solutions of issues to be arrived at pragmatically (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

Although the written constitution provides for wide participation in the political process by enfranchising all adult citizens, the 75 to 85 percent of the people who are of mixed blood or are non-white are still largely excluded through the operation of the oligarchic tradition. They are not represented by their own kind in the national organs of government. Until the late 1950's most of them did not vote, and even now, their effective involvement in the operation of constitutional government has barely begun. They are only starting to become real participants in the all-important political parties which are the points of entry into the political arena (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). The tensions existing between the oligarchy and those who challenge its monopoly of political and economic power have led to violence which has affected the operation of government, sharpened partisan strife, and brought blood shed to the cities and armed insurrection to the countryside. The Sitges Agreement (1957) granting parity to the Conservative and Liberal parties was ratified by plebiscite and formalized by amendments to the Constitution. It has paved the way for a National Front government which has been able to reduce civil strife without, however, putting an end to it (see ch. 2, Historical Setting; ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

The present Constitution, enacted in 1886, has been frequently amended and twice recodified. Its 22 *titulos* (chapters) and 218 numbered and 10 unnumbered articles spell out the formal aspects of government in great detail. Although it divides the public power into legislative, executive, and judicial branches, it vests the executive with such vital and important powers that the President becomes, in effect, the focal point of government. Moreover, the

Constitution grants powers to the central government which far overshadow those reserved to the major units of local government, the *departamentos*.

The Constitution enjoins government to serve the social and economic well-being of the country. For example, it requires that 10 percent of the budgeted governmental expenditures be spent on public education. The authorities must also respect specified rights of individuals, such as freedom from arbitrary police action, freedom of religion, and freedom of association. The government is charged with protecting the "lives, honor, and property" of all persons residing in Colombia. Although the Constitution grants religious freedom, it assigns a special position to the Roman Catholic Church. Balancing the obligations assignment to government are specified civic obligations imposed on individuals.

As in the case of the constitutions that have preceded it since 1811, the present document is more a description of an ideal constitutional system, which a majority can agree upon as desirable, than of the system as it now operates. The divergence between the written text and reality stems largely from the adoption of constitutional concepts which were not then, and perhaps are not now, suited to the country. These concepts are in contradiction with political and social realities deriving from such factors as ethnic diversity and wide disparities in economic status.

One result of prevailing political traditions has been a tendency to change and amend constitutions frequently. The Constitution thus has not been allowed to play a stabilizing role within the constitutional system.

The key historical issues affecting the formulation of the constitutional documents have been: the relative powers of the central or "general" government and those of the local units (states, departments, provinces); the strength of the President, especially with respect to the employment of emergency powers to cope with civil insurrection; and the position of the Catholic Church, its institutions and clergy, in the political life of the country. The 1886 Constitution established a unitary system, and since shortly after its adoption, the first of the great issues of unitary versus federal government has subsided in importance. On the other two issues the Constitution, as amended, represents a middle-of-the-road compromise between extreme positions.

THE EARLIER CONSTITUTIONS

Although the movement for independence from Spain began in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, it approached achievement only when Spain itself was invaded by the forces of Napoleon I. The colonists of New Granada maintained that they owed

allegiance to the King of Spain rather than to the Spanish Government, and, when the King proved unable to exercise his sovereignty, they asserted that the sovereign power had passed to the colonies. In November 1811 leaders of the Colombian independence forces adopted at Leiva the country's first constitutional document—the Act of Federation of the United Provinces of New Granada. The system thus created took account of the strong regional sentiment which prevailed and spoke of:

... a federal association which gives the General Government the special and proper powers necessary to govern the nation and reserves to each of the Provinces its liberty, sovereignty, and independence in whatever is not of common interest, guaranteeing to each of them these precious prerogatives and the integrity of its territory. . . .

The federal government was beset from the beginning by the issue of centralization versus regionalism or federalism. The country became independent more out of a sense of frustration with the Council of Regency in Spain than out of a sense of nationhood (see ch. 2, Historical Setting). National patriotism was slow to gain the upper hand over regional loyalties reinforced by vested local interests. The underdevelopment of the transportation network remained a major obstacle to national unity well into the twentieth century.

Promulgated "in the Name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," the 1811 Constitution stressed that "in each and every one of the United Provinces . . . the Holy Apostolic Roman Catholic religion shall be preserved in all its purity and integrity." The Church's involvement in political and constitutional controversies has remained as a consistent factor in politics.

It was not until late in 1814 that the government of the province of Gundinamarca declared its adherence to the Constitution. After the reconquest of New Granada by Spain (1816–19), the provisional government set up by Simón Bolívar was proclaimed by him to be "the depository of the national sovereignty of Venezuelans and Granadines" (see ch. 2, Historical Setting). In December 1819 a congress of Colombians and Venezuelans met at Angostura and ratified the union of the two countries under the name of the Republic of Colombia; it was further provided that Ecuador might join after its liberation from Spanish rule.

A new constitution was adopted in August 1821. In accord with Bolívar's views, it was strongly unitary. The republic was divided into departments, provinces, cantons, and parishes. The province, once considered by the federalists to be "the natural subordinate area," was thus displaced by the department as the chief unit of local administration. The President appointed the officials of all these units, as well as those of the municipalities. The judiciary,

too, was largely appointed by him. In the bicameral legislature, the Senate represented the departments, and the House of Representatives represented the people. The President, Vice-President, and all members of the Congress were elected by electors, chosen in terms of departmental units. A Council of Government advised the President on important matters, but he was free to reject its advice.

In August 1828, Bolívar assumed dictatorial powers and called for a constitutional convention to meet in 1830 (see ch. 2, Historical Setting). A constituent assembly meeting in April 1830 adopted a new constitution and elected a new president to replace Bolívar, who had retired from government.

The new constitution created the *Ministerio Publico* (Public Ministry) through which the executive gained a stronger control over judicial affairs (see ch. 20, Structure of Government). The Council of Government, renamed Council of State, was broadened to include representative appointees of the citizenry at large, and its powers were enlarged to give it the right to prepare legislation for submission to Congress. The territorial subdivisions remained the same, and the control of the central government over them was reaffirmed. Departmental assemblies were created for the more populous departments and local responsibilities were assigned to them.

Unlike that of 1821, the Constitution of 1830 did not grant the President special powers to deal with national emergencies. Probably its most important provision, however, was that which formally established the Church and thus perpetuated the long-standing constitutional issue. It states that: "The Apostolic Roman Catholic Religion is the religion of the Republic. . . . It is the duty of the government . . . to protect [the Colombian Church] and not tolerate the public exercise of any other religion." The Constitution was rejected by the Venezuelan and Ecuadorian territories, both of which split off from New Granada and became independent.

In the fall of 1831, a new constitutional convention, representing only New Granada, produced a Constitution, adopted in February 1832, which called for a government in which the President regained the right to assume extraordinary powers. The presidential and vice-presidential terms of office were reduced from eight to four years. The Council of State was reduced in size and its membership limited to citizens chosen by Congress. A Council of Government was also formed. Departments, as units of local government, were abolished. Each province was given a "provincial house" elected on the basis of cantonal representation. These local legislatures were given greater responsibilities in the election of representatives to both houses of the Congress and in the choosing of provincial

governors. The provinces were also given the right to decide which localities were to have municipal councils. The Constitution imposed on the government the duty "to protect Granadines in the exercise of the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion." No reference to other religions was made.

This Constitution remained under constant attack both from the centralists who objected to the powers given to the provinces and from the federalists who desired the further strengthening of provincial and local institutions. In 1840 civil disorders broke out over the closing by the central government of four convents in one of the provinces (see ch. 2, Historical Setting). The uprisings strengthened the arguments of those who sought greater presidential powers, and, as a result, Congress adopted a new constitution in April 1843.

The new document authorized the presidential appointment and removal of provincial governors and reduced the power of the provincial houses. Although the President was not granted emergency powers as such, he was given the right to "suspend or remove at will all political officials as well as persons employed in the political offices or in the administration of public revenues." A new office, that of the *designado* (presidential designate), was created which followed the Vice-Presidency in succession to the office of the President. A constitutional provision declared that it was the duty of the government "to protect Granadines in the enjoyment of the exercise of the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion" and that "the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion is the only cult supported and maintained by the Republic."

The Constitution of May 1853 was the product of a period of increased partisan strife between the Conservative and the Liberal parties (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). The Conservatives stood for strong centralized government, capable of coping effectively with any disorderly element, and for the establishment of the Church. The Liberals wanted to strengthen provincial powers in relation to the central government and sought to limit the Church's role in the political life of the country.

During the Liberal administration of General José Hilario López (1849-53) a number of laws enacting reforms were passed. Soon after the elections of 1853, a new Liberal constitution disestablished the Church, guaranteed freedom of religion, abolished slavery, and instituted trial by jury. The franchise was given to all married, or formerly married, male citizens over 21 years of age, and indirect elections were abolished. The number of offices filled by elections rather than appointment was increased. The President was deprived of his authority to assume additional powers. The powers and prerogatives of the provinces were considerably increased. The "full

powers of local government" were reserved to them. The provincial governors were to be elected, and, in each province, a *legislatura* (legislature) was given the right to enact laws.

Revolt broke out in 1854, civil war raged for several months, and, when peace had been restored, an election brought to power a Conservative President and a coalition government. During the years of Liberal rule the Conservatives had come to favor federalism since decentralization enabled them, as an opposition party, to remain in control of sections of the country in which they were strong. Conversely, the Liberals opposed federalism while they were in power. The new Congress amended the Constitution to provide for the creation of states.

These were a new type of unit of local government consisting of provinces, or combinations of provinces, exercising a degree of self-government denied the conventional provinces. In 1856 and 1857 many provinces, some of them Conservative Party strongholds, opted for statehood. There were thus two types of subnational units—states, whose ties with the central government were federal, and provinces, not within states, which were ruled as before from the national capital. Colombian historians often refer to this as the "centro-federal" pattern of constitutional organization.

The Conservatives gained overwhelming control of Congress in 1857 and on May 22, 1858, adopted the Constitution of the Granadine Confederation of eight states which stressed federalism but did not materially undo the key Liberal reforms of the previous constitution. Direct voting was maintained, as was the broad franchise of 1853. The responsibilities of the central government were spelled out and all other powers reserved to the states. Religious freedom was reaffirmed, a guarantee made binding upon the individual states as well. The organization of state government was left to the states, subject only to the provision that it be "popular, representative, elective, and responsible." Amendment of the Constitution required approval of a majority of state legislatures and a majority of both houses of Congress.

Fighting between Conservatives and Liberals broke out in 1859. Emergency congressional actions of doubtful constitutionality aggravated the situation. Four states seceded from the union. The forces of the Liberal rebel states seized Bogotá in July 1860, and the government established under the 1858 Constitution came to an end. The leader of the insurgents, General Mosquera, called together plenipotentiaries from each state to draw up a temporary constitution. This instrument—the Pact of Union of the United States of Colombia—was adopted in September 1861. It reflected the renewed commitment of the Liberals to federalism, which had resulted from their achievement of control of state governments.

The Constitution was drawn up in the style and terminology of a treaty between "the sovereign and independent states." Power was delegated by these states to the central government. The central government consisted of a House of Representatives, a Senate of Plenipotentiaries, and a President chosen by election. The document left the details of state government to the states. A bill of rights was put in force and included a guarantee of religious freedom. Provision was made for the designation by Congress of a federal district to serve as the capital.

Two years later, after the fighting between Liberals and Conservatives had stopped. Liberal delegates from the nine states met in convention at Rionegro and drew up a Constitution of the United States of Colombia, which was an elaboration of the Pact of 1861. Key national responsibilities were "especially, clearly and expressly" delegated to the federal government, with all other matters remaining "within the exclusive jurisdiction of the States." It was required that the states should establish governments which were "popular, elected, representative and responsible"; otherwise, the organization of state government was not dealt with in the Constitution. The creation of new states out of existing ones and the alteration of state boundaries required the consent of the state or states concerned. The President was chosen by electoral colleges of the several states, each college having one vote.

The Constitution reflected the Liberal view that the Church favored the Conservatives. "Freedom of religious worship" was guaranteed in all states. Religious bodies were prohibited from owning real estate, and it was required that their financial support should be derived only from voluntary contributions. Clergymen were barred from public office. The central government was granted "the right of supreme inspection" over religious affairs.

The Liberal Constitution also sought to place limits on the capacity of government to cope with rebellion and to make unsuccessful rebellion less painful for defeated insurgents. No special powers were given the executive to deal with uprisings. Any armed action by the government against one of the states required Congressional approval. By making the "law of nations" a part of Colombian national legislation, the Constitution brought the laws of war into application in cases of civil war. "Such wars shall be terminated by treaties between the belligerents, who are to observe the humane practices of Christian and civilized nations." Persons fleeing from one state to another because of "illegal acts against the government of another state" were not subject to extradition. The Constitution abolished the death penalty and limited the imprisonment to a maximum of 10 years for any crime.

THE 1886 CONSTITUTION AND ITS REVISIONS

The Ríonegro Convention remained formally in effect until 1886, but the apparent stability implied by this continuity was belied by the facts (see ch. 2, Historical Setting). The Constitution itself served to exacerbate partisan strife between the Conservatives, who opposed it, the radical Liberals, who supported it and intended to capitalize on its weaknesses, and the moderate Liberals, who supported one of the other contenders. In time, the Conservatives and their moderate and independent supporters gained the upper hand. The Radical Liberals attempted to reverse this trend by revolting late in 1884, but in August 1885 they were crushed by the National Party, a combination of Conservatives and others. The victors declared the 1863 Constitution to be no longer in force and called for a new constituent assembly.

The Constitution of the Republic of Colombia of August 1886 was ratified, significantly, not by the states but by the municipal councils. The new regime wished to avoid, in this way, any reference to the state as a constitutional unit. The new constitution established a system which was predominantly unitary. The states lost the importance they had enjoyed under the federalism of the previous constitution. Provinces became departments, which, along with the municipalities, were given a share in deciding how national legislation and policy were locally carried out. But these subunits lost the fundamental power which they had enjoyed. Federalism has not been a serious issue since the adoption of the 1886 Constitution.

Since its enactment, the Constitution has often been amended by a relatively simple process. Originally Congress could pass an amendment by adopting it at two consecutive sessions, the second time by a two-thirds majority. But an amendment passed shortly before the Codification of 1936 reduced the requirement to a simple majority in the first session and an absolute majority of the membership of each house in the next ordinary legislature.

This procedure has been maintained up to the present time in the Codification of 1945 and subsequent amendments, except for the margin of votes required. In keeping with the results of a plebiscite of 1957, Congress adopts by a two-thirds absolute majority all measures except those which are designated by a two-thirds majority as requiring only a simple majority. Amendments to the Constitution are now adopted by two-thirds of the membership of each house, unless the requirement is modified under this rule. Twice in the lifetime of the 1886 Constitution constitutional codifications have been made, in 1936 and in 1945. These codifications are not new constitutions; they are restatements, in logical and orderly form, of the constitutional text, including all amendments in effect at the time.

The Executive

The President has substantial powers of control over both the central government and the provinces. With his key subordinates, he issues "ordinances, decrees and resolutions necessary for the execution of the laws." He determines the policy of the administration and nominates or appoints key officials in the country. He has control over military affairs and, most important, power to act in case of national emergency.

Before 1910 the President's term of office was six years, and he was chosen by electors; since that time he has been directly elected for a term of four years. He is assisted by ministers of state whose functions are defined by law and who are the administration's "organs of communication with Congress." He is advised by a Council of State whose members are elected by Congress from lists submitted by the President. The Council also serves as the Supreme Administrative Tribunal.

As "supreme administrative authority," the President has the power to control the armed forces, including their "distribution" (see ch. 34, The Armed Forces). He may "direct military operations." He is entrusted with the responsibility for the conduct of "foreign and commercial relations with foreign powers."

The Constitution permits the President, "in cases of foreign war or domestic disturbances," to declare a state of siege to exist in all or part of the country. To do this, however, he must have the consent of the Council of State.

The President has a power of veto over legislation. His veto can be overridden by a simple majority of both houses in the case of most bills. A two-thirds majority, however, is required to override a veto of legislation amending the Constitution or the law codes, establishing the budget, formulating plans for the national economy, or altering the territorial divisions of the country.

The Legislative Power

Legislative power is vested in the Congress, which consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senators and the Representatives are elected mainly on the basis of population, but the departments serve as electoral districts for the election of candidates, and each department is guaranteed a minimum representation irrespective of population (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). The Constitution expresses the hope that this procedure should not work to strengthen regionalism; "the members of both Houses," it emphasizes, "represent the entire Nation and should vote in the sole interest of justice and the public good."

The main distinctions between the two bodies are the difference in the terms of office—four years for the Senate and two years for the House—and the additional qualifications required for membership in the Senate. The latter are designed to make the body a repository of persons of superior education and experience. Both houses must pass on legislation. In addition, each house is entrusted with special responsibilities (see ch. 20, Structure of Government). Congress has certain emergency powers, including the power to invest the President with extraordinary powers.

The Public Ministry and the Judiciary

The administration of justice is exclusively a function of the central government. The Minister of Justice is the principal administrator of the judiciary. The Public Ministry (which is not a Cabinet ministry) is headed by the Attorney General and is entrusted with the defense of "the interests of the Nation." It promotes the execution of the laws and supervises the official conduct of public officials. It has charge of the prosecution of "those guilty of crimes and misdemeanors that disturb the public order" and is responsible for the execution of judicial sentences.

The court system is headed by the Supreme Court of Justice. It "is entrusted with the guardianship of the integrity of the Constitution" and shares with the Council of State powers of judicial review of legislation to determine constitutionality. Legislation vetoed by the President on the grounds of unconstitutionality may be submitted to the Supreme Court of Justice by the House of Representatives for an opinion on the validity of the grounds. The Court has final decision in all cases brought before it in which the constitutionality of laws or decrees enacted by Congress or lesser authorities is challenged by "any citizen" and also in all cases relating to the emergency powers assumed by the government.

The Council of State

The Constitution gives the Council of State responsibilities in the executive, legislative, and judicial spheres. The Council of State advises the President and his ministers. Its recommendations are not binding except in the case of extraordinary budgetary measures, for which its approval is required (see ch. 30, Public Finance). It also prepares legislation for the consideration of Congress and functions as Supreme Administrative Tribunal. In the latter capacity, it has the power of judicial review in all matters except those specifically assigned to the Supreme Court of Justice for such review.

Social Guarantees

Constitutional amendments adopted since 1936 stress the ideals for which the Liberal Party strove while in power (see ch. 2, Historical Setting). Labor is declared to be "a social obligation" and, as such, enjoys "the special protection of the State." The right to strike is guaranteed, except to government employees, and the exercise of the right is regulated by law (see ch. 15, Labor Relations and Organization). Public assistance is declared to be a function of the state. "It shall be given to persons who, being physically incapacitated for work, lack means of self-support or the right to demand the same of other persons" (see ch. 17, Living Conditions and Public Welfare).

Since 1936, the government has had the power "to intervene in the exploitation of public and private businesses and industries for the purpose of rationalizing the production, distribution, and consumption of goods, or to give labor the just protection to which it has a right." This power, however, does not apply at such times as the government is acting under extraordinary powers.

The Constitution declares the ownership of property to be a social function which implies obligations. "For reasons of public utility or social interest, as defined by the legislature, property may be expropriated by judicial decree with prior indemnification." But the right to indemnification is not absolute, since "the legislature, for reasons of equity, may deny indemnification by means of an absolute majority vote of the members of both Houses."

Civil Rights

Private persons are responsible to the authorities only for the committing of illegal acts. Public officials are responsible, in addition, for their conduct in the performance of their duties. Officials (except the military) who act illegally cannot protect themselves by claiming to have acted under a superior's orders.

Slavery is prohibited. Arrest, imprisonment, or search require a warrant from competent authorities except in cases in which the individual is caught committing an illegal act. Masters of ships, military chiefs dealing with insurrections, or officials punishing contempt are excepted from this rule (see ch. 22, Public Order and Safety). Laws providing punishments *ex post facto* are prohibited. Death or confiscation may not be imposed as punishments.

"Literary and artistic productions" are protected as personal property by the Constitution (see ch. 9, Artistic and Intellectual Expression). Mail and telegrams may not be censored. Account books, however, may be demanded for the purposes of tax investigations or when the state intervenes in a business concern. Everyone is free to select his occupation, but the state may regulate professions by

law (see ch. 13, Labor Force). Only those who hold a law degree may serve as attorneys. There is freedom to form companies, associations, and foundations, all of which may obtain recognition as juridical persons.

Subject to state inspection, freedom of instruction in public or private institutions is guaranteed. State primary schools are free. The law may make school attendance compulsory (see ch. 10, Education). The press is free in peacetime, but it is "responsible under law for injuries to personal honor and for disturbances of the social order and public peace." Universal suffrage is established (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). The right of peaceful assembly is guaranteed, provided that meetings do not degenerate into disorder or tumult or obstruct the public highways. The right of assembly, however, does not include the right to form quasi-governmental bodies, and "popular political assemblies of a permanent character" are specifically prohibited. The right of petition is guaranteed to everyone.

"Only the government may import, manufacture, and possess arms of war." In towns, no one may carry any weapon except with permission. Such permission may not be granted to persons who are spectators at or participants in political meetings, elections, or sessions of public bodies.

Religion and the Church

"Liberty of conscience" is guaranteed. The practice of all religions "not contrary to Christian morals or law" is permitted. The government may, with Congressional approval, conclude concordats with the Vatican to regulate church-state relations "on bases of reciprocal deference and respect." No clergyman may hold public political office, but Catholic priests may "be employed in public education and charity." Religious associations must be recognized by their "ecclesiastical superiors" in order to be protected as religious organizations under the law (see ch. 11, Religion).

The 1959 Amendments

When parliamentary government was restored after the overthrow of the Rojas Pinilla government in 1957, the Sitges Agreement, which had been given popular ratification through a plebiscite on December 1, 1957, was incorporated into the Constitution by Legislative Act No. 1 of 1959 (September 15) and No. 4 of 1959 (December 24). This agreement concluded between the Conservative and Liberal parties provided for an alternation by the two parties in governmental positions at all levels and for parity in partisan representation (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

THE LEGAL SYSTEM

Although much of the formal constitutional structure is based on the example provided by the United States, the legal system is derived mainly from Spanish and French traditions. It is embodied in detailed legal codes. Like the Constitution, these codes cover all contingencies minutely. Enacted by the legislature, they represent the consensus of the congressional majority as to what the law should be. The role of the judge is limited to applying the rules of the codes to actual cases. He must, under a constitutional requirement, justify his decision by an opinion. Under this system his discretion has clear-cut formal limitations. He has much less opportunity than the judge in the Anglo-American system of law to invoke precedent.

The realities of the legal system diverge from the theoretical in much the same manner as the realities of constitutional system differ from the written text of the Constitution. The judge tends to act more as a representative of the government than as an arbiter between the government and the individual or between the written law and needs of society. Largely confined to interpretation of the legal codes, the judiciary has not evolved substantial traditions of judicial independence.

As early as the first half of the nineteenth century arbitration was permitted in the settlement of civil and commercial cases. In 1938 a new statute covering arbitral procedures was adopted and became the first such arbitration code to be established in Latin America.

CHAPTER 20

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

The structure of government is set forth in the Constitution and legislation. The system is unitary; from the national level down to the smallest political unit, executive, legislative, and judicial activities are carried on within one coordinated pyramidal structure. The executive consists of the President and the ministers appointed by him and, at lower levels, of governors and mayors (*alcaldes*). In Colombian terminology, the President and his ministers constitute the government.

The legislative branch includes both national and local units. At the national level is Congress, composed of the Senate and the House of Representatives; at the local level are the departmental assemblies and municipal councils. The judiciary is headed by the Supreme Court of Justice. Intermediate between the executive and judiciary are the Council of State and the Public Ministry.

The role, mission, and prerogatives of every organ of government and every official are set forth in detail in the Constitution and in legislation enacted by Congress. In theory, little discretion is left to individual officials, for legislation has been designed to produce strict compliance with regulations describing their functions (see fig. 8).

In practice the traditions of public administration considerably modify this formal pattern. Colombians have inherited the Spanish tradition under which the interplay of personalities, rather than definition of powers, determines what can and may be accomplished and by whom. Therefore personal competition in office is intense and is often aggravated by a narrow political factionalism which makes it difficult for individuals to cooperate or governmental units to work harmoniously together. Noncooperation among officials is overcome only when a highly placed official is able, by virtue of his connections and prestige, to use the prerogatives of his office to force fulfillment of his orders or acceptance of his policy. But it is the man who is obeyed and respected rather than his office.

Partisan or party affiliation plays a decisive role in influencing, not only the selection and actions of elected officials from the President

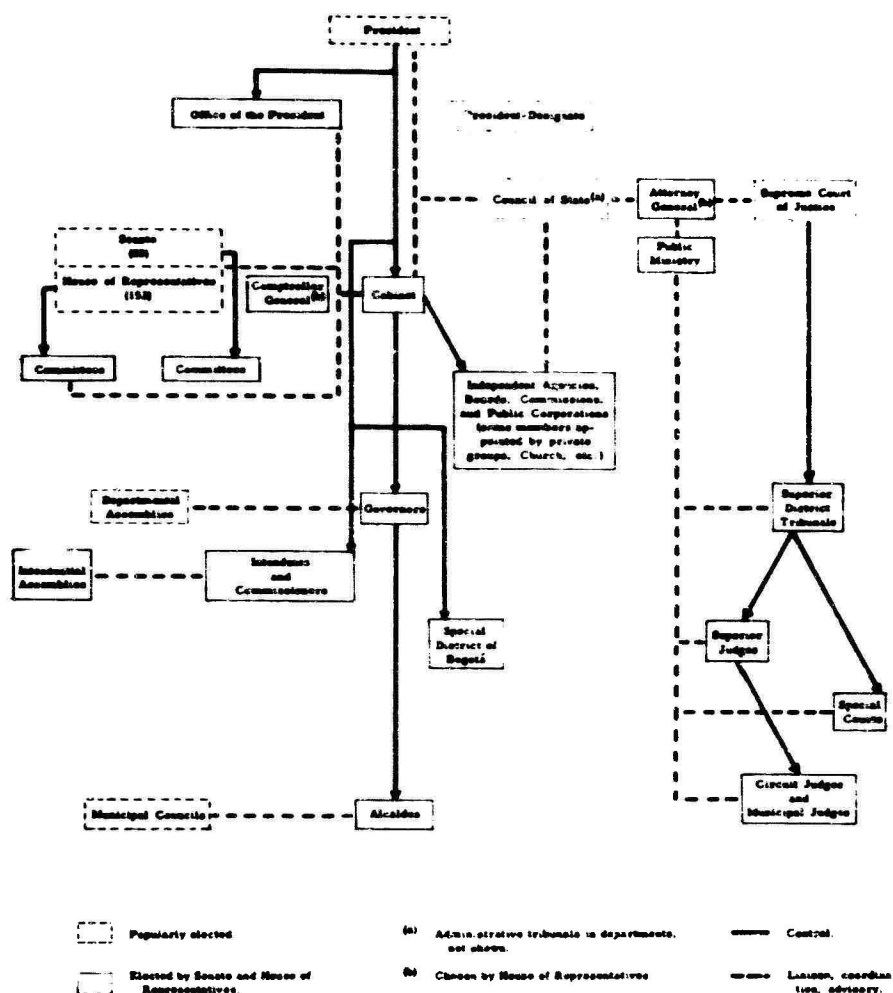


Figure 8. General organization of the Colombian National Government.

and members of Congress on down to members of lesser legislative bodies, but also in the staffing of the entire governmental structure. Apart from average-level education, qualification for a position normally plays a lesser role in the selection of officials, whether elected or appointed, than identification with a party or faction. The senior officers of government dispense a wide range of patronage. The spoils system has been reinforced by the strong desire, amounting almost to a craze (called "empleomania" by Colombians), of the educated elite and members of the oligarchy to achieve a government position.

The attainment of public office often enables individuals to become rich from the opportunities afforded by office. Although members of the oligarchy are concerned with contributing to the general welfare, material incentives and the desire to gain prestige

are equally important in making them want to enter government service. The Constitution establishes prior government service as a prerequisite to appointment to some of the higher official positions, and young men are eager to obtain an opportunity for such service at any level. Although many positions on government commissions, committees, and boards are entirely unremunerated, there is no lack of candidates for them.

The system has not given the country an efficient corps of public officials. Until 1960 the President was required to pass on the hiring of government employees down to the lowest level, and on the awarding of every purchase or rental contract, no matter how small the sum involved. A general turnover in government personnel has taken place as every shift in control by the political parties produced new opportunities to exercise the powers of patronage. The result has been that the entire government, from the highest levels down, has been identified with the party in power and that all branches of government, including not only the executive, but also the judicial, law enforcement, and security branches, have been partisan.

These factors have frequently undermined public confidence in the probity of government. For example, they were blamed in part for the breakdown of constitutional government in the 1950's. Reforms, seeking their correction, were provided for in the Plebiscite of 1957 and in subsequent legislation enacted by the National Front government (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). The parity rule was immediately enforced from top to bottom to provide for equal representation of Liberals and Conservatives in all government positions.

This principle has removed some of the partisan bitterness from government and politics, but it has also produced new obstacles to efficient public service. Beginning in 1959, the structure of the ministries and of other governmental agencies was revised to increase the efficiency of the public administration. In 1960, a decree was formulated which was designed to create a nonpolitical civil service incorporating all government employees.

THE EXECUTIVE

The President of the Republic

The President is popularly elected for a four-year term, which begins on the seventh of August following the election. He may not succeed himself.

Only native-born Colombians are eligible to become President. Candidates for the office must be more than 30 years old and be in

full possession of their political rights. They must further qualify by having practiced a profession requiring a university education or by having held one of the following offices: President of the Republic, President-Designate, member of the House of Representatives, Cabinet officer, chief of a diplomatic mission, governor, judge of the Supreme Court or of a superior tribunal, member of the Council of State, Attorney General, or Comptroller General. But no citizen may be elected President who, during six months prior to the election, has served as minister, justice of the Supreme Court, Councilor of State, Attorney General, or Comptroller General.

The President has legislative and judiciary functions in addition to his principal responsibilities as chief executive. He formally opens and closes the sessions of Congress, and he may convene the legislature in extraordinary session. At the beginning of each session, the President submits to the Congress a message outlining the program of his administration and, at the same time, submits to the House of Representatives the proposed budget for the year. Through the Cabinet Minister concerned, the President may present bills in Congress. He may make available to the legislators nonsecret government information. He has the responsibility of seeing "that prompt and equal justice is administered." He may grant pardons for political offenses.

As the "supreme administrative authority," the President has the power at pleasure to appoint and remove his Cabinet Ministers, the governors, and all persons in the national service whose appointment is not by law entrusted to other authorities. In addition to the appointive powers he enjoys alone, he shares with Congress the responsibility for appointing certain other officials. With the countersignature of the minister concerned, he issues "ordinances, decrees, and resolutions necessary for the execution of the laws."

The President is the highest military authority. He is responsible for the maintenance of the external security of the nation. He may declare war with consent of the Senate, or, in case of invasion, make war without such consent. He may personally direct military operations, from the capital or in the field. He is responsible for the maintenance of law and order throughout the national territory. He may proclaim the existence of an emergency and declare a state of siege in the entire country or in any part thereof.

At any time that the President issues such a proclamation, he must immediately call Congress—if it is in recess—into emergency session and it must remain in session for as long as the state of emergency remains in force. If the President fails to call for a congressional session, the legislature may meet of its own accord. For as long as the state of emergency remains in force, Congress

may ask the Supreme Court to pass on the constitutionality of any decree issued by the President under the emergency powers.

The President is responsible for the collection of taxes and the expenditure of public funds; for the supervision of all government contracts; for the supervision of all bank and commercial institutions; for the regulation, direction, and inspection of the public educational system. He grants patents and issues certificates of naturalization.

The President has at his immediate disposal a number of aides, organized into the Office of the President and subdivided into the Presidential Staff (*Despacho del Presidente*) and the General Secretariat (*Secretaria General de la Presidencia de la Republica*). The Presidential Staff consists of three further subdivisions: The Private Secretariat, a group of councilors whose function is to make studies on current problems and to recommend appropriate action to the President; a Secretariat for the Organization and Inspection of the Public Administration, which has responsibilities connected with civil service reforms; and the Military Establishment (*Casa Militar*) composed of officers and men from the several services, with responsibilities for the security of the President and of his family, protocol, and liaison with the Ministry of War.

The General Secretariat is headed by the Secretary-General, the chief administrative aide to the President. An undersecretariat handles correspondence and telecommunications and maintains archives as well as the presidential library. A legal office advises the President and his staff on legal affairs. The Information and Press Section (*Sección de Información y Prensa*) acts as the President's public relations staff; its public statements represent the official views of the executive branch (see ch. 25, Propaganda). The Budgetary Section (*Sección de Ejecución y de Control del Presupuesto*) draws up and supervises the budget and spending of public funds (see ch. 30, Public Finance). The Administrative Section (*Sección de Administración*) handles supplies, housing, and maintenance.

The Cabinet

There are thirteen Cabinet Ministers (*Ministros del Depacho*). Although there is no prime minister, the Minister of Government is senior to the others. The Minister of Government handles internal affairs, including relations with local authorities. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is also referred to as Chancellor, is the principal official below the President in the management of external relations. The functions of the other ministries are indicated by their names: Justice, Finance and Credit, War, Agriculture, Labor, Public Health, Development, Mines and Petroleum, National Educa-

tion, Communications, and Public Works. Each minister has an executive officer (*jefe de gabinete*) who oversees the details of the ministry's operations and may act for him in his absence.

Standardization of the internal structure of the ministries was decreed in 1960. Each ministry is now divided into two basic branches, the administrative branch and the technical branch, which are further subdivided into branches (*rama*, sing.), divisions (*división*, sing.), sections (*sección*, sing.) and groups (*grupo*, sing.). There are also other specialized subdivisions: coordinating or evaluating bodies within ministries, termed committees (*comité*, sing.); bodies appointed for special studies, called commissions (*comisión*, sing.); and scientific units within a ministry, called institutes (*instituto*, sing.). In addition, there is a legal office (or legal adviser), a personnel division, a budget division, and a general services division, and these are designed to carry out the basic functions in each ministry.

Ministers are appointed by the President, who, under the system of parity, must seek to establish equal party representation in the Cabinet. Formal qualifications for ministers are the same as for members of the House of Representatives. Traditionally, the Minister of War is a military officer, who is appointed as a nonpartisan. Members of the Cabinet may or may not be members of Congress at the time of their appointment, but they may not retain seats in Congress if they choose to accept a Cabinet post.

The Constitution describes ministers as the "Government's organs of communication with Congress." Ministers may present bills to Congress and participate in the debates of the houses. They are required to present to Congress a report on the affairs of their respective ministries within 15 days of the beginning of each session. Moreover, Congress may require the presence of ministers at its deliberations and may also order the attendance of heads of administrative departments within a ministry.

The President-Designate

Every two years, Congress in joint session elects a President-Designate (*Designado*) to take office on August 7 of that year. He is the person who assumes the presidency when the President does any of the following: leaves the country; leaves the capital to exercise military command in the field; is granted a leave of absence by the Senate; vacates the office for reasons of health by notifying the Senate (or, if the latter is in recess, the Supreme Court); resigns; is impeached; or dies. When he assumes the office of the President, the President-Designate is formally sworn in. A

Designate who has served as President during the year preceding elections may not be elected President or re-elected Designate.

The Designate has no permanent duties unless he assumes the Presidency. Membership in Congress is not incompatible with election as Designate. Under the National Front government arrangement, which provides for the alternation of the office of the President between the Liberal and Conservative parties, the Designate must be of the same political affiliation as the President. If the office of President is permanently vacated by the presidential incumbent, the Designate serves out the entire remainder of the presidential term of office. Congress then elects a new Designate.

THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

The Congress alone can enact legislation establishing the structure of the executive and the prerogatives and responsibilities of executive officials. It also draws up legal codes and passes on financial, fiscal, and budgetary matters. All international treaties require its approval.

Laws may be introduced in either house by any member or by a Cabinet Minister. Before being discussed on the floor of either house, they must be approved by one of the permanent committees of which there are five in each house. Legislation dealing with legal codes, the budget or other economic or financial matters, territorial changes, and changes in the administrative organization of the national territory may not be introduced in either house except by a minister or by a permanent committee.

All legislation requires the approval of a two-thirds majority of the proper committee of each house. It must then be approved in each house by a two-thirds majority. Congress may, however, designate legislative subject matter as requiring only an absolute majority for approval in committee or in the houses. Legislation becomes law when it is promulgated by the President, countersigned by the appropriate minister, and published in the *Diario Oficial*, the official gazette. Special procedures apply to a bill intended to amend the Constitution (see ch. 19, The Constitutional System). The introduction of a bill into committee and its approval by the committee must take place on separate days. To expedite the processing of legislation, the President may designate it as urgent; in such a case, each house must deal with the law within 30 days.

The President has a veto power over all legislation. A vetoed measure is returned with the President's comments to the house in which it originated. A two-thirds majority of the members of each house can overrule the veto, except for such legislation as is expected from the two-thirds rule, in which case it may be passed

by an absolute majority. If the government fails to promulgate a law after a veto by the President of the Republic has been overruled, the President of the Senate may promulgate it. If the President vetoes a bill on the grounds that he considers it to be unconstitutional, Congress may not overrule his veto. It may, however, refer the bill to the Supreme Court, which must render a decision on the bill's constitutionality within six days. If it upholds Congress, the President must promulgate the measure.

The regular sessions of Congress begin in the capital on July twentieth of each year and last for 150 days. When called into extraordinary session by the President, Congress may consider only such measures as are submitted to it by the executive. It never meets in joint session except to induct the President into office and to elect the President-Designate. Sessions are formally opened by the President or his ministers. Opening sessions are public and take place in both houses simultaneously. One-third of the membership of each house is considered a quorum.

Each house elects its own officers—a President and two Vice-Presidents—every two months while in session. It also organizes committees which consider legislative measures before they come to the full house. These committees deal with specified types of legislation and may meet even when Congress is in recess. Cabinet Ministers, justices of the Supreme Court, members of the Council of State, the Comptroller General and the Attorney General may participate in the discussions of either house or of the committees.

Each house of Congress has the power to decide on the validity of its members' credentials. Members are immune from prosecution based on their votes or the opinions they express in the performance of their duties; but they are subject to the disciplinary regulations of their respective houses. For a period beginning 40 days before a session of Congress opens and ending 20 days after it closes, a member of Congress may not be arrested or subjected to a criminal trial without the permission of his house. Only if caught in an illegal act may he be arrested, and then he must immediately be placed at the disposal of the house of which he is a member.

Congressional sessions are public at least three times a week. Committee meetings also are public, subject to the limitations prescribed by congressional regulations. Each house has the power to enact regulations for the conduct of its business, including the creation of offices which enable it to discharge its business. Congress may organize a police force for the protection of its meetings.

The President of the Republic, Cabinet Ministers, chiefs of administrative departments, justices of the Supreme Court, members of the Council of State, the Comptroller General, the Attorney General, and governors and their respective secretaries of govern-

ment, may not be elected to Congress until six months after leaving office. No one who has exercised civil, political, or military jurisdiction on any other level may be elected to Congress within three months of the date of his terminating such office. No one may be elected to Congress, who, in the six months preceding election, has been a party to any business with the government, either in his own interest or in the interest of a third party.

Members of Congress may accept presidential appointment to become Cabinet Ministers, governors, diplomatic officials, or military chiefs in time of war; if so appointed, their seats in Congress become vacant for as long as they occupy the appointive office. Members of Congress are barred from accepting any other category of appointive post while retaining their seats in the legislature. Nor may they enter into a contract with the government, either directly or through a third person.

In both houses, temporary or permanent vacancies are filled by alternates (*suplicantes*). Alternates are elected by party list in multi-member constituencies at the same time as the congressmen whose personal alternates they become (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

Members of both houses receive no fixed salary. Instead, they receive a *per diem* allowance on the basis of their attendance at sessions. The remuneration is paid to the member or his alternate, depending on who actually serves.

The Senate

The Senate consists of 80 members elected for four-year terms. Half of them must be Liberals, the other half Conservatives. On the basis of population, the ratio is one senator for 190,000 inhabitants, elected by departmental constituencies, with an additional senator for each additional 95,000 inhabitants. No department elects fewer than three senators, nor does a department with a population of more than 1 million have fewer than six senators (see table 1). Senators are indefinitely eligible for reelection. Qualifications for senators are the same as those for President of the Republic.

Apart from participating in the legislative process, the Senate is entrusted with special responsibilities. It tries such officials as are impeached by the House. It may impose such penalties as suspension from office and temporary or permanent deprivation of political rights; it may also remand to the Supreme Court officials guilty of crimes or otherwise deserving of penalties. It has the prerogative of accepting or rejecting the resignations of the President or of the President-Designate. It may grant the President leaves of absence for reasons other than illness. The Senate may permit the passage of foreign troops through the national territory. Except in case of invasion, the President must have its consent in

Table 1. Congressional Representation in Colombia

	Number of senators	Number of rep- resentatives
<i>Department:</i>		
Antioquia.....	10	18
Atlántico.....	4	6
Bolívar.....	4	8
Boyacá.....	6	14
Caldas.....	6	12
Cauca.....	4	6
Chocó.....	4	4
Córdoba.....	4	4
Cundinamarca.....	8	18
Huila.....	4	6
Magdalena.....	4	6
Nariño.....	4	8
Norte de Santander.....	4	6
Santander.....	4	10
Tolima.....	4	8
Valle del Cauca.....	6	12
<i>Intendencias:</i>		
Meta.....	n.a.	4
Guajira.....	0	2
Total.....	80	152

Source: Adapted from Instituto Colombiano de Opinión Pública, *Factores Colombianos*, 1960, p. 42.

order to declare war. Confirmation by the Senate is required for the promotion of military officers to the grade of Lieutenant-Colonel or to higher rank.

The House of Representatives

The House of Representatives consists of 148 members, half of them Liberals, the other half Conservatives. They are elected for two years by departmental constituencies. One representative is allowed for each 90,000 inhabitants, with an additional representative for every additional 45,000 inhabitants. No department may have fewer than three representatives; this does not apply to *intendencias* (see table 1).

Apart from participating in the normal legislative process, the House alone has the prerogative of initiating laws relating to the budget and to the organization of the Public Ministry. It elects the Comptroller General and selects the Attorney General from a list of three names submitted by the President. The House has the power to impeach the President, the Cabinet Ministers, the Attorney General, and justices of the Supreme Court. In doing so,

it may examine charges and complaints concerning the accused presented to it by the Attorney General.

To be a representative, a Colombian must be a citizen with full political rights, be at least 25 years of age, and must not have a criminal record.

The Comptroller General of the Republic

The Comptroller General of the Republic is the agent through whom the House of Representatives maintains a check over the fiscal affairs of the administration. He is elected for a two-year term by the House, which examines and passes on his reports. He controls the accounts of the national treasury, including both domestic and foreign transactions. He prescribes accounting methods and reporting procedures for all public offices—national, departmental, and municipal. He selects the personnel of his agency. He has no administrative or policy-making powers apart from those related to his accounting and reporting functions.

THE JUDICIAL BRANCH

The judicial branch of the government is charged with the administration of justice. The court system has at its apex the Supreme Court of Justice and is territorially organized into judicial districts.

The Supreme Court of Justice

The Supreme Court of Justice (Corte Suprema de Justicia) consists of 20 judges—10 Liberals and 10 Conservatives. The Senate and the House each choose 10 judges from lists submitted by the President. Similarly, Congress elects one alternate for each judge; the alternates fill temporary vacancies on the court; permanent vacancies are filled by new elections. On good behavior, they serve until the age of retirement. The Court elects its president annually from its own membership.

To be qualified for membership in the Supreme Court, one must be a citizen by birth, in full possession of legal rights, 35 years of age, and registered as a lawyer. In addition, a candidate must have been one of the following: a judge in a Superior District Tribunal; a prosecuting attorney connected with such a tribunal; a member of the Council of State; a practicing attorney for at least four years; or the Attorney General for at least three years.

The Court may meet in plenary session, or it may subdivide into four judicial chambers. In plenary session, the Court decides on the propriety of legislation vetoed by the President as unconstitutional. It has exclusive jurisdiction over cases in which the constitutionality of laws and decrees is challenged by any citizen, after a hearing before the Attorney General. In plenary session, the court

also hears cases involving the President, Cabinet Ministers, the Attorney General, and justices of the Supreme Court. These persons stand trial before the Supreme Court after impeachment by the House and conviction by the Senate.

The plenary session also inducts the President when Congress is not in session; designates the official entrusted with the presidential office when an unusual vacancy occurs; inducts the President-Designate, Cabinet Ministers, or governors when they take over the presidency under constitutionally appropriate circumstances; and appoints the judges of Superior Tribunals.

The Chamber of Civil Cassation (*Sala de Casación en lo Civil*), made up of six judges, hears appeals in civil cases, including appeals on the facts against a lower court's order denying the right to appeal. The chamber also hears cases in which the applicability in Colombia of civil sentences of foreign courts is at stake.

The Chamber of Penal Cassation (*Sala de Casación en lo Penal*), made up of six judges, has exclusive jurisdiction over appeals for abrogation and review in criminal cases; cases on appeal from Superior District Tribunals, including appeals on the facts against a superior tribunal's order denying the right to appeal; cases involving a decision on the respective jurisdictions of courts (including military) in criminal cases in which conflict arises. It also has exclusive jurisdiction over cases involving questions of official responsibility, violation of the Constitution or of laws or malfeasance in office, in which the accused is a chief of an administrative department, the Comptroller General, a Colombian diplomatic or consular agent, a governor, a judge of a Superior District Tribunal, a commanding general, or the head of a provincial treasury office.

The Chamber of Penal Cassation may try members of Congress for attempts to exercise legislative power through meetings held under conditions other than those stipulated by the Constitution. It also has the power to hear appeals seeking nullification of review of military cases.

The Chamber of General Session (*Sala de Negocios Generales*), has executive jurisdiction over litigation involving diplomatic agents accredited to Colombia in matters stipulated by international law and over cases dealing with maritime or fluvial navigation other than those which merely involve questions of administrative law or matters within the purview of the Commercial Code. It also hears cases arising between two or more departments on matters in which they act in their capacity as corporate bodies—juridical persons in private law. It decides on certain types of citizenship cases and on certain cases involving national lands.

The Chamber of General Session has appellate jurisdiction over cases coming to it from Superior District Tribunals; over cases in-

volving the jurisdiction of certain officials involved in economic affairs; and over such other matters as may by law be assigned to it. It also decides civil cases of conflicts of jurisdiction arising between various tribunals or judges and involving geographical or procedural considerations.

The Chamber of Cassation for Labor Adjudication (*Sala de Casación Laboral*), made up of four judges, is the highest tribunal dealing with labor cases (see ch. 15, *Labor Relations and Organization*).

The administration of the Supreme Court of Justice is handled by a Governing Board (*Sala de Gobierno*). It consists of the presiding judge of each chamber and of the president of the Court.

Superior District Tribunals

The country is divided into 20 judicial districts in each of which there is a Superior District Tribunal (*Tribunal Superior de Distrito Judicial*). They are located in every departmental capital except that of Norte de Santander, where Pamplona rather than Cúcuta is the judicial seat. In addition, there are courts in Buga (*Valle del Cauca*), Pereira (*Caldas*), San Gil (*Santander*), and Santa Rosa de Viterbo (*Boyacá*). These courts are formed into chambers (see table 2).

Table 2. *Superior District Tribunals of Colombia*

Judicial districts	Magistrates			
	Civil	Penal	Labor	Total
Barranquilla	3	3	2	8
Bogotá	10	10	4	24
Bucaramanga	3	6	1	10
Buga	3	3		6
Cali	4	4	2	10
Cartagena	3	3		6
Ibagué	3	6	1	10
Manizales	4	6	2	12
Medellín	8	9	3	20
Montería	3	3		6
Neiva	3	4	1	8
Pamplona	3	4	1	8
Pasto	3	6	1	10
Pereira	3	3		6
Popayán	3	3		6
Quibdó		mixed		4
San Gil	2	4		6
Santa Marta	3	3		6
Santa Rosa de Viterbo	2	2		4
Tunja	3	4	1	8
Total	69	86	19	178

Source: Instituto Colombiano de Opinión Pública, *Factores Colombianos*, 1960, p. 35.

Superior District Tribunals have original jurisdiction in certain cases in which the state or a department is a party as a private law respondent, as well as in cases which involve grades of public officials ranking immediately below those over whom the Supreme Court has jurisdiction, including certain officials of the Church. They also have appellate jurisdiction over cases coming from lower courts. Judges of the Superior District Tribunals are selected by the Supreme Court of Justice and serve for four years.

The parity principle of equal Liberal and Conservative representation is applied. To be eligible for appointment a Colombian must be native-born and 30 years of age or over. In addition, nominees must have served in high judicial or legal office for at least four years or have practiced law or taught law in a public establishment for at least five years.

Lower Courts

In each judicial district a number of superior judges (*Juez Superior de Distrito Judicial*, sing.) preside over courts. They are appointed by the Supreme District Tribunal for two-year terms. Superior judges usually sit in the department capitals, but in some cases hold court in other localities in their district. Most cases come before them on review. They also have important functions as examining magistrates.

Cases coming before superior judges are heard before a jury of three fact-finding judges (*Juez de Hecho*, sing.) who are empaneled from rosters of qualified persons selected by the Superior District Tribunal of the area. They must be citizens of good repute, have at least an average education, and be engaged in a profession or occupation requiring intellectual capabilities.

Circuit judges (*Juez de Circuito*, sing.) function in the 157 circuits into which judicial districts are divided. They are appointed for two-year terms by the Superior District Tribunal of their district, and they have original jurisdiction in all except minor civil and criminal cases.

Below the circuit judges are the municipal judges (*Juez Municipal*, sing.), appointed for two-year terms by Superior District Tribunals. They have jurisdiction over minor cases within an area determined by law.

The Supreme Court, or any Superior District Tribunal, may entrust governors, police officers, and municipal officials with certain judiciary responsibilities.

Other Courts

There are special judges for minors (*Juez de Menores*, sing.) who handle penal cases involving delinquents of less than 18 years of



age. They rank with circuit judges and are assigned to the capital of each department. Labor courts handle cases involving relations between employers and employees (see ch. 15, Labor Relations and Organization). Military courts have jurisdiction over military offenses of members of the armed forces; other cases involving military personnel are handled by the regular courts.

THE PUBLIC MINISTRY

The Public Ministry (Ministerio Público) is entrusted with the prosecution of defendants before the courts. It is headed by the Attorney General. There are prosecutors of various ranks within the Public Ministry who correspond to each level of the court system. Persons in the judicial branch can move professionally from the courts to positions in the Public Ministry and vice versa.

The Attorney General

The Attorney General of the Nation (Procurador General de la Nación) is elected for a four-year term by the House of Representatives. The qualifications for this office are the same as for justices of the Supreme Court. The Attorney General sees to it that all public officers discharge their duties properly and arraigns before the Supreme Court all officials to be tried by the court. He supervises the administration of the Public Ministry and the activities of the subordinate prosecutors.

Subordinate Prosecutors

The prosecutors of Superior District Tribunals are appointed for four-year terms by the President from nominating lists presented by the Attorney General. They must have the same qualifications as judges of Superior District Tribunals. Prosecutors at the level of superior and circuit judges are appointed for three-year terms by prosecutors at the level of Superior District Tribunals. Prosecutors of courts under the jurisdiction of Superior District Tribunal must be natives of the department in which they function or must have held public office there.

THE COUNCIL OF STATE

The Council of State (Consejo de Estado) consists of five Liberals and five Conservatives. They are elected every four years by Congress from nominating lists presented by the President. The Council elects its own president annually.

The Council of State has legislative and advisory functions as well as judicial ones. As an advisory body, it may be consulted by

the President and the Cabinet. The Constitution provides that, in certain situations, such consultation is required when Congress is in recess. For example, if the proclamation of a state of siege was envisaged or if supplemental appropriations for government departments were under consideration, the advice of the Council would be required and would be binding on the executive. The Council may also scrutinize any acts or methods of governmental operation. Cabinet Ministers may attend Council meetings, but they may not vote.

A section of the Council acts as Supreme Administrative Tribunal (Tribunal Supremo de lo Contencioso-administrativo). This tribunal handles cases of administrative law. It may nullify executive decrees. The Council also has supervisory responsibilities connected with new public service reforms.

The Supreme Administrative Tribunal is represented in each department by an Administrative Tribunal, the members of which are appointed by the Council. These departmental tribunals review the acts of municipal councils and departmental assemblies. The Supreme Administrative Tribunal acts as an appellate court for cases coming from the lower administrative tribunals.

INDEPENDENT AGENCIES

Many governmental agencies and corporations have been set up by act of Congress, or by executive decree in pursuance of a congressional act. Their organization varies from agency to agency. Many are governed by mixed boards on which the government, as well as private interests, are represented. The representatives of private interests are often designated by business groups, such as chambers of commerce, or by professional groups, such as engineering societies. The Archbishop Primate also designates representatives to some boards (see ch. 11, Religion). Standardizing reforms, initiated in mid-1960, will restructure the independent agencies into two basic types of organizations—administrative departments and public establishments.

The growth of these agencies has, in part, resulted from the rigidity of the executive branch of the government. When new tasks for government action arise, it is often easier to create a new agency than to broaden the scope of an existing ministry. In addition, the agencies make possible rapid contact—across channels—between the various ministries, whose representatives have seats on the board of the agency, and between ministerial representatives and the representatives of (territorial) departments on the board.

The participation of private groups in such government agencies helps to enhance civic awareness of government programs and activities.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Slightly more than one-half of the national territory is divided into 17 departments. Departments have a limited degree of autonomy which the other territorial units—the national territories (*territorios nacionales*)—lack. National territories are run directly by the government. The government also has direct control over the capital area. Congressional legislation defines the prerogatives of all these units and their relationships with the government.

Departments

Departmental status may be granted to a geographical unit which requests it, provided that its population is at least 250,000, that its annual revenue is at least Col\$500,000 and that its creation—if it involves the dismemberment of another department—will not reduce that department's population or revenue below the constitutional minimum.

Governors of departments are appointed by the President and serve at his pleasure. Gubernatorial appointments are covered by the National Front government's parity rule. Governors need not be natives or, at the time of appointment, residents of their departments. They are responsible to the President through the Minister of Government. They serve indefinitely, but it is customary for them to offer their resignations following every presidential or congressional election.

The Governor has extensive powers. He is the agent of the government in the department and is responsible for law enforcement. He is the spokesman for his department in its relations with the national government. He directs the administration of the department and supervises the staff that he appoints.

He bears to the departmental assembly the same relationship as does the President to Congress. He may veto assembly bills on the grounds of unconstitutionality or inexpediency. He may call the armed forces to his assistance, and, except when contrary orders from the capital provide otherwise, the military commander of the department must obey his directives. To assist him he has a number of secretaries; the principal one is the Secretary of Government (*Secretario de Gobernación*).

In each department, an elected assembly with circumscribed powers functions. It meets for two months each year, in October and November. The members are known as deputies, and their number varies in the several assemblies (see table 3). Qualifications are the

Table 3 Membership of Departmental Assemblies of Colombia

Department	Members	Department	Members
Antioquia.....	40	Cundinamarca.....	42
Atlántico.....	16	Huila.....	16
Bolívar.....	16	Magdalena.....	16
Bolívar.....	22	Nariño.....	16
Caldas.....	28	Norte de Santander.....	16
Cauca.....	16	Santander.....	20
Chocó.....	16	Tolima.....	19
Córdoba.....	16	Valle del Cauca.....	28

Source: Adapted from Instituto Colombiano de Opinión Pública, *Factores Colombianos*, 1960, p. 52.

same as for members of the House of Representatives. The constitutional role of the assemblies is restricted to the enactment of ordinances (*ordenanzas*) for adapting congressional legislation to the needs of the department. Within this framework, assemblies may regulate primary and secondary schools and charitable institutions; regulate and promote industrial development; and regulate the utilization of the natural resources of the department. They vote the departmental budget and may levy certain types of taxes. They also regulate municipalities. Following the pattern of the House of Representatives, assemblies elect a Department Comptroller, who, during his two-year term, administers departmental finances.

National Territories

The national territories are of two kinds, intendencies (*intendencias*) and commissariats (*comisariats especiales*). The organization of the territories resembles that of the departments. The senior official is appointed by the President and bears the title of Intendente or of Comisario Especial. Intendencies have an assembly (Consejo Intendencial) entirely appointed by the President with advisory powers only.

Special District of Bogotá

Bogotá has constituted, since January 1955, a Special District (Distrito Especial) governed by a senior mayor (*alcalde mayor*) and six lesser mayors (*alcalde menor*, sing.) who have responsibility both for the District and the city of Bogotá proper. There are several other municipal units in the District.

Municipal Government

Localities of importance form municipalities (*municipio*, sing.), or municipal districts (*distrito municipal*, sing.) if they include

outlying areas. In order to become either a municipality or a municipal district, an area of settlement must have at least 8,000 inhabitants, of which at least 150 families must be concentrated in a locality having the required facilities and human resources to provide such public services as a school, a hospital, a prison, and an administrative office. In addition, the area must have had an annual average tax income of Col\$6,000, and be able to levy taxes the yield of which will exceed Col\$140,000. There are about 350 such municipal units in the country.

The mayor (*alcalde*) is the municipal executive and the agent of the governor in the municipality. He is appointed by the governor. Municipalities and municipal districts elect a municipal council (*consejo municipal*) every two years. The council may enact local ordinances (*acuerdos*), levy taxes, approve expenditures, and select such municipal officials as the municipal attorney and the municipal treasurer. Municipal councils meet yearly in November.

Within a municipality or a municipal district, there may be administrative subdivisions known as *corregimientos* run by *corregidores* or by police officers appointed by the *alcaldes*.

In sparsely populated areas, *corregimientos* form corporate bodies along the lines of municipal districts. Such autonomous *corregimientos* (*corregimientos autónomos*) lie outside the jurisdiction of any municipal system.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Politically conscious Colombians are in general agreement that reform of the public service is both desirable and necessary. Many feel that before the parity rule was made applicable to government employees, the public service had become more often than not the captive of the party in power. In their view, this was the case whenever the Cabinet was composed of members of a single party and was thus enabled to fill the public service with its adherents and to coerce supporters of the opposing party into supporting it. Colombians assume that those truly loyal to their party will usually place the interests of their party ahead of those of the nation. The periods in which bipartisan administrations have been in power—Lleras Camargo's first administration (1945-46) is a recent example—are held up as models of how a bipartisan public service can benefit the nation.

Partisanship in the public service became more onerous during the Gómez administration (see ch. 2, Historical Setting). The Rojas Pinilla government, which succeeded it in 1953, paid lip service to reformation of the ineffectual code governing the conduct and the tenure of public employees, but failed to carry out its declared intentions. Only after Rojas Pinilla was overthrown

were the spirit and concept of public service substantially altered.

By the Plebiscite of December 1957, it was provided that, in order for the Liberal and Conservative parties to be assured of equal footing in the government, all government jobs should be equally divided between members of both parties. The effect of this parity rule on the public service was mixed. On the one hand, it assured both parties of an equal chance at dispensing patronage and safeguarded those employees who were given positions from dismissal by members of the other party. On the other hand, it forced the removal of many experienced employees who were Conservatives and who were in excess of the Conservative quota and caused their replacement by Liberals who were not always so qualified.

The 1957 plebiscite also produced further prospect of public service reform by placing on Congress the responsibility for enacting new regulation for the public service. In November 1958, Congress passed legislation which established a Commission of Administrative Reform and a National Civil Service Commission. The Commission of Administrative Reform consisted of two members directly responsible to the President and was charged with studying the composition of the executive branch of the government and recommending reforms. The United Nations supplied two experts, one from Ireland and one from Israel, to advise the Commission. The Ministry of Health was selected to serve as a pilot project for reform.

The National Civil Service Commission was entrusted with recommending measures which will insure improvements in the quality of government personnel. Its initial tasks include the restaffing of the Ministry of Health with career employees; present plans call for only two posts in the Ministry to be filled on the basis of political assignment. The National Civil Service Commission is being advised by a Brazilian expert supplied by the United Nations.

As a result of the work of these two commissions, a decree was issued in July 1960 setting up a nonpolitical professional civil service. Permanent civilian employees of the executive branch are to be members of the Civil Service of the Republic. All positions are to be classified, and salary is to be based on classification.

Except for the top officials, who are appointed and for whom the parity principle will continue in force, all government employees are to be considered to be part of the Administrative Career. Entry into the Administrative Career will be on the basis of free oral and written examinations given by the newly constituted National Civil Service Commission. The appointment, promotion, and removal of Administrative Career employees may not be influenced by their

political affiliation. Employees now holding positions included in the Administrative Career framework may be removed from their jobs.

Civil servants may vote, but they may not otherwise participate in party activities. Deductions from employees' salaries for the benefit of political parties may not be made except with the employee's written permission.

An executive decree in early 1960 called for the establishment of a Higher School for Public Administration to train persons for high responsibility in the administration. Like a university, it is to offer courses, as well as to conduct research. Its budget is to come mainly from the budgets of the ministries and departments that will assign their personnel to the school.

CHAPTER 21

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

The major political issue is whether control of the government and the economy will remain in the hands of a relatively small elite which has, by tradition and social circumstances, long been dominant. Most other political issues are more or less intimately connected with this central one.

The leading families, which created the state in the nineteenth century and have since provided leadership in all fields of national life, held sway without challenge until World War I. Since then, a small urban middle class has developed which is politically conscious and eager to improve its own lot and exercise more political power. Its pressure began to be felt in earnest in the 1930's when it forced the oligarchy to agree to give it some role in national policy making and to permit limited social and economic reforms.

The middle class is now continuing its pressure for an increased share of power and for the enactment of thoroughgoing reforms. It is being aided by the gradual growth of its own numbers and by the political pressures exerted by an increasingly articulate urban and rural proletariat (see ch. 3. Social Structure).

Members of the elite have tried to meet the challenge by enforcing for 16 years a political truce between the Liberal and Conservative parties which have had, since their origin in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, a virtual monopoly on partisan affiliation and activity. The embodiment of this truce is the National Front. By a parity system, all appointive and elective government positions are either shared equally by members of the two parties or are occupied by them alternately in successive terms of office.

Nearly all Colombians identify themselves as members of one of the two parties. Partisan feeling is always high, even among those who do not actively participate in political affairs, and affects the private lives of citizens in many ways. In the countryside, entire villages, led by a *cacique* (political boss), may owe loyalty to one or the other party; a member of the opposition party would be harassed if he sought to make his home in such a village. In the cities, party affiliation influences a man's social contacts; even marriage ties may be influenced by political affiliations.

Extreme as it was, partisanship became even more violent in the mid-1940's and, after the Bogotazo (the violent riots which occurred in the capital on April 9, 1948), changed in character from strong polemics to outright civil war fought in the rural areas by guerrilla bands of the two parties, with the armed forces intervening at the order of the Conservatives in power. Between that time and the abatement of the disturbances in 1957, an estimated 250,000 people were killed. The memory of this decade of violence, accompanied as it was by widespread suffering, and of the dictatorships of Laureano Gómez and of Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, gives popular support to the present political truce which, it is widely hoped, will achieve greater stability and prevent recurrence of massive violence.

The two parties are very much alike: neither has fixed or strong principles. The Liberal Party stands for a secular political approach and relatively rapid social and economic change; the Conservative Party strongly supports the Church and is more resistant to change. But internal cohesion is a problem for both parties. Each is an uneasy coalition of factions led by personally ambitious leaders who seek to pursue policies quasi-independently of the "official" party.

Persons are born Liberals or Conservatives and very rarely cross party lines. Dissatisfaction with the party's official position is expressed by switching to one or another faction within the party. The Liberals have internal difficulties with Leftists of pro-Communist or pro-Castro sympathies, the Conservatives with profascists and profalangist elements. Political in-fighting among factions is as bitter as that between parties; each party must constantly strive for a minimum of unity to make possible resistance to the other party. A degree of agreement among faction leaders holds each party together. Principles and policies play virtually no role in producing cooperation or agreement; political expediency dictated the formation of the National Front.

Under the National Front government some reforms are taking place, and others are being planned. Political leaders do not agree about their purpose. Most want them to strengthen the dominance of the few by further broadening public support to include lower social groups. Others want to create a new political, social, and economic system, carrying out a social revolution in a country which has changed little over the last century. Some believe that a thoroughgoing social revolution effected now might stave off a violent upheaval later; they point to the inroads in Latin America of communism and of Fidelismo—the revolutionary ideology of Cuba's Fidel Castro.

An attempt is being made to improve government efficiency despite pressures resulting from partisan turmoil. The executive is being

strengthened, and steps are being taken to insulate public employees from party politics in order to increase the government's ability to execute bipartisan policies decided upon in the Congress and the Cabinet. A divorce of partisan politics from government might prevent the party in power from trying to destroy the opposition; it might put an end to the present artificial bipartisanship; and it might increase public confidence and achieve a greater participation of the people in politics in general support of the present system.

More people voted in the 1957 plebiscite than ever before, partly because women were given the franchise in that year. In the two elections held since then, the number of voters remained high. School enrollment and literacy increased. Information media reached and influenced more people. The years of violence had the effect of thrusting politics into the rural areas and the *exguerrillas* of the interparty war now have great interest in party affairs. The effect in the long run may be to identify the governmental policies less with the few now in power than with the interests of several classes.

A number of measures are being considered to bring about an increase in, and some redistribution of, the national wealth. The government is seeking to develop the economy by a combination of domestic effort and a foreign technical and financial assistance program (see ch. 26, Character and Structure of the Economy). Various welfare and health schemes have been put into effect. Some land reform measures have been adopted. In the areas still affected by partisan banditry, special teams of officials foster community development in order to remove some local causes of unrest and thus to reestablish civic peace.

In the fall of 1960 an agrarian reform program was drafted by a special commission appointed by the President and then made public. Agrarian reform has great economic, social, and political meaning in such a predominantly agricultural country, but opposition arising from factional disputes in Congress within both parties blocked enactment of the program.

The cumulative effect of all proposed political and social reforms would be further growth of the middle class which would gain in power and prestige. Many of the tenant farmers, who form a majority of the land workers, would become members of a stable class working its own land. The reforms would hasten the gradual lowering of the social barriers which divide the upper class from the rest of the population, largely along ethnic lines (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups; ch. 6, Social Structure). By blurring present sharp social divisions, they would probably reduce the number of those who feel alien to the country's formal institutions.

POLITICAL FORCES

The Upper Class

Real political power is largely in the hands of an oligarchy recruited from a small group of widely extended families which are part of the white segment of the population (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups). Some families claim descent from the Spanish nobility; all are conscious of their Spanish or other European background. They see their own role in the country as that of an aristocracy of blood, wealth, culture, and talents. Most of these families have exercised leadership in the country for generations, and national affairs at the highest level are still largely in their hands.

Whatever changes take place in national institutions occur at their instigation or at least require their ratification and backing. Through ownership of land and cattle and through control of industry and commerce, they effectively rule the economy. They are well educated. They provide nearly all administrators at the upper levels of government, judges and other judicial officials, the planners of economic development, and the faculties of the universities.

The monopoly of power, once completely in the hands of the upper class, has been somewhat modified, particularly since the 1930's, under pressure from the increasingly important middle class. Power, in effect, has become somewhat more diffuse. The upper class remains, however, for within the power-holding group it retains a veto over middle-class aspirations.

The sharing of some measure of power by the elite with the middle class has changed its methods of operation. National policy used to be made within the social circle of the leading families, then translated into governmental action through members of the oligarchy holding governmental positions. Now policy is increasingly formulated within political associations in which representatives of both the elite and the middle class thrash out issues as they arise and hammer out together a compromise acceptable to both groups.

Such associations may be formal, such as Asociación Nacional de Industriales—ANDI (National Association of Industrialists), or the Sociedad Económica de los Amigos del País (Economic Association of the Friends of the Country), a planning group with close contacts within the government, or the Federación Nacional de Cafeteros (National Coffee Growers' Federation). They may be government commissions entrusted with the study of a special problem; on these bodies the Church and labor unions may be represented. Or they may be nonpolitical in the formal sense, such as the Jockey Club in Bogotá, the prominent social club to which most important persons belong. These associations, directly or indirectly, transmit their consensus to government.

Basically the upper class is opposed to change. If change has become necessary and politically expedient—and most of the elite's leadership now think it has—they want to be the ones to determine its rate, decide on its scope, set its character, and remain in control of the new Colombia that is to emerge.

The Middle Class

The members of the growing middle class are newcomers to the social and political scene. The class is composed at the top of the less wealthy whites who have lost touch with the upper-class families, although, in some cases, they may be remotely related to them. Others are *mestizos* (persons of mixed white and Indian blood)—probably a rapidly increasing percentage of the middle class (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups). Economic growth is raising more people from the lower classes into the middle class, most of which is concentrated in the largest urban centers.

The middle class is a product of economic changes in the last forty years. Its members are in technical and white-collar positions in government, industry, and commerce. Few top positions, even in politics, are open to them, but their power is on the rise as a result of continued economic growth which is increasing professional and white-collar employment opportunities.

The middle class wants the reestablishment of civic peace and sees substantial reform as the best means of preventing the development of revolutionary situations. And it knows that, more than any other group, it stands to gain power from such reforms, and therefore it backs reform because of the real benefits to be gained from it for itself as well as for the nation.

The Church

The Roman Catholic Church plays an immense role in national affairs. Although the Church is represented on several government boards, no member of the clergy serves, for example, in the Congress.

The hierarchy is nearly entirely composed of men of upper- or middle-class antecedents. Formerly closely linked with the Conservative Party, the Church appears to have moved away from this position during the dictatorships of Laureano Gómez and Rojas Pinilla. It now seeks to be nonpartisan while working with government in endeavors of common interest.

The Church has participated energetically in the general effort to rebuild the country and to undo the effect of the Rojas Pinilla regime. It is active in rural reconstruction through its "Cultural Popular Action" movement, which is supported financially by the government to the extent of 30 percent. Through this movement,

it is engaged in rural educational and rehabilitation work which parallels the similar efforts of government to combat communism and rural social disorganization. The Church also influences the working class through the Unión de Trabajadores de Colombia—UTC (Colombian Workers' Union) which is Church-oriented (see ch. 15, Labor Relations and Organization).

The Church is most concerned with maintaining the country's predominant Catholicism, especially by influencing government to discourage, if not prohibit, Protestant missionary activity (see ch. 11, Religion).

The Armed Forces

The armed forces include the army, navy, air force, and the national police. The army sets the tone for the navy and air force in its influence on the general political behavior of the armed forces. In this century at least, a tradition of noninvolvement of the armed forces in the determination of the country's political destiny has developed. The police are relatively independent of the other three military services and more politically involved.

The officer corps of the four services is largely drawn from the higher rungs of the middle class and tends to be middle class in outlook. Fewer members of the leading families enter the military careers now than two or three generations ago.

Conservative Presidents Mariano Ospina Pérez (1946–50) and Laureano Gómez (1950–53) used the armed forces to fight the Liberal Party. Lieutenant General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla went even farther, but the peaceful and legal transfer of power in 1958 from the military junta which ousted Rojas Pinilla to the elected civilian government of Alberto Lleras Camargo largely restored the non-partisan character of the armed forces. The military forces are now used by the government to combat residual partisan warfare and banditry in the rural areas.

The police were nonpartisan in character until Ospina Pérez converted them, at least in the rural areas of the country, into a partisan force actively employed to harass Liberals. Under Rojas Pinilla, police brutality against opponents of the regime increased. Only after the ouster of the dictator did the police return to their earlier nonpolitical role.

The Lower Class

The members of the lower class are nonwhite, economically depressed, and poorly educated, if not illiterate. Most live in the country as tenant farmers or as subsistence farmers tilling their own small plots. Some, in the urban centers, form a proletariat; many are unemployed or underemployed. The urban proletariat was augmented in the 1950's by refugees from partisan violence in the rural

areas. Until a generation and a half ago, members of the lower class did not vote, knew little about government and the political issues of the day, and did not take part in party activities.

The lower class, both rural and urban, began to exert political pressure in the 1920's when expanding markets and foreign investments produced an economic quickening. The labor force grew. The communications system reached out into the interior to make possible the rapid dissemination of news to outlying areas for the first time. Prosperity was brief and was followed by the world-wide depression of the late 1920's and early 1930's. Both boom and depression provided issues which have involved the lower class and the labor unions, many of whose leaders drew their inspiration from communism.

The leadership of the lower class came largely from the elite and the small middle class. A number of these leaders, men like Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, Gabriel Turbay, and Germán Arciniegas, later attained national stature, although only Gaitán remained a spokesman for the lower class after becoming a national figure. The degree of loyalty he commanded is reflected in the explosion of the Bogotazo which was sparked by his assassination.

The lower class suffered more than any other in the period of acute violence of the 1950's. The countryside was ravaged by guerrilla fighting in which bands belonging to the Liberal and the Conservative parties fought one another, while elements of the armed forces participated on the Conservative side. Rural life was disrupted, villages were sacked, crops burned, and gruesome atrocities committed. Wide areas were depopulated when refugees flocked to the larger towns and cities, where most of them remained.

On the positive side, the years of violence focused attention on the plight of the lower class. Its tragic situation, depressed economic condition, and cultural and educational backwardness were fully revealed. The blood bath also helped to bring the lower class into the political spotlight; many upper-class Colombians began to believe that the lower class was the key to the stability or instability of the country.

The lower class still lacks national leaders of its own, but is developing popular leaders. In many places, exguerrilla leaders retain local influence and, in the role of *caciques*, make their views heard at the municipal and even at the departmental level.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Party division began to develop fully in the 1830's. Both the Liberal and the Conservative parties appeared as such in 1848 when they took positions, respectively against and for the government of

President Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera (see ch. 2, Historical Setting). The modern phase of the political history of the country began in the 1920's.

The Conservative Party gave the country the 1886 Constitution, still in force with several amendments (see ch. 19, The Constitutional System). Although the Constitution provides for formal separation of State and Church, a Concordat with the Holy See established a close working relationship with the Catholic hierarchy (see ch. 11, Religion). The Constitution was amended by the Liberals to give the government power to deal with economic affairs which, when the Liberals came to power in 1930, were in turmoil.

Attempts by the more radical elements of the Liberal party to effect a social revolution were obstructed by moderate Liberals and Conservatives alike. Very little actual reform took place under the several Liberal governments, but the experience with Liberal rule made the Conservatives, especially the more extreme Conservatives, determined to prevent any degree of social revolution when they were returned to power in 1946.

The Liberal Party: 1930 to 1946

The Liberal Party was out of office from 1886 to 1930. It twice attempted to overthrow Conservative rule by force of arms, rebelling in 1895 and from 1899 to mid-1903. In 1930 the first of a series of Liberal Presidents was elected with the support of some dissident Conservatives.

The administration of Alfonso López Pumarejo, elected in 1934, gave the Liberals the opportunity to rewrite some sections of the Constitution (see ch. 19, The Constitutional System). The changes limited the Church's prerogatives, granted important rights to labor, and gave the government the power to intervene in private business enterprises. They had little practical effect except to cause tension within the Liberal Party between the followers of López and his moderate opponents. A split was temporarily averted and the moderate liberal, Eduardo Santos, was elected to succeed López in 1938.

In 1942 two Liberal candidates ran for the Presidency. Moderate Carlos Arango Vélez lost to Alfonso López despite some Conservative support. López' second term was marked by greater moderation, but Conservative extremists led by Laureano Gómez, openly talked of rebelling against the government. A coup by an army officer was attempted but failed. López was blamed for recognizing the Soviet Union (in 1935), thus permitting its agents to engage in propaganda. Conservatives pointed to a number of Liberal intellectuals actively engaged in pro-Soviet activities.

López resigned in July 1945, explaining that he wished to restore national harmony. To serve out the remainder of his term, Congress

elected Alberto Lleras Camargo, a moderate Liberal who was able to gain the confidence of at least some Conservatives. He urged a coalition with the Conservatives to stop the drift toward civil war. Three moderate Conservatives served in his cabinet.

Although he was successful in pulling the country together, Lleras Camargo did not succeed in mending the break within his party. In the 1946 elections, the moderate Liberals ran Gabriel Turbay, a political follower of Eduardo Santos, while the Leftist Liberals supported Gaitán. The campaign was bitter; the two Liberal factions fought each other rather than trying to defeat the Conservative candidate. Turbay outstripped Gaitán by over 70,000, but both lost to Ospina Pérez who won the election by obtaining only 42 percent of the 1,370,000 votes cast.

The Conservatives: 1946 to 1953

As the first Conservative President since 1930, Mariano Ospina Pérez began cautiously. He was elected on a platform of National Union, promising to adopt the quasi-bipartisan approach of Lleras Camargo. He appointed five Liberals to his Cabinet and stated that there would be no political reprisals or discrimination. But his policy changed, particularly after Laureano Gómez, extremist clericalist and conservative, was brought into the Cabinet as foreign minister.

Political partisanship increased. The police and the armed forces became political. The Liberals armed themselves with weapons brought in from Venezuela. Riots and bloodshed occurred in many places. Refugees from the countryside began flocking to the capital. The political climate grew worse when the Liberal ministers withdrew from the coalition in March 1948. At the same time, the economic situation deteriorated and the price index rose sharply month after month.

Gaitán was assassinated April 9, 1948, and in the Bogotazo the lower class gave vent to its fury. The rioting caused the country over \$500 million in material losses, which further aggravated economic conditions (see ch. 2, Historical Setting).

Ospina Pérez refused the Liberals' demand that he resign, but a compromise was worked out whereby a new coalition government was formed with two key positions going to the Liberals. The government took the position that the Bogotazo had been merely a very serious riot showing the need for stern measures to prevent the recurrence of civil disorder; it saw no need for reforms. Police measures failed, and violence in the rural areas increased to civil war proportions, which in turn exacerbated party feelings in the capital. Ospina Pérez removed all Liberal provincial governors in April 1949, and in May the coalition government broke up.

The Liberal Party obtained a congressional majority in the June 1949 elections, and the new Congress, confident of demonstrating Ospina's loss of a mandate, passed a law to move up the date of the next presidential elections from June 1950 to November 1949. Ospina vetoed the measure, sending it to the Supreme Court of Justice for a ruling on its constitutionality. The Court upheld Congress' action.

Even before the Court announced its views, Laureano Gómez returned from an extended stay in Spain to enter the presidential race. He immediately added fuel to the flames by his bitter attacks on the Liberals. His supporters in Congress, led by his son, Alvaro Gómez Hurtado, blocked debates by harassing Liberal speakers. On September 8, 1949, Conservatives fired on Liberals in the House of Representatives, killing one Liberal, mortally wounding another, and injuring several more.

Ospina's government increased its anti-Liberal pressures as the elections drew near. In the countryside, the peasants were forced at gunpoint to forswear allegiance to the Liberal Party and were thereupon given safe-conduct passes which were to be guarantees against molestation by Conservative strong-arm squads. Attempts to involve the Church in these moves were resisted by the hierarchy, which issued a pastoral letter forbidding priests to act as witnesses in these forswearings.

When the Congress informed Ospina that impeachment proceedings against him were to be initiated, he dissolved Congress and declared a state of siege on November 9, 1949. This emergency measure provided for dissolution of all departmental assemblies and municipal councils, the granting of emergency powers to departmental governors, and the censorship of press and radio. The Supreme Court of Justice's voting procedure were changed to require decisions by a three-fourths majority, thus enabling the minority of Conservative judges to control the Court. Ospina also packed the Council of State and replaced the Comptroller General with an appointee of his own. Finally, the Liberal Party was forbidden to hold public meetings.

Faced with this Conservative assault, the Liberals withdrew their candidate, and boycotted the November 27 election. Laureano Gómez was elected President, taking office in August 1950.

By the action of Ospina, the whole character of the government had become largely authoritarian. Gómez, whose political ideas at the time reflected both Italian fascist concepts of the corporate state and Spanish falangist emphasis on close ties between the Church and the state, completed the process. He was intent upon permanently changing the character of the political system.

Gómez appointed as his Minister of War Roberto Urdaneta Arbeláez—like Gómez a partisan of falangism. Urdaneta pursued the policy, initiated by Ospina Pérez, of purging Liberals from the armed forces and the police and using them to fight the opposition party. The fighting spread from the Llanos Orientales, where it had begun, to nearly all the rural areas. In some places, where Protestant missions had been active, it took on a religious coloration and Protestants were singled out for violent treatment.

Gómez pursued economic policies designed to rebuilding the economy along falangist and corporate lines. His plans, based partially upon the report of a survey mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, stressed heavy industry. Rapid economic growth was partially induced through forced loans, and capital formation reached an all-time high in 1953. Inflation stimulated speculative investment and benefited the small investing class but reducing the purchasing power of the masses.

Gómez moved to strip labor of the advances it had made under the Liberals. The law which prevented the formation of company unions was repealed, and company unions were formed while earlier labor unions were subjected to crippling controls. The UTC, a labor union sponsored by the government and the Church, was formed. It is one of the few institutions surviving from the Gómez regime (see ch. 15, Labor Relations and Organization).

Late in 1951, a heart attack forced Gómez to retire from active political life for a time. At his instigation, Urdaneta Arbeláez was named Acting President; Gómez, however, when partially recovered, resumed direction of affairs from behind the scenes. The appointment, as well as the high-handed manner in which it was made, caused resentment in the Conservative leadership. A politician from Caldas, Gilberto Alzate Avendaño, seized upon Gómez' cooperation with the United States and the sending of Colombian troops to Korea as providing opportunities to challenge him (see ch. 23, Foreign Policies). At the same time, Ospina Pérez gained support as a possible successor to Gómez. Ospina himself became the spokesman for those Conservatives who opposed Gómez' plans for a total revision of the Constitution.

Neither Alzate's nor Ospina's opposition deterred Gómez, and, instead of seeking to heal the break in the ranks of his party, he became more determined to entrench himself in face of mounting opposition. The Commission on Constitutional Studies, which he appointed, was guided by corporatist ideas which he outlined in January 1953. The structure and powers of governing bodies were to be reformed in corporate style, leaving the President free of any responsibility to the legislature, which was to lose all powers of impeachment and of the purse. The judiciary was to be elected by the

leaders of the legal profession. Departments and municipalities would lose all legislative autonomy. A Gómez-appointed Constituent Assembly was to be called to place its stamp of approval on the reforms.

In April 1953, in open defiance of Gómez, Ospina officially announced himself as a presidential candidate. Gómez retaliated, muzzling Ospina by invoking a law against political campaigning which the latter had enacted against Liberals. The downfall of Gómez came through an incident involving an apparently Gómez-inspired plot on the life of the commanding general of the armed forces, Lieutenant-General Rojas Pinilla. The incident isolated Gómez and Urdaneta from Gómez' previous supporters. It precipitated a crisis which forced Gómez to return as President. That night the army moved. Under orders from Rojas Pinilla, tanks surrounded Gómez' residence. The veteran politician was forced into exile, and Rojas Pinilla declared himself head of a provisional government on June 13, 1953.

Government of the Armed Forces

Rojas Pinilla's coup was greeted with relief by nearly everyone in the country. Gómez's clerical authoritarianism had offended many, including most of the Conservatives, and his inability, and that of Urdaneta Arbeláez, to control the violence made all classes in the country ready to accept a radical change in regime. Even the Gómez-appointed Constituent Assembly expressed its confidence in Rojas and his "Government of the Armed Forces" and legalized his coup by designating him constitutional President to serve out the remainder of Gómez' term. Rojas' cabinet was predominantly civilian; only three army officers were given posts.

During his first year in office, Rojas sought to preserve the popularity of his regime. He eased press censorship, but lifted it entirely only with respect to foreign correspondents. He maintained the state of siege but freed political prisoners. Rojas himself was identified as a Conservative, and his Cabinet was made up of moderate Conservatives—Ospina followers—but political freedom was restored, and the Liberals could proceed to rebuild their party organization. The political mood of the country relaxed, and large numbers of partisans returned home. Violence continued, now mainly the product of the activities of bandits and of smaller numbers of hard-core partisan irreconcilables, among whom Communists formed a greater proportion than before.

In August 1954 the Constituent Assembly—Rojas has added 38 to its 61 Gómez-appointed members—postponed presidential elections and designated Rojas as the incumbent for the 1954-58 term.

Gradually Rojas developed a program designed both to shore up his government and to get support from below. Its chief architect was Lucío Pabón Nuñez, a Gómez Cabinet minister whom Rojas retained first as Minister of War, then as Minister of Government. The program envisaged the weakening of the traditional position of the oligarchy and the relative improvement of the conditions of the masses.

The Colombian Confederation of Workers (Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia—CTC) was chartered as a means of rallying labor in his support. It proclaimed its aim as social justice. It had organizational ties with the Asociación de Trabajadores de la América Latina—ATLAS (Workers' Association of Latin America) founded by Argentina's dictator, Juan Perón. Rojas also set up the Secretaría Nacional de Asistencia Social—SENDAS (National Secretariat of Social Assistance)—at the head of which he appointed his daughter, María Eugenia Rojas de Morena. Critics pointed to the similarity between SENDAS and the Perón-sponsored Eva Perón Foundation headed by Perón's wife. Prime recipients of SENDAS aid were refugees from rural areas affected by violence. SENDAS also participated in some rural development projects.

Rojas' policies also called for the initiation of several major economic projects, including a \$10 million housing project for workers in Bogotá and the organization of the Cauca Valley Authority. He provided many expensive amenities for the armed forces which had made possible his rise to office.

Rojas fought a running battle with the press which had become critical of him. The first skirmish was the closing of *El Tiempo*, Bogotá's leading newspaper, in August 1955. Such action drew domestic and foreign attention to the dictatorial nature of his government. Through Pabón Nuñez, Rojas moved toward the formation of a government-controlled political mass organization which would cut off lower-class support from the two traditional parties and insure his continuation in office. An ATLAS-linked Movimiento de Acción Nacional collapsed some months after the fall of Perón in September 1955.

Its successor, the Grán Central Obrera (Great Labor Center), probably inspired by Pabón, was inaugurated with pretentious ceremony in June 1956 as part of the "Government of the People-Armed Forces." Its motto was "Motherland is above Parties." A few weeks later, Rojas recognized and officially adopted the Grán Central Obrera over the outspoken disapproval of the Church and the UTC and the lack of enthusiasm of the army.

To counteract mounting criticism, Rojas assumed the title of Jefe Supremo (Supreme Chief), had pictures of himself placed in all government offices, and had the army place busts of him in town

and village squares. A propaganda office, DINAPE, was established to glorify him. At the same time, the opposition was stimulated by reports revealing that he was enriching himself and his family by the acceptance of gifts, by graft, and by the use of his influence and power to obtain cattle, land, and other assets. The effect of such reports was strengthened by the disclosure at the same time that the cost of living in Colombia was suffering a marked rise because of the drop in world coffee prices in 1955 and 1956.

A critical turn in his fortunes came with the disaffection of the armed forces. The officer corps, which had backed him as long as he sought to be the arbiter between the two parties, drew away from him when he sought to become a political leader himself. The armed forces were deeply involved in the suppression of violence which, after the brief lull in 1953, had broken out again in full force. They decried Rojas' failure to stop the fighting, feeling strongly that his immersion in politics increased political tensions.

In August 1956, a catastrophic accidental explosion of dynamite on six army trucks occurred in Cali, killing over 1,000 persons. It was blamed by Rojas on his opponents. The accusation drew the anger of the military, who knew it to be untrue. At first demanding that he resign, they soon forced him to make concessions to their point of view. He promised not to maintain himself in office, reorganized his Cabinet, called into session the Constituent Assembly which had not met since 1954, and relaxed his press censorship.

When the Constituent Assembly met, Rojas demanded that it revise the Constitution along the lines proposed by Gómez. He also asked the right to add an additional 25 members to the Assembly; his purpose was to obtain Assembly ratification of a further delay in elections. He declared himself to be a Conservative, and Pabón Nuñez assumed the role of leader of the progovernment faction of the Conservative party.

The Assembly voted the 25 additional members, but disbanded when Ospina Pérez, President of the Assembly, resigned in protest. In February 1957, the President forced Minister of War, General Gabriel Paris, to make a public announcement that the armed forces supported his continuation in office, and then announced that "the people must be protected from political oligarchs who wish only to hurt and to hurl them into barbarism."

As a result of negotiations between Liberals and Conservatives, Guillermo-Léon Valencia, former Laureanista (follower of Laureano Gómez, who had turned moderate Conservative, announced himself as a candidate for the 1958-62 presidential term. He was backed by all party leaders and endorsed by the Church. Rojas, seeking to block Valencia and to push through his own reelection, sent the Assembly his program for constitutional reform and the proposal for

his own continuance in office. The Assembly never had an opportunity to act on constitutional reform.

On May 1 Rojas sought to have Valencia arrested. When Valencia resisted arrest by barricading himself in a friend's house in Cali, the army half-heartedly besieged him. Rioting broke out, spearheaded by students, and within three days spread to the capital. Soon a general strike broke out, in which employers as well as employees participated. The President managed to get the Constituent Assembly to approve the proposal for his continuation in office, but the Armed Forces, acting on their own behalf as well as that of the Civil Front (the precursor of the subsequent National Front), demanded his resignation. Rojas designated a junta of five officers to assume the executive power and left for exile in Spain on May 10.

The National Front

For the second time in five years, the armed forces had intervened to interpose themselves between the government and the people. The action of the military junta of 1957 differed, however, from that of Rojas Pinilla in 1953. Unlike Rojas, the junta acted knowing that an alternate—civil—political group was ready to take over as soon as the junta relinquished peacefully the reins of power which it had seized by force. The emergence of this civilian group came about through the use of the principle of *convivencia* (co-existence). This was not a novel political device, but one for which there existed some precedent. In the past, when the normal interplay of parties got out of hand and the constitutional process broke down, the two parties frequently tried to find a way to *convivencia* which implied the sharing of power. However, at most, *convivencia* had involved a degree of expedient, although amicable, cooperation among rival political leaders.

The early period of Rojas Pinilla's regime was viewed by party leaders as the means of achieving such negotiations. The first move came from the Liberals on the initiative of ex-President Alfonso López. Their program called for support of the Rojas Pinilla government, and, with the help of the government, interparty negotiations leading toward *convivencia* and participation of members of both parties in the Constituent Assembly. Rojas promised his support, and in June 1954, the first interparty negotiations since 1951 took place. The Liberal program formed the basis of the agreement reached.

Rojas Pinilla, however, worked behind the scenes to sabotage the development of a bipartisan working arrangement. He played on the ambitions of the Ospinistas, whose leader hoped to regain power and the presidency by working with and through the government. In return for encouraging Ospina Pérez' ambitions, Rojas obtained

his support in the Constituent Assembly, including backing for Rojas' re-election for the 1954-58 term.

The Liberals went into opposition. They were ordered by their National Directorate to boycott sessions of the Constituent Assembly and to refuse to accept appointment to official posts. Negotiations seeking *convivencia* broke down, although the Liberals, guided by Alfonso López, continued to advocate a return to a negotiated inter-party agreement.

Talks were not resumed until 1956. Disillusionment with Rojas was widespread. Ospina Pérez still sought Conservative control of the government, but Valencia had joined Rojas' adversaries and advocated a bipartisan coalition against the government. The Liberal Party, now led by Alberto Lleras Camargo, openly came out against the Dictator whose policies were increasingly alienating the leaders of the parties.

Lleras Camargo began his fight for *convivencia* by reaching an agreement with Laureano Gómez in Benidorm, Spain, in July 1956. The two ex-Presidents—one the spokesman for the Liberal Party and the other the exiled head of an extreme Conservative faction—called for civil and active resistance to Rojas, a return to juridical normality, and the removal of the armed forces from politics. This was the birth of the Civil Front, now called the National Front. Thereafter, in a series of talks culminating in agreements, Lleras hammered out further details of the Civil Front program with the Ospinistas and the Valencistas, who remained at loggerheads over their respective attitudes toward Rojas' regime until September 1956 when the Ospinista faction's directorate broke with the Dictator. Sufficient unity was then achieved by Liberals, Ospinistas, and Valencistas to permit the designation of Valencia as the Civil Front's candidate. After the disorders of May 1957, this unity was recognized as decisive by the officers of the armed forces who ejected Rojas in the name of the Civil Front and by the junta that took his place.

The Sitges Agreement

The junta, consisting of Major Generals Gabriel Paris and Deogracias Fonseca, Rear Admiral Rubén Piedrahita, and Brigadier Generals Rafael Navas Pardo and Luis E. Ordoñez, was an interim regime. The Civil Front, now renamed National Front, worked closely with the junta. It was still necessary, however, to consolidate the Front by spelling out its aims and by reaching a general agreement in order to coordinate the understandings between the Liberals and Gómez on the one hand, and the Liberals, Ospinistas, and Valencistas, on the other.

Another agreement was reached by Lleras and Gómez at Sitges (Spain) on July 20, 1957, defining in greater detail the joint plat-

form of the Front. It called for equal representation of the two parties in all representative bodies, in the Cabinet, and in the civil administration. It also called for proportional allocation of each party's quota among the factions of the party in legislatures and in the cabinet. It provided, that, in Congress, decisions should be made on the basis of an absolute majority. It also stipulated that the arrangement should remain in force for three presidential terms, that is, for three four-year periods after the 1958 elections. Finally, it specified that a plebiscite should formally ratify the agreement.

Continued partisan strife among the Conservatives presented the Liberals with a dilemma. They were united and the Conservatives were not. Lleras was forced into the role of arbiter between Conservative factions, since he could, if he wished, choose the principal Conservative spokesman. He resolved the difficulty by successfully proposing that congressional elections be held before, rather than together with, presidential elections. This would enable the electorate to designate the dominant faction of the Conservative Party.

On December 1, 1957, the electorate ratified the Sitges Agreement program, which had in the meantime been changed to require passage of all legislation in Congress and lesser legislative bodies by the vote of a two-thirds majority. The plebiscite also supported the principle of civil service reform, the granting of political equality to women, and the allocation, beginning with January 1958, of not less than 10 percent of the national budget to public education. Most of these provisions were formally incorporated into the Constitution by subsequent legislative enactments. The others are simply assumed to be part of the Constitution.

Congressional elections were held in March 1958. The Liberals received nearly 60 percent of the popular votes. Among the Conservatives, the Laureanistas received more than 60 percent of the popular votes cast for that party. Valencia withdrew, but the Conservatives were unable to agree on a Laureanista candidate. In a compromise suggested by Gómez, Lleras became the National Front candidate and, in return, the Conservatives obtained agreement that coalition government would prevail until 1974. The presidential terms were to alternate between the two parties over a sixteen-year period, thus giving each party two terms, and allowing the Conservatives to serve last. A coup to forestall the elections was attempted by a handful of officers and men in the capital area on May 2, but it was quickly put down. In the presidential elections, Lleras won by an overwhelming margin, defeating Jorge Leyva, right-wing Conservative extremist who opposed the National Front.

Government by Convivencia

From the time the National Front government took office, the question of its survival has been the dominant issue in politics.

Officially nearly everyone favors it. Except for brief flare-ups, violence has remained well below what it was before 1957. There is a general feeling that the government of Lleras Camargo has done much to restore democracy, boost the rate of economic development, and give the people of all walks of life a greater stake in their country. *Convivencia* is viewed as a necessary means of achieving public calm, and most of the public support the view that it should be retained for the period agreed upon—until 1974.

Many political leaders, on the other hand, basically feel themselves in the long run adversely affected by the National Front. With the membership of all elective bodies apportioned 50-50 among Liberals and Conservatives, and the presidency alternating between the parties, the traditional stakes of the political game have been removed. With the coming removal from politics of the public service, patronage will wither away.

Although most political leaders support the National Front, or at least the principle of *convivencia*, with their words, they undermine its existence by their actions. Most admit that the country has benefited from it, but the manner in which Lleras Camargo practices the principle of the Front often comes in for heavy criticism. In criticizing the government, politicians benefit from the sympathies of those citizens who feel their own expectations of the Front to have been unrealized.

This disappointment appears to be increasing. The government is doing much for the rural population, but an immense job remains to be done. Violence and the threat of violence have not yet been eliminated and cast a continuing pall over the countryside. The gory details of each act of murder and rapine, given prominence in the press of both parties, serve as daily reminders of political instability. The continuation of the state of siege is the constitutional and effective admission that normal conditions have not yet returned to certain areas.

For the middle class, a persistent general rise in the cost of living, continuing problems of urban housing, and an unspectacular rise in economic opportunities have done much to dispel the earlier sense of relief with the end of the Rojas Pinilla regime, which had become as much a threat to them as it had to the upper class. A wave of strikes in late 1960—notably that of the bank clerks—indicated the development of dissatisfaction. As for the upper class, there appears to be a division between supporters of the National Front and those who believe it to endanger their vested interests unnecessarily.

The Congressional elections of March 1960 complicated the working of the Front because they revealed a shift in the balance of power within the Conservative Party. Until the elections, only Laureanistas occupied cabinet posts; afterward Gómez, although

offered seats for his faction in proportion to its electoral strength, refused to permit his supporters to accept any posts and chose to remain in the opposition (November 1960). The Conservative Cabinet posts were taken over entirely by the Ospinistas and Alzatiistas, the winning Conservative faction. This faction had earlier attacked Lleras and Gómez for the *tenaza* (literally, lobster claw), their term for the alleged monopoly of power and patronage wielded by the Liberals and the Laureanistas, which to them constituted a breach of the spirit of *convivencia*. After their electoral victory they became full supporters of the Front government. It is now the Laureanistas who accuse the Liberals of trying to rule the country with the connivance of an "unrepresentative" faction of the Conservative Party.

Even before the conflicts over the 1960 congressional elections had died down, the coming of the presidential elections in 1962 began to dominate the political scene and the thoughts and actions of politicians. Parity requires that a Conservative President shall take office that year, but it is not clear just how he should be chosen. The question which now arises is whether Liberals are to participate in his selection and thus have an opportunity to assist in selecting one of several possible Conservative candidates. Factionalism among Conservatives might lead to a deadlock out of which a compromise Liberal President could emerge, leading to a breakdown or modification of the Sitges Agreement on alternation. Lleras Camargo himself is ineligible to become a candidate under present constitutional law, but the repeal of this provision is a possibility. In the context of alternation, this constitutional limitation increases partisan feeling by making it impossible for a proven bipartisan figure to serve a second term.

Meantime, many politicians with presidential ambitions seek as much publicity for themselves as possible. They make accusations against each other and against the government. In Congress, the ambitious of all factions support or oppose measures, not on the merits of legislation but because they wish to provide a basis for claiming credit—or preventing an opponent from taking credit—for acts with wide appeal. An example of legislation which has been fought on this basis is the amendment to Article 121 of the Constitution, redefining the powers of the President to declare a state of siege. It was first formulated by the Liberal-Laureanista Congress in 1959 when the Ospinistas, then a minority, voted against it.

In 1960 the Ospinistas, by then a majority, opposed it again, not for its provisions but ostensibly because of its wording. The measure finally passed by a narrow margin. The Lopistas of the Liberal Party voted against it too in order to stress their opposition to the National Front.

Similarly, the Agrarian Reform Law became stalled in Congress in the fall of 1960. Carlos Lleras Restrepo of the Liberals championed it and hoped thereby to boost his potential presidential prospects for 1962 or 1966. Those who blocked the measure did not, for the most part, oppose the principle of at least some reform in this crucial field, but they did not want to lend their support to a program supported by Lleras Restrepo. Alfonso López Michelsen and his faction, for instance, blocked the measure because they did not want Lleras Restrepo to gain credit for it, since they wish to appear to the public as the only group having solutions for the country's economic and social ills.

The opposition makes full use of the traditional methods of political harassment—speeches in and outside of Congress, fulminations in the party press, street-corner meetings, and political assemblies (see ch. 12, Public Information; ch. 25, Propaganda). Opposition attacks on the government have tended to be directed mainly at that faction of the same party which is in the government. Lleras Camarga has generally been spared from attack because he is removed in some degree from the internal politics of the Liberal Party and because he has great prestige. He is the closest thing to a non-political constitutional President the country has ever had.

POLITICAL PARTIES TODAY

The two major parties are very similar in history, composition, and organization. Both are what Colombians refer to as vertical parties and count among their members persons from all walks of life from the oligarchy to the lowest class. Both are organized nationally, departmentally, in the larger towns within departments, and in villages.

Convivencia has not blurred individual party loyalties. At best it has resulted in grudging cooperation among political leaders at the national, departmental, and municipal levels. The individual still feels himself to be as intensely Liberal or Conservative as ever.

Specific information on the geographical or the class distribution of the two major parties is lacking. There is, however, some evidence to show that the strength of the parties is least balanced among the urban lower class, which seems to favor the Liberals over the Conservatives.

In contrast to the two major parties, the minor parties are of recent origin. They are class-oriented, appealing to the lower class, and their programs, to varying degrees, are based on Marxist ideology. Theoretically national parties, they in fact lack sufficient membership to enable them to maintain organizations in every part of the country.

Alternation and parity include only Liberals and Conservatives. The minor parties must work through one or another major party by infiltrating them, or one of their factions, and by subverting the infiltrated group. Only the smaller factions offer possibilities for such subversion, since the membership of the minor parties is very small.

The Major Parties

The National Front puts the major parties in a situation to which, by early 1961, they had not yet adjusted themselves. A faction of each party is in the government, while other elements of each party are, in effect, in the opposition. Factions in the government are spoken of as the "official party." At the same time, the parties have remained formally intact, as, through consultations and formal conferences, faction leaders seek to preserve an implied unity and continuity of their respective parties.

The Conservative Party

The Conservative Party still bears in 1961 the marks which the events of 1948-57 inflicted upon it. The key leaders of its principal factions are Mariano Ospina Pérez and Laureano Gómez. The rivalry between the two men is great. Gómez has not forgotten that Ospina tried to benefit from cooperation with Rojas Pinilla. The Laureanistas consider themselves untainted by association with Rojas and stress the fact that they, with the Liberals, built the present *convivencia* arrangement. The Ospinistas view Gómez' faction as an unregenerate group of rightist extremists and point out that Gómez' excesses provided the causes of Rojas Pinilla's rise. The Ospinistas now advocate a "Social Christian" direction for their party, an orientation which would encourage socioeconomic reform, but in accordance with the Christian ethic of the oligarchy rather than with secular, Marx-inspired thinking.

The Ospinistas count among their ranks a high proportion of former supporters of Rojas Pinilla's reform schemes. Prior to his death in November 1960, Gilberto Alzate Avendaño was a coleader of this faction and gave it its hybrid name—Ospinista-Alzatista (O/A). A political chief from Caldas, he had challenged Gómez in 1950 by opposing his involvement of Colombian troops in the Korean War. After his death, the partisans of Guillermo-Léon Valencia re-emerged as a strong Ospinista subfaction and became known as the Ospinista-Valencista faction.

The Laureanistas count among their most active leaders the elder Gómez' son, Alvaro Gómez Hurtado, who has presidential ambitions.

The third major subfaction of the Conservatives is made up of the followers of Jorge Leyva, whose votes in 1960 were only about one-

twentieth of their electoral tally in 1958. Leyvistas oppose the National Front. They are considered right-wing extremists and display national-socialist tendencies.

The Liberal Party

The rift in the Liberal Party, which occurred after Gaitán's death, has never been healed. In the present alignment in the party, the division between the official party leadership and the faction led by Alfonso López Michelsen is the continuation of the earlier split between moderates and Gaitanistas.

The official wing of the party itself received about 80 percent of the popular vote. It stands behind Lleras Camargo in his handling of *convivencia*, although the degree of commitment to the National Front varies among leaders of the party. For instance, Carlos Lleras Restrepo, President Designate since 1960, has given indications in his statements that he does not take the maintenance of *convivencia* for granted. He wants his party to be prepared for the eventuality of a resumption of full-fledged partisan competition. Apparently aspiring to become the Liberal candidate in 1962, if the alternation arrangement is abrogated, he engages in bitter attacks against the Conservatives. His ambitions were encouraged when the Liberal party's national convention in February 1961 elected him *Jefe Unico* (sole chief) of the party.

The Lopistas developed out of a small group which, in September 1957, began publishing *La Calle*, a daily Bogotá newspaper which still serves as the faction's organ. The *La Calle* group was formally organized in December 1959 in anticipation of the March 1960 elections, and it adopted the name Movimiento de Recuperación—MRL (Movement for Liberal Recovery). At the first national convention of the MRL in February 1960, about 1,000 delegates elected López Michelsen *Jefe Unico* of the faction. A twin program was adopted under which the Gaitán platform of social justice and social revolution and of political and economic emancipation of the lower classes was reaffirmed, and a new program, called, Salud, Educación, Techo—SET (Health, Education, Roof), was added. Later that year two additional programmatic points were added—*tierra* (land) and *trabajo* (work, employment).

Among the leaders prominent in the MRL are some Communist Party sympathizers, such as Juan de la Cruz Varela, a *cacique* from Sumapaz who served for some time as López Michelsen's *suplente* (alternate) in Congress. Others with pro-Communist, and later pro-Castro, leanings, also backed López Michelsen in forming the faction.

A power struggle appears to have taken place in the MRL before and after the 1960 elections. On the one hand, there were those who wanted the MRL to become a party in its own right in opposition

to the National Front which, in the words of one of them (Alfonso Barbarena), was a *criollo falange*, an autocracy of the white oligarchy organized along the lines of a pro-Nazi subversive group of the early 1940's (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups). Opposing them were those who, like López Michelsen himself, gradually turned from the idea of forming a separate party and seemed to prefer being a militant faction of the Liberal Party. By mid-1960 this group appeared to have won out, and the anti-National Front, pro-Castro tone of the MRL's pronouncements abated thereafter. The MRL participated in the February 1961 Liberal National Convention.

The publicity gained by the MRL may be greater than its importance. As the son of a prominent Liberal statesman, López Michelsen is able to gain publicity for his every move. There are still serious internal rivalries among the leaders of his faction. The MRL's strength is limited to certain centers, mainly Cali, Antioquia and Cundinamarca. It is, however, a force to be reckoned with within the Liberal Party, and it tends to pull the center of gravity of the Liberal Party to the Left. At the same time, it is a source of embarrassment to the official Liberals.

The Minor Parties

Except for the Communists, the minor parties have no real impact upon the interplay of parties.

The Partido Comunista Colombiano—PCC (Colombian Communist Party) was founded in the 1920's. It at first attracted to its ranks a number of persons who later gave up communism and grew to prominence in the Liberal Party. In the mid-1940's the party split, one faction backing Gaitán and the other maintaining its independence. The PCC's period of real development began with the 1948 Bogotazo. There is much evidence to show that the Communists had prepared themselves to lead a popular explosion if and when it occurred, that after Gaitán's assassination they did in fact lead much of the rioting, and that their participation aggravated the scope and effect of the disorders. In the years that followed, the Communists were active in the rural violence. They established themselves near Viotá in Cundinamarca and, in February 1961, they still maintained political control in this area. The PCC has sympathizers among some rural and urban elements.

The PCC's Secretary General is Gilberto Vieira White. The party has a press of its own, publishes the newspaper *Voz de la Democracia*, and holds official gatherings and conventions. It has official relations with the parties of the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic. It is hostile to the National Front and advocates the formation of a popular front—a political alliance with

other Leftist groups which presumably would include the Lopistas (see ch. 24, Subversive Potentialities).

Much smaller is the anarchist Movimiento Obrero Estudiantil Campesino de 7 de Enero (Workers', Students', Rural Movement of the 7th of January), originally an anarchist party. Still smaller is the Movimiento Popular Revolucionario—MPR (Popular Revolutionary Movement). There is also a small Socialist group, one of whose leaders, Luis Eniro Valencia, is married to Gloria Gaitán de Valencia, Gaitán's daughter. These groups venerate the memory of Gaitán, but their activity appears to be restricted to occasional street meetings.

The Movimiento de Revolución Christiana (Christian Revolutionary Movement) and the Acción Popular Revolucionaria (Popular Revolutionary Action) are led by Esteban Bendek Olivella who opposes communism, Castro, oligarchs, and Soviet and American imperialism. His followers are mostly high school students.

As yet neither a party nor a definite movement but an additional disturbing element in politics was the attempt, during the spring of 1961, of Rojas Pinilla to attract political support. He had returned to the country voluntarily after a year's exile "to clear his honor." Tried by the Senate in 1959, he was found "unworthy" and sentenced to two years' restriction and the loss of all political rights and military distinctions. No sooner was he conditionally released from restriction in March 1961 than he started stumping the country for support for his old thesis of a movement "above parties," based on a union of "the people-armed forces." The manifestation of some surviving popular support and the enthusiasm of a few old Rojistas, who even talked of proposing him for the presidency, caused the government to restate formally his loss of civic rights and to announce categorically that he can neither "elect nor be elected." Nevertheless, as late as June 1961, Rojas proclaimed his right to organize and lead a movement and to call a convention of its guiding spirits, which he set for January 1962.

ELECTIONS

The Constitution provides that all citizens over 21 years of age are entitled to vote, except those who are disqualified by judicial sentence. Detailed electoral laws, passed in anticipation of election, regulate the exact manner in which each election is conducted. Members of the armed forces, including the police, may not vote or participate in political debates while on active duty, nor may they be candidates for office. Until 1957 only men voted. In 1957 the junta that paved the way for the National Front placed the question of women voting before the electorate. By this plebiscite, in which

women participated, political rights were granted to women on the same basis as men. Since then, women have voted and a few have been elected to Congress and to the lesser representative bodies.

There has been an increase in the degree of voters' participation over the last few years (see fig. 9). The National Front has manifested official interest in getting the people to take part in the electoral activities.

In the past, Communists have sometimes run in local congressional and assembly elections. Under the present *convivencia* system, they are excluded from presenting candidates. All candidates now must be either Liberals or Conservatives, but factional or dissident candidates, running under the one label or another, are allowed. Sometimes dissident candidates, or the lists of smaller splinter factions, may be voted on in a department or municipality, even though they lack the strength to run on a nation-wide basis.

Registration of Voters

The eligibility of voters is established in two ways. Since 1954 *cédulas* (identification cards), have been processed by registration centers in towns and cities and issued to eligible voters. *Cédulas* constitute permanent registration. Anyone presenting one may vote. By December 1959, 3.9 million *cédulas* had been issued. But inasmuch as it was estimated that about 6 million citizens were eligible for voting, special arrangements were made to encourage participation. Those who registered between January 5 and March 5, 1960, and showed some proof of eligibility, were permitted to vote in the March 1960 election even without going through the more complicated process of getting a *cédula*. But the total voting in the March 1960 election was only 2.3 million, or less than half those eligible. This was well below the record vote of 4.4 million in the 1957 plebiscite.

Voting Procedures

The date of elections is established by law. Elections usually take place in March. Each department (as well as each territory sending representatives to Congress) constitutes a single election district for presidential, congressional, and departmental elections.

Candidates are designated by party organizations. Each candidate must make an official deposition stating that he accepts the nomination. The names of candidates and of their alternates (who are always the personal replacements of specified incumbents) appear on printed ballots. At the polling station, ballots are marked in secret and placed, in an envelope, into an urn. Each voter's right index finger is marked with indelible ink. To temper partisan spirits and insure orderly elections, political rallies and loudspeaker

ELECTION	1942	1946	1949	1951	1957	1958	1958	1960
Liberals	673,169	803,156	(abstain)	(abstain)	<div> <div> Favoring 4,149,294 </div> <div> Opposing 206,866 </div> </div>	2,083,923	<div> National Front (Lleras Camargo - 2,482,948; Loya - 614,861) </div>	<div> 1,348,893 Valencianas 1,111,759 (74%) Lopistas 290,134 (21.2%) Other 67,000 (4.8%) </div>
Conservatives	474,637	563,939	1,147,122	922,607		<div> 1,542,572 Laurenistas 914,106 (59.3%) Valencianas 340,681 (22.0%) Alistas 287,501 (18.7%) </div>		<div> 962,487 Laurenistas 396,028 (41.1%) O/A's 522,703 (54.2%) Lopistas 43,996 (4.6%) </div>
Communists				3,856				
Others			23	5,566				
Blank or Void		177	501	3,089	20,932		10,758	
Total Votes Cast	1,147,806	1,369,272	1,140,646	935,138	4,377,090 ^(a)	3,626,495	3,108,567	2,331,580

(a) 72.3% of the eligible voters -- percent of votes cast: 58.3 by males, 41.7 by females.

Figure 9. Selected recent election results in Colombia.

appeals to voters are forbidden two days before the elections and on election day itself. No liquor may be sold from the day before elections through the day after elections.

Electoral Machinery

The counting of ballots takes place under the supervision of the Corte Electoral (Electoral Court). Ballots are tallied at the municipal, departmental, and national level. Appeals are heard by the Court. The Court consists of the oldest Conservative ex-President and the oldest Liberal ex-President, plus four Liberals and four Conservatives elected by the Supreme Court of Justice for two-year terms.

CHAPTER 22

PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

To bring about a state of public order and tranquillity in Colombia is the most demanding task faced by the government. Conditions ranging from merciless political partisan warfare to habitual banditry have prevailed since not long after the elections of 1946. A state of siege (*estado de sitio*), suspending certain constitutional guarantees, was decreed over the whole country in 1949 and was modified only in 1958. For lack of records it is impossible to estimate accurately the number of deaths in "La Violencia," as it has come to be known. A fairly conservative estimate for the 10 worst years, from 1947 to 1957, is 250,000.

Since the overthrow of Rojas Pinilla in 1957 by the Military Junta of Government and the election the next year of a bipartisan National Front government, violence has diminished. Gangsterism and banditry, principally in highland rural areas, carried on by those who have known no other existence for 15 years, still flourished in 1961 despite efforts at suppression by the police and the army. Besides these "antisocials," as they are officially termed, there existed quiescent partisan groups amnestied in 1957 (in some cases earlier) but still in possession of their arms and capable of renewed guerrilla activities. In early 1961 five departments were still designated as being in state of siege.

As ambitious politicians, each representing a faction within one or other of the two traditional parties, have been looking toward the 1962 elections, uneasiness in the country has grown. Some have seen a better chance to realize their own aspirations should the National Front collapse rather than continue for the agreed period (until 1974). There has been apprehension in responsible quarters lest renewed, expanded disorder be seized upon as a device for destroying the delicate balance of *convivencia* (bipartisan government based on parity of posts), on the grounds of its failure to eliminate violence. A return to the two-party system, especially with each party split into factions, would threaten a relapse into the chaotic conditions of the late 1940's which approached civil war (see ch. 2, Historical Setting; ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

The National Front government, since its inauguration in August 1958, has been earnestly seeking ways to achieve order. Plans to

this end have not been limited to suppression by the armed forces, although means to increase their effectiveness have been actively sought. In addition, numerous plans have been devised to attack both the root causes and the effects of the long period of disorder. One of the most important and far-reaching was a constitutional change, approved by the plebiscite of December 1, 1957, requiring the annual allotment of 10 percent of the national budget to the expenses of public education. Others, the recommendations of study and planning commissions, have included plans for land redistribution, resettlement (colonization) on government lands, solution of land title problems, a public works program for roads, bridges and public buildings, and a project involving roving teams of experts to inspire and train leaders in education, farming and husbandry techniques, roadbuilding, sanitation and community improvement. Progress has been slow because of lagging appropriations, political differences and the lack of trained field workers, but a start has been made (see ch. 10, Education; ch. 16, Health and Sanitation; ch. 17, Living Conditions and Public Welfare; ch. 27, Agricultural Potential).

The direction, control, missions and functioning of the police have changed markedly since the beginning of the violence in 1946. At that time, although there existed a "national" police, it functioned directly under the central government, only in Bogotá and in the national territories (*intendencias* and *comisarias*) and for certain specialized purposes. The departments, always jealous of centralized control, raised and administered their own police forces, although, generally, senior departmental police officers were members of the national police on contract to the departments from the Ministry of Government, which at that time controlled the national police.

Throughout its previous history the police had been considered an arm not of the impersonal justice of government but of the party in power. On their return to power in 1946 after 16 years of Liberal rule, the Conservatives set about converting the police to their purposes and employing them in support of their evident plan to achieve absolute political power. Police brutality, especially outside the cities, undoubtedly did as much to intensify the wave of violence as did spontaneous partisan conflict.

An extensive reorganization took place as a result of the Bogotá riots of June 1948 during which the city police, evidently less thoroughly purged of Liberal elements than units outside the capital, had turned their arms over to the mob. The intent of the law passed in 1948 was to nationalize the entire police force, but strong resistance from the departments made such centralization unfeasible, and the project was dropped. However, the President circumvented

the issue of nationalization by replacing in April 1949 all Liberal governors with Conservatives of his own choosing and then in November, under a state of siege decree, removing all checks on the executive power.

There were no further significant changes in police organization until the military coup of General Rojas Pinilla, which established the Government of the Armed Forces in June 1953. He soon decreed the transfer of the police from the Ministry of Government to the Ministry of War, designating them a fourth service in the Armed Forces. He was successful in nationalizing the police of 6 departments, but the other 10, more traditionally particularist and politically and financially stronger, successfully resisted nationalization.

The court system has operated under a penal code and a code of penal procedure based largely on European models, which prescribe functions, duties, punishments and procedures in such meticulous detail that little appears to be left to the discretion of participants. It has been said of Colombian courts that their concern is the administration of the law rather than the administration of justice. Case law and the law of precedent are little observed. Only one level of courts has followed a form of jury trial, and then only for certain serious offenses. Although the law has made a number of provisions to protect the accused, the lower classes have been reported to feel that they fare poorly in the courts.

The prison system is theoretically dedicated to reform, but most observers in 1961 considered it poorly staffed and antiquated in method. Prisons were old, crowded and dirty; food was bad; and workshop facilities were generally primitive. There were many cases of prisoners murdering each other, and escapes were common. The National Front administration is concerned about the situation, but economic stringency and the lack of trained personnel have made improvement slow.

THE VIOLENCE

Antecedents and Characteristics

Violence, whether perpetrated by individuals or groups, has run through all of the country's history. Reaction to injury, insult, or slight, whether real or fancied, has usually been violent. It became typical to resolve political problems, economic frustration or injustice by assassination, mob action or rebellion—rather than by compromise, negotiation or litigation.

The conquistadors' cruelty to the Indians is proverbial. In the bloody wars of liberation, both sides slaughtered prisoners by the hundreds. Bolívar's "War to the Death" announcement in 1813,

proclaimed "Death to all Spaniards, even though indifferent, and life to the all Americans [*criollos*, specifically] even though guilty." The 80 rebellions, armed coups and revolutions that took place between the liberation and the beginning of this century caused inordinate loss of life. Most of them included or degenerated into guerrilla warfare between hastily raised partisan forces, many of whose members relied more on the machete than on firearms. Often the fate of the defeated, including the wounded, was to be dispatched on the field, and surrender often meant the firing squad. The last and most costly of these rebellions, the so-called "War of 1000 Days" (1899-1902), resulted in 100,000 dead and many more crippled for life (see ch. 2, Historical Setting).

The devastation from these almost continual wars left many with no means of livelihood and no confidence in a secure future as farmers. Consequently individual and gang banditry became a way of life for large numbers of the landless and was almost invariably associated with murder. There were few deterrents to this sort of violence. The police system was rudimentary; its members were thinly distributed and generally effective only in and near the larger towns. In this way banditry and violence became a habitual practice, and their existence even came to be accepted as an inescapable part of life in the countryside.

Besides banditry for gain (or to support life, as its perpetrators claimed), vengeance and political vendetta were often elements underlying the ubiquitous lawlessness. Passionate, violent reactions to political opposition was not limited to the periods of armed rebellion; it both led up to such revolts and followed them as aftermath.

The Conservative victory in the War of 1000 Days began a period during which violence as a manifestation of political rivalry subsided. Outbreaks threatened before the elections of 1910, and a strike of banana workers in 1928 was ruthlessly suppressed by the army, but in general the country was free of violent disturbance. The Liberals won one of the few peacefully contested elections in history in 1930 on a popular reform platform, but the world depression, in Colombia far harder on the poor than on the rich, caused popular agitation for immediate rather than promised reforms. In several provinces riots and attacks on landed proprietors had to be put down. The border war with Peru in 1932, which the whole country supported, probably prevented more serious internal trouble.

The Liberals continued in power until 1946. However, the reforms they undertook did less to satisfy popular demand than they did to accelerate the agitation for greater benefits. Land reform measures were half-hearted at best, and government innovations in

the form of income, inheritance and excess profit taxes not only alienated Conservatives and some wealthy Liberals but also were passed down in the form of increased prices, thus failing to benefit the poor. The Liberals, unable to solve the dilemma, split into two factions and lost the election of 1946 to a Conservative Party determined on vengeance and counterreform (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

The Colombian addiction to the violent approach to social, political and economic problems is not unique in Latin America. What was special about the situation in 1961 was that over the entire time since 1946, violence never fell below critical proportions in some part of the country. Its prevalence ranged from nearly country-wide extent in 1949-53 to an apparently irreducible minimum in 1958-60, when it was found possible to lift the state of siege in all but five departments. This does not imply that violence was limited to such areas; it remained sporadic elsewhere, and reported incidents increased in the first six months of 1961.

The incidence of violence and the numbers of its victims have fluctuated over the years, but the ferocity of the acts has never abated. While firearms are no longer a rarity, many killings have been done with the machete, and wanton hacking, mutilation and dismemberment have been common. Torture and rape preceding murder have frequently occurred. In the worst days of the violence, when whole villages set out to attack their political rivals, it was common for the defeated to be herded into buildings which were then dynamited or burned. Where banditry has been practiced in the form of economic racketeering, as at the time of the coffee harvest, extortion was usually accompanied by a few exemplary murders "to encourage compliance," and the penalty for not acceding to blackmail has frequently been maiming or death.

Numerous observers have attempted analyses of this merciless cruelty and the predilection of the most savage slaughter that has characterized violence in Colombia. Some have advanced the theory that the ethnic mixture of the considerable majority, particularly in the countryside, predisposes to violence, or has "a low boiling point." Others point to a steady buildup of social pressures induced by generations of poverty and frustration by repeated political promises of improvement, which finally culminate in desperation. Still others adduce Spanish cultural conditioning characterized by excessive and touchy individualism which causes intolerance of opposition, the viewing of difference of opinion as insult and the desire of each person or faction to be a law unto itself, finding security only in the extermination of opponents. Such qualities they find transmitted, without any inhibiting "civilized" controls, by the dominant culture to the masses of mixed blood.

Whatever the underlying causes, in any case a complexity of ethnic, social and economic factors, social controls—whether internalized or institutional—have been unsuccessful in deterring violence. Even the Catholic Church, to which at least 90 percent of the population gives formal adherence, has failed to inspire or impose controls on any uniform or permanent basis (see ch. 8, Social Values; ch. 11, Religion).

The Course of Violence, 1946-61

The elections of 1946 found the country in the grip of a steadily increasing postwar inflation of prices. An excess of money derived from wartime exports, combined with a shortage of goods because of the war's curtailment of imports to feed processing and service enterprises, created both serious unemployment and high prices. For the same reasons, almost none of the surplus of money filtered down to the poor in either city or country. It was the proposals set forth by Jorge Eliécer Gaitán for much-needed but radical reform to benefit the masses which split the Liberal Party and permitted the Conservative candidate Mariano Ospina Pérez to win with a 42 percent plurality (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

Gaitán, a persuasive orator and a truly popular leader, had a messianic hold on the common people, which enabled him with difficulty to restrain them from a violent uprising when the election result became known. Although Ospina had won the presidency, the Liberals had a majority in Congress, where Gaitán, then the sole leader of the Party, pressed reforms so radical that not even his own party would fully support him. Knowledge of the struggle in Congress and in Ospina's coalition cabinet created tensions which brought about clashes between opposing party mobs in many towns. The press of each party accused the other of responsibility and acclaimed its own victims as martyrs. About this time, late 1946, the Liberals started to accuse the Conservatives of converting the police to a force of repression. Whether for this reason or not, conditions became so bad in the country that thousands of peasants fled for safety to the cities, bringing tales of burned homes, destroyed crops and murdered families. Many also crossed into Venezuela.

Conditions worsened during 1947 and early 1948. In the departments of Valle and Santander and in the cities of Bogotá and Cali there were strikes, accompanied by violence and the suspension of public services, which required forcible suppression. The reprisals undertaken by employers further embittered labor. The oil unions struck in January 1948, and though the strike was settled by negotiation, police found arms and explosives in the homes of union leaders. Contraband arms came in across the borders, particularly

from Venezuela, where the left-liberal Acción Democrática movement was in control. There was open revolt in Tolima, with the Liberal governor's knowledge and apparent support. Gaitán, as Liberal spokesman, addressed a memorandum to the President formally accusing the Conservatives of wrecking the coalition, persecuting organized labor and fomenting general violence against Liberals. The rejection of the charges and the refusal of the government to join in organized aid to the thousands of destitute refugees in the city caused Gaitán to withdraw Cabinet participation by members of his party in March 1948. Nothing occurred to abate the tension before the opening of the Ninth International Conference of American States in Bogotá on March 30.

Gaitán, the acknowledged head of the Liberal Party, was not appointed a delegate to the Conference, over which Laureano Gómez, the most reactionary of the Conservative leaders, presided. This slight to the popular leader of the majority party in Congress inflamed feelings still further, but Gaitán pleaded for order and in fact prevented other Liberals named as delegates from boycotting the Conference. The inter-American meeting opened in an atmosphere of barely suppressed tension. A worker was arrested while trying to place a bomb in the Capitol, where the Conference met. There were reports of other threats of violence, including one of a bomb plot against General Marshall, United States Secretary of State and chief delegate. On April 7 thousands of handbills appeared in the city, attacking the United States, the purposes of the conference and the plutocratic delegates "who dined in state while the people went hungry" and inciting to revolution.

During the lunch hour on April 9, when the streets were full of people, Gaitán was shot down in front of his office, not two blocks from the Capitol. His assailant was at once kicked and pounded to death by bystanders. The crowd already at hand became an enraged mob when the identity of the victim was learned and, ready to believe the rumors that the Conservatives were responsible, moved on the President's Palace. Repulsed by the Presidential Guard, they rushed the nearby Capitol shouting for the death of the arch-Conservative, Gómez, presided over the Conference, and for the dissolution of the Conference itself. Finding Gómez gone, they wrecked the place, destroying furniture, equipment and records.

The police, largely liberal in their sympathies, turned over arms and ammunition to the mob, and some joined them. It soon became known that Gaitán had died at the hospital to which he had been taken, and the mob, reinforced by thousands from all parts of the city, became further inflamed. Looting, murder, dynamiting and arson became general. Few public buildings, including missions and churches, escaped damage. A radio station was seized, from

which the mob received directions and revolution was proclaimed. Troops brought in from the outskirts and more distant garrisons restored order after several days, but the central part of Bogotá was severely damaged.

There was immediate suspicion on the part of the authorities and some of the delegations, including that from the United States, that the assassination and the subsequent uprising had been planned and carried out by Communist agents. Credible evidence indicates that the Communists desired the disruption of the Conference and had plans to create disorder in Colombia and elsewhere to accomplish it. There is no indication, however, that Communists had a hand in the murder or that the violent reaction was anything other than spontaneous. Current opinion supports the conclusion that the Communists found in these events a ready-made opportunity which they were prepared to exploit and direct (see ch. 24, Subversive Potentialities).

The violence set off by the assassination was not limited to the capital. In varying degrees it spread over the entire country. In Barranquilla the mob nearly succeeded in taking over the entire city, seizing the provincial building and flying the red flag from it most of a day, before troops succeeded in dislodging them. There also, churches, convents and schools were sacked and burned, and priests stoned to death and mutilated. Bucaramanga saw serious riots which threatened to overthrow the local government.

Whether or not Ospina had previously attempted to convert the police to a party arm of repression, the behavior of that force in Bogotá and elsewhere gave him a lever with which to bring about police reform. A law intended to accomplish a thoroughgoing reorganization of the police was passed in 1948 and was made the occasion for a purge of Liberals remaining in the force. All Liberal governors of departments and many lesser officials were dismissed in early 1949.

From this point on, conditions of disorder and political murder, far beyond possible control by the scattered small police posts, ruled the rural districts. Conservative and Liberal villages wiped each other out in guerrilla warfare of the utmost brutality. The police, now even more the arm of the ruling Conservatives, were concentrated in larger units and were used not so much to enforce order as to subdue Liberal settlements, which retaliated by attacking police and even army detachments. The army, now also being purged of Liberals, was used increasingly, but without permanent effect. In fact, Liberal officers deserted under the pressure placed on them, some taking entire units with them, and joined the partisan warfare in the hills and the llanos (see ch. 33, The Armed Forces).

The return of Gómez from his self-imposed exile in Spain and the approach of the elections of 1949, in which he was the announced Conservative candidate, caused intensified Conservative efforts to suppress all Liberal political activity. Violence actually spread to the floor of the House of Representatives where, in the course of a heated debate, several Conservatives drew pistols and fired upon the Liberal members, who returned the fire. One deputy was killed outright, one mortally wounded, and several less seriously hurt. The threat of violence was used in the outlying regions to destroy Liberal voting strength. Conservative representatives, accompanied by police or soldiers, rounded up Liberal peasants, took away their registration papers and replaced them with a form of "safe-conduct" stating that the bearer's life, property and family were to be respected, in consideration of his oath that he did not belong to the Liberal Party. Two days before the election the police fired upon Darío Echandía, the Liberal candidate for president, while he was walking with a party of friends on a Bogotá street. His brother and four others were killed. The Liberals withdrew the candidacy of Echandía and boycotted the elections (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

The Gómez administration (1950-53), which opened with the President's statement that law and order would rule, differed from the previous one only in the increased degree of repression and reprisal. Gómez had publicly labeled all opponents of the regime as either Communists or bandits. To him, Liberals were indistinguishable from Communists, and bandits, who were subject to summary execution, were defined as all those over 16 who hid or fled from the armed forces at any place or time, all who violated curfew, all civilians of whatever position who issued other than routine instructions without prior military approval, all who carried firearms without a military permit and all who were without a safe-conduct form issued by the military.

A large-scale military expedition was sent to pacify the llanos, without success. It caused the evacuation of many villages, but the able-bodied men escaped to join the partisan bands. The police, by now purged of Liberals, was increased in strength by hasty recruiting. Liberal writers claimed that criminal elements were enlisted to fill the ranks; in any case, new recruits were put on the force with little professional training and were responsible for some of the worst atrocities. Religious hatred was added to political enmity, since many Protestants were Liberals. Protestant chapels and missions were destroyed in the llanos and Valle del Cauca, despite condemnation by the Catholic hierarchy of such bigoted zeal.

During this period, there was no department of the country free of disorder. Violence was worst in the llanos, the highlands from

the Santanders to Valle del Cauca, and the upper Magdalena valley. The destruction of cattle and farm produce and the dangers to transportation were so great that the cities experienced food shortages and consequent price inflation. In late 1951 mob action reappeared in Bogotá. The government's announcement of the discovery of the bodies of five murdered policemen touched off riots which resulted in setting fire to the Liberal headquarters, the houses of two directors of that party and the plants of two Liberal newspapers. Finally, a split in the Conservative Party, caused by Gómez' announcement of a plan for constitutional changes intended to create a corporative Falangist state, paved the way for the military coup of General Rojas Pinilla (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics; ch. 33, The Armed Forces).

The Rojas regime was at first welcomed with feelings of relief by the people generally, and the approval of Liberal leaders and moderate Conservatives did much to diminish the incidence of public disorders. The issuance of a general amnesty to the partisan bands and the release of political prisoners had immediate effect in lessening violence. In the llanos, peace was restored when Rojas made a personal appearance there to persuade the partisans to lay down their arms. The country remained quiet for nearly six months, but by the end of 1953, for complex economic and political causes, political murder was on the rise again. The situation was worsened by political agitation in the press of both parties, which began again to exchange accusations of aggression and to acclaim their respective victims as martyrs.

Public disorder continued to increase throughout the rest of Rojas' presidency, although it never again reached the proportions it had maintained from 1948 to 1953. Nevertheless, the armed forces, which had incorporated the national police in 1953, were never able to eradicate it, even though far greater numbers were used than in previous administrations. Psychologically averse to such duty, untrained in antiguerrilla warfare and unused to and poorly equipped for operations in the rugged and forested mountain country where the guerrillas were perfectly at home, they were unable to accomplish any permanent good. The fall of Rojas in 1957 was caused by a complex of political and economic circumstances, compounded by increasing corruption within the regime, the result of which was to bring about a coalition of the leadership of the two traditional parties. In the end, the political coalition secured the collaboration of a junta of military officers. On May 10, Rojas was forced to accept exile, following the failure of his attempts to repress the disorders in the capital which were accompanied by student strikes and finally a general strike (see ch. 33, The Armed Forces).

Again, the change of government proved generally popular, and violence diminished. Organized bandit gangs (*cuadrillas*), composed of criminals who had lived by robbery and looting for years, continued to operate. Because of their small size, mobility and familiarity with the terrain, they were able to strike without warning and disappear before the army and police could take effective action. They have been able to keep themselves armed by thievery from army and police posts, by ambushing small patrols and by smuggling, which is a serious problem on the coasts and across the borders. They have also developed over the years a considerable ability to manufacture by hand crude but effective small firearms. Stealing the coffee harvest was a specialized and highly organized form of banditry still practiced in 1961, though on a diminishing scale. It presents all the features of gangsterism, including extortion, blackmail, protection rackets and clandestine disposal through ostensibly legitimate middlemen.

Outbreaks of violence between amnestied partisan groups became rare, as each tended to settle down in a specific region. The ex-guerrilla chiefs now became in effect *caciques* (chiefs) of their immediate areas. They remained jealous of any intrusion, whether by government officials or rivals of their own kind, and occasionally attacked each other or resisted the imposition of civil or military authority.

The transition from rule by military junta to elective government under the National Front was full of political maneuvering, especially in the Conservative Party, but on the whole fairly free of violence. An abortive attempt to kidnap the Front candidate for president, Alberto Lleras Camargo, on May 2, 1958, did not prevent his election two days later. The leader of this effort, a fervent Rojista, was Lieutenant Colonel Forero who commanded the Military Police Battalion at the capitol; he was taken, escaped and was later recaptured and tried. The army and police remained loyal.

One of the early acts of the new president was to raise the state of siege from the whole country except the departments of Caldas, Valle del Cauca, Cauca, Tolima and Huila. This act did not indicate that lawlessness had been entirely eliminated elsewhere, but that in those regions thus released from state of siege, violence was deemed sufficiently manageable that a return to normal administrative and judicial procedure was possible and desirable. Besides, the decree was designed to, and did have, a definite psychological effect on the country's morale; it indicated that the National Front viewed the future with confidence.

Incidents of violent death diminished progressively in 1958, 1959 and 1960. No published figures are available, and the bases of estimate have never been standardized, so far as is known. It is

certain, however, that with the advent of the National Front government, the country-wide figure of deaths due to political and habitual feuding and banditry—as distinct from what the police consider “normal” homicide due to quarrels related to “drink and skirts”—dropped from over 10,000 annually over a 10-year period to a few thousand a year. The Minister of War, in a New Year’s speech broadcast at the end of 1960, was able to announce a 70 per cent decrease from 1959 in the total impact of violence in that year, although the standards of measurement used were not stated.

Beginning in late 1960 and extending into the first half of 1961, there was an increase in incidents. Although this change was not great, it reversed the recent trend and, therefore, alarmed the authorities. No single cause can be assigned; rather the reasons must be sought in reactions to internal political and economic conditions and to external happenings, including events in Cuba. Factionalism within both the major parties, as politicians prepare for the 1962 elections, has delayed the application of plans for agrarian, labor and tax reform, as well as economic development and social welfare measures. The agitation of pro-Castro elements, both Communists and those who have seen only social revolution in Fidelismo, have also added to the potential for a resurgence of political violence.

THE POLICE SYSTEM

Development

The development of the police system throughout the country’s history has reflected the varying degrees of centralization that the government as a whole was able to adopt. During the colonial period, the larger towns organized a night-watchman service whose members were called *serenos*, and some regional subdivisions had *alguaciles* (constables) and tollgate keepers, but there was little central direction.

From the coming of independence until 1891, each of the successive governments under the many constitutions issued more or less complete decrees dealing with police functions. In general, and even when a government hopefully espoused centralism, the particularism of many departments prevented uniform results, and the central government’s appointees to high police posts were usually local men who supported the party or faction in power locally. In effect there was no professional, impartial police force anywhere.

In 1891 the experienced French commissioner of police, J. M. Marcelino Gilibert, was hired on contract to organize and train a “National” police corps which was to serve directly under the Minister of Government. In fact, the force was constructed only to serve the capital city of Bogotá, with provision that the director

could delegate authority and personnel to either the governor of Cundinamarca or the mayor of the city, at need. The force was to include about 50 officials and clerical personnel and 400 agents. From these beginnings the present National Police grew, firmly founded on the concepts and functions laid down by Gilibert.

Hardly had the force completed its training than the rebellion of 1895 and the civil war of 1899-1902 caused the integration of the police into the army, its subordination to the Ministry of War and the substitution of military for police training. It was not reconstituted into a purely police force under the Ministry of Government until 1915. During this time it remained for most purposes a police for the capital, extended in its functions only to furnish guards for government prisons and monopolies, such as the emerald mines and certain aqueducts, and, from 1906 to 1915, to protect the mails. The first schools for training agents and detectives were started in 1912 and 1914. Also during this period appeared the first official mention that the individual territorial departments were permitted to request and receive for service in their departments personnel and equipment from the national organization—in effect to hire police services from the national government. This principle, with modifications, still applied in 1961.

The many reorganizations between 1915 and 1940 brought increased strength, expanded functions and new services to fulfill these functions. In 1926 appeared the first mention of a detective section which, in addition to its duties in connection with criminal investigation, eventually was charged with the registration and control of foreigners and with counterintelligence functions. In 1927 a welfare fund for disabled policemen was opened, to be supported both by government subsidy and the allocation of minor pay deductions charged against policemen for lateness or absence from duty. It eventually grew into a general social welfare agency for all policemen and their families, supported by regular allotments of active duty pay and maintaining orphanages, night schools, schools for the children of policemen and social counseling and other services.

In 1935 a corps of mounted police (*carabineros*) was organized. Also during this period began the practice of furnishing to other ministries certain specialized bodies of police, raised and administered by the national organization but functionally directed by the recipient ministry. The Customs Police, for example, work for the Finance Ministry, the Prison Police for the Ministry of Justice, and the Highway Police under the direction of the Ministry of Public Works. The Judicial Police, first created in 1915, have combined the functions of inspectors of the police force, of judges of offenses committed by the police in the course of duty, of ordinary police-

court judges in minor cases and of pretrial investigation of more serious criminal cases which come to light through police action.

Professionalism within the police force, as fostered by various types of training schools, has had periods of progress and regression since the days of Gilibert. Since 1891 there have been police schools of one sort or another, but an integrated system did not appear until 1940 with the establishment of the General Santander Police School in the outskirts of Bogotá. Courses were established for applicants for the commissioned, noncommissioned and agent grades and for detectives; other courses were set up as prerequisites for promotion. Members of departmental and municipal police forces were accepted as students. Later, as the police force grew, a new school at Bogotá, Jiménez de Quesada, was built to conduct courses for the enlisted personnel.

The government has frequently sought foreign advice and missions, not only for the theory and practice of general police operations, but to teach modern scientific techniques such as systematization of identification methods and records. Among the countries which have sent missions are France, Argentina, Spain, Chile and the United Kingdom. The British mission was employed in 1948, after events of the *bogotazo* (the riots and uprisings of April 1948) had demonstrated the need for police reform. Although it stayed three years, the mission was generally considered to have accomplished little, partly because of language difficulties, but principally because of the great difference between Anglo-Saxon legal concepts and procedures and those of the Continent, on which the Colombian system is based. Besides employing resident missions, the police have sent abroad exploratory groups, students and specialists to police organizations and schools, notably to the United States, France and Italy.

One of the early acts of General Rojas Pinilla after he had seized power in June 1953 was to transfer the police from the Ministry of Government to the Ministry of War, thus placing it under the Armed Forces command. Since Rojas entitled his rule the Government of the Armed Forces, it doubtless seemed logical to have all the uniformed services thus concentrated. The transfer, together with the virtual nullification of party activity caused by the military coup, at least gave the police relief from the political tensions which had torn it for the previous seven years.

What the law of 1948 had been unable to achieve in the way of nationalization, Rojas partially accomplished by decree in 1953, when the Departmental Police of Córdoba, Chocó, Cauca, Nariño, Huila and Boyacá became nationalized. Another police service organized in 1953 was the Policía Infantil (Children's Police), in-

tended as a specific response to the considerable problem posed by the flood of refugees to the cities. Their numbers, crowding the existing slums and creating new ones, included many orphans and children of broken families who were uncontrolled by their indigent parents, unadjusted to city life and forced for lack of a settled home to run in packs, stealing their food. The purpose of the Children's Police was to gather the homeless ones and provide shelter, food, space for play under supervision, some useful work and the beginnings of education. Their work has been highly regarded by all elements of the population, and they have attracted the support and active assistance of voluntary civic and church groups and charities.

The inclusion of police in the armed forces under Rojas did not actually involve full militarization, in the sense that organization, training or principles of operation were patterned after those of military units; in short, the police did not thereby become a mobile military force capable of taking the field in formed units. In any case, they had always lived under a quasi-military regime, and individual training at the police schools had combined military disciplinary drills with professional police training. Titles of rank had followed the military system for at least 15 years, and it had been habitual to assign military officers to police duty. The principal change appears to have been to organize the staff along military lines, with clearly defined lines of command and responsibility. Even these remained somewhat indirect because of divided controls inherent in the departmental (territorial) system. Neither the Military Junta which succeeded Rojas nor the National Front government had, by mid-1961, basically altered either organization or functions.

Organization

Technically, the Commandant of the National Police (in early 1961 holding the rank of colonel) is directly responsible to the Commanding General of the Armed Forces. It is believed, however, that because of the necessarily close relations with other ministries, notably those of Government and Justice, required by normal police operations, the Commandant functions generally quite independently of a normal military command relationship. He is supported by a chief of staff and a general staff with the usual four sections—personnel, intelligence, training and operations, and supply—and a fifth section for fiscal matters. The Inspector General of Police and certain other special staff sections are outside the General Staff and directly under the Commandant.

The functioning police are organized in divisions, one for each department, one for the Distrito Especial (Special District) of

Bogotá, and a Special Division which comprises a Sección (Section) for each of the eight National Territories, plus other units which furnish guards for approved enterprises, both government and private, the latter furnished by paid contract. National divisions serve the same six departments as in 1953, plus Meta, which became a department in 1960; the other departments, which remain semiautonomous, have what are called Departmental Divisions.

The divisions bear no resemblance to army divisions, except that each has an army-style staff. Divisions may vary in size in rough relation to the population of their departments, weighted to some extent by the prevalence of public disorder. Their smaller subdivisions, while called companies, platoons and squads, bear little relationship to army units of the same designation; they furnish the police force of districts, municipalities and *corregimientos*. There are no organized police reserves, either national or departmental.

Since 1953 differences between the two types of divisions have diminished. First, all officers and, later most key noncommissioned officers were detailed from the National Police; pressure has been exerted on the departments to enlist and train agents in conformity with national standards and to bring pay scales into parity with those of the national body. Regional suspicions have been allayed by careful selection of firm but tactical officers who could improve standards while taking due account of departmental idiosyncracies. It was possible to pass a law in 1959, without too acrid debate, to accomplish the nationalization of all police by January 1, 1962. Such legislation has been passed before without effect, but, barring an unexpected breakdown of the National Front government in 1961, the transition is expected to be smooth.

The largest single concentration of police is stationed in the capital. The Bogotá Division maintains a staff nearly as complete as that of the main headquarters, though smaller. The city is divided into four police districts, which between them maintain 13 police stations and 3 detachments of mounted police. In addition, each district has a unit composed of tear gas projectors and high-pressure hose trucks for crowd control. The communications center has efficient modern equipment for telephone and radio contact with all districts, stations and patrol cars, teletype for contact with other important cities and a radio station in the national (military) long-distance network.

Official strength figures of police are never made public. In the course of a news interview printed in the newspaper *El Tiempo* at the end of 1960, the Chief of Staff of the National Police stated that the police force included 21,000 active agents. Since the fig-

ure was mentioned in the course of a frank plea for public support of an increase in strength, it cannot be taken as exaggerated, and probably did not include staffs, schools or specialists.

Procurement and Training of Personnel

In the past, both for political reasons and because of periods of rapid expansion, army officers have often been transferred to the police. The existing system, however, is designed eventually to produce a corps of officers professionally trained exclusively at the Escuela de Cadetes de Policía General Santander (General Santander Police Cadet School).

The Cadet School accepts candidates of suitable physical qualifications with recommendations as to character, family and background—no recommendations based on political affiliations are accepted—and who have passed at least four of the six years required for the *bachillerato* certificate (terminal diploma of academic high schools) (see ch. 10, Education). The school maintains a four-year course. The first two years are designed to complete the *bachillerato* requirement and combine academic, police, physical and military instruction. This is followed by the first year of professional instruction, which a candidate already having the *bachillerato* may enter directly. Here the curriculum is devoted to police techniques, legal subjects and the theory and practice of command. The use of police weapons and physical training continues. At the end of this course, the cadet is designated *alférez* (ensign) and passes to the final year of similar but more advanced courses. Upon the successful completion of these studies he is commissioned as a second lieutenant. The full capacity of the school is unknown, but 44 graduated and 63 passed to the grade of *alférez* in 1959.

An officer's advancement follows in the same general system of qualification which obtains in the armed services. Promotion depends upon his record, a minimum length of service in grade and the successful completion of a school course (see ch. 33, The Armed Forces).

Policemen (*agentes*) of the National Police are selected from volunteers of good physical condition, well recommended, who have completed both four years of elementary school and their two years of military service. Qualified applicants then take a four-month training course at the Jiménez de Quesada Police School at Bogotá. Candidate detectives are similarly selected and trained (in a longer course), but must have completed three years of the *bachillerato*. There are three regional police schools modeled on the Quesada school, at Medellín, Tuluá (Valle del Cauca) and in the Department of Nariño, and a fourth one is planned for Barranquilla. It is unclear whether they prepare agents for the National or De-

partmental Police, or both. Three Centers of Instruction in Bogotá are believed to serve only the police of the capital. For the *cavabineros*, there is a special school for mounted duty at El Espinal, Tolima. Promotion is also dependent on passing qualifying courses in the appropriate school.

Finances and Pay

Although technically subordinate to the Ministry of War, the National Police is listed separately in the budget. Its allotment doubled during the Rojas regime, partly because of strength increases, but also because of inflationary trends. The budget decreased in 1958 because of the austerity measures of the National Front, but increased again because of a considerable raise in pay for all officers and noncommissioned officers in 1959. The budget for 1960 was Col\$104 million (Col\$7.01 equaled in December 1958 U.S.\$1.); the extension of the pay raise to all policemen, effective in January 1961, along with other needed expenditures, brought the 1961 budget to Col\$119.3 million (Col\$119.3 million (Col\$7.25 equaled U.S.\$1.)).

The pay and allowances of officers and noncommissioned officers are identical with those for corresponding grades in the other services (see Ch. 33, The Armed Forces). The pay of agents in 1961 was Col\$380 per month. There is an additional family allowance of 20 percent for married agents and NCOs. Other allowances and retirement privileges are comparable to those in the other services.

Attitudes and Public Image of the Police

The long history of the police as a political force of the party in power, and its incorporation in the military arm by General Rojas, which in effect made it a component of his "Government of the Armed Forces," have seriously hindered the National Front government in its stated intent to revise the purpose and image of the police to that of an impartial instrument of public service. The effort nevertheless is continuous and apparently sincere, on the part of both the government and the upper echelons of the police command.

A sampling of the training texts used at the Police Cadet School, and of the professional articles and indoctrinational items in the Police Forces Review, a magazine of wide national circulation among members of the force, discloses an attempt to portray police duty on the highest ethical plane of service to the nation. Integrity, courtesy, firmness with justice and a self-confidence based on a thorough grasp of the proper powers and limitations of police operations are stressed. Indoctrination seeks to teach conduct which will inspire law-abiding citizens to respect rather than fear the police.

The reputation of the police has improved considerably in the years since 1957. In one instance, by demanding a full investigation, it was able to induce the complete retraction of an article in a Conservative paper charging police brutality during a student strike in March 1959. The conduct of the Children's Police in handling the hundreds of "wild children" in Bogotá and other cities has also attracted favorable comment.

Another move of the police which has drawn favorable comment has been the establishment in Bogotá and other cities of citizens' committees known as Superior Police Councils. The Bogotá committee is composed of 30 prominent people representing such groups as the Church, women's clubs, the press, commerce, labor, service clubs, universities and political parties. The Councils meet periodically with police officials to discuss civic matters and police operations and their effect on the public. In this way the police, who took the initiative in the matter, have received widespread and favorable understanding.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENT OF SECURITY

Before 1953 secret police functions were lodged within the Directorate General under titles changing from time to time, such as the Detective Police, Security Police or the Department of Investigation and Identification. In 1953, under Rojas, the Servicio de Inteligencia Colombiano (SIC) was organized, responsible directly to the president. It took over all the secret police functions of investigating crimes against the state and government and surveillance of foreigners—in short, security police and counterintelligence functions. In 1960 its name was changed to the Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad (Administrative Department of Security—DAS) without apparent change in function.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURES IN THE COURT SYSTEM

The court system and criminal procedure derive largely from European systems not exclusively Spanish. Characteristic of these systems, the penal code and code of procedure are set forth in meticulous detail, little being left to custom, common law in the Anglo-Saxon sense or precedent. Application of this system throughout the country no longer allows regional variations; review and appeal travel from the lowest court through designated intermediate tribunals to the Supreme Court in applicable cases.

Part of the system, though not within the Ministry of Justice, is the Ministerio Público, headed by the Procurator General of the Nation (Procurador General de la Nación), whose functions closely resemble those of the Attorney General in the United States, but on a highly integrated nation-wide scale. Also among his duties

is the scrutiny of the performance of all courts to detect delinquency, error, malfeasance, undue delays and so forth (see ch. 19, The Constitutional System; ch. 20, Structure of Government).

Another function, European in origin, is that of the Juez de Instrucción, or Investigating Judge, whose duty is to determine if a complaint, report of crime, or arrest is justified, to establish whether or not a crime has in fact been committed and to prepare the arraignment, including a complete summary of evidence pro and con, or, if in order, to declare an accused inculpable and quash the case.

Pretrial Procedure

Arrest may follow the investigation of a reported crime, or the word of one who sees the commission of crime (*flagrante delicto*). (The principle of citizen's arrest is recognized in the Constitution.) A person so committed to jail may not be held more than 12 hours without a warrant, signed by the investigating officer, giving valid reason for arrest. The accused may be held incommunicado for 72 hours from the moment of arrest, but severe penalties are incurred if this period is exceeded.

The investigating official must at once notify the appropriate judge and district or local attorney; he then proceeds to examine the accused, the material evidence and the witnesses. The accused is interrogated, though not under oath, and may not be compelled to give testimony against himself, his blood relations to the fourth degree or relatives by marriage to the second. Witnesses are sworn. House search may be made only by warrant, and in normal cases only between the hours of 5 A.M. to 7 P.M., and receipts are given for articles removed. Force may be used to enter uninhabited places.

The accused is entitled to counsel; if he does not have one, or even if he does not want one, the judge will appoint one to advise him. The accused is questioned only in the presence of his attorney, except when his or a victim's or witnesses' death is imminent or in a comparable emergency. He may receive no coaching on his answers and does not confront the witnesses. All testimony is reduced to writing, as are visual observations of the investigator or expert witnesses of the corpus delicti and the scene of the crime. All testimony and papers of record are signed by the persons making them.

The investigation must be completed within 30 days, unless more than one crime or one accused are involved, in which case 60 days are allowed. Bail is permitted at any point in the proceedings after the first determination of a *prima facie* case, unless there is a rather extensive list of serious crimes. The entire record of testimony—if the case justifies trial—completed by a statement of arraignment made by the investigating judge goes to the Circuit

Judge of the area, who refers it to the appropriate court of first instance.

Trials

For common citizens (neither high officials nor ecclesiastics) the highest courts of first instance are the Superior Courts of the Judicial Districts, which have jurisdiction in the most serious crimes, ranging from treason to embezzlement of sums of Col\$1,000 or more. The circuit courts try crimes in the medium range, and municipal courts those ranging from serious mayhem to thefts of a value not over Col\$20. Police courts have jurisdiction over misdemeanors, minor mayhem or assault and, in some cases, property offenses involving up to Col\$100. Military offenses and most offenses committed during a state of war or state of siege are tried in military courts (see ch. 33, The Armed Forces).

After reference to a court, a case is subject to further examination by the government attorneys, the secretary of the court, the defense, the lawyer for the *parte civil* (the side which presents the claim for damages) and, in some cases, court experts, who give an estimate of actual and punitive damages that may be assessed. Such delays are subject to specific regulation and many last for 100 days. During this period, the judge is required to interrogate the accused in chambers twice on the facts, his personal history and background and "on everything which tends to reveal his personality." In Colombian law, any suit for damages caused by the alleged acts of the accused runs concurrently with the criminal trial. A separate set of legal representatives argue this case at the same hearing, following the presentation of evidence of the crime.

Juries are employed only in trials before Superior Judges of Judicial Districts; they are used in all criminal cases within the court's competence except piracy, speculation and allied crimes, perjury, counterfeiting, forgery, crimes such as arson which creates a common danger, larceny, robbery, extortion, intimidation, bribery and embezzlement. For any given case three jurors are drawn by lot from a panel of 200 names furnished the court by the Superior District Tribunal (the next higher court). Challenges are permitted, if based on grounds of possible bias or involvement in the case, including relationship in the sixth degree to any party to it or to any of the court personnel.

The trial opens with the reading of the order to proceed in the case and any other papers requested, after which the judge interrogates the accused. Next, the opposing parties may question the accused, the witnesses and experts. Argument and one rebuttal are then exercised by the prosecuting attorney, the *parte civil*, and the accused or his representative, in that order. The judge may intervene with questions or rulings at any point.

Where a jury is present, it votes in closed court by answering, "Yes," or, "No," to a written question by the judge in a fixed form: "Is the accused (by name) responsible for the acts . . . (here are specified exactly the allegations of the arraignment)." Degrees of guilt are not the concern of the jury, but they must answer a question as to whether or not the accused suffers mental derangement. A majority vote carries each question. If the judge concurs with the jury, he considers the matters of degrees of guilt, the principle of greater or less danger (*peligrosidad*) to the public which the accused and his intent in committing the crime present, as well as previous good or bad conduct and character. In consideration of these matters and within the limits prescribed in the Penal Code, the judge passes sentence within 15 days.

If the evidence makes it appear that the jury's verdict is clearly contrary to the facts disclosed, the judge may so indicate to the next higher court and request review. If that court supports the judge, a retrial before a new jury is ordered, the results of which are final.

Penalties

The death penalty is forbidden by the Constitution, and the Penal Code makes no mention of life imprisonment.

The prescribed penalties, graduated according to severity of conditions and length are as follows:

<i>Presidio</i> (Penitentiary)	1 to 24 years
<i>Prisión</i> (Prison)	6 months to 8 years
<i>Arresto</i> (Confinement)	1 day to 5 years
<i>Confinamiento</i> (Restriction)	3 months to 3 years
<i>Multa</i> (Fine)	Col\$2 to Col\$5000

Presidio involves assignment to a penitentiary under maximum security conditions and always begins with a period of solitary confinement of one month to two years after which daily labor in the institution workshops or farm or on public works is required.

Prisión is served in a designated prison or special agricultural penal colony. Work outside the limits of the institution may not be required.

Arresto is less severe confinement and offers the prisoner a choice of whatever types of work may be organized in the institution.

Confinamiento carried the requirement that the person condemned reside in a fixed place, at least 100 kilometers from his or his victim's usual house, or from the place where the crime was committed.

Fines are graduated not only in proportion to the seriousness of the offense, but also to the economic conditions of the offender. Fines in default are converted to *arresto* at the rate of one day for each Col\$2.00 unpaid.

There are also accessory penalties which may be adjudged, and in some cases automatically added to the basic sentence. They include restricted residence, prominent publicity of the sentence, the loss (sometimes permanent) of civil rights, the prohibition to exercise a profession or craft, the loss of government pension and retirement pay, a bond to keep the peace, assignment (without confinement and with the family) to a penal farm colony and the loss of parental rights. In general sentences to penitentiary or prison include all appropriate accessory penalties for the term of confinement.

The criminally insane, drug addicts and alcoholics receive special treatment. Depending on the seriousness of the offenses and their state or condition of addiction, they may be confined in insane asylums or special farm colonies, paroled under surveillance, ordered to labor on public works or forbidden to frequent public places where temptations to relapse might be irresistible.

The Penal Code has 316 articles defining felonies (*delitos*) and assessing penalties. In nearly every case, an upper and lower limit is set on the period of confinement or the amount of the fine, which allows the judge latitude in sentencing. In many instances special definitions of aggravating or ameliorating circumstances are provided, in which case the penalty must be increased or decreased in a fixed proportion. The Code is silent on the subject of misdemeanors (*contravenciones*) except to indicate that they are in the competence of police courts. They are said to be defined in police regulations and in municipal ordinances.

Immunity under the statute of limitations principle applies 30 years after the date of the crime for the most serious offenses, after a lapse equal to the prescribed sentence for offenses in the middle range, and five years after commission for the rest.

Review, Appeal, Suspension and Pardon

Review by the next higher court is automatic when a sentence involves more than one year of any type of deprivation of personal liberty. Furthermore, a complete system of appeal is prescribed, the terms of which include strict limits of time in the interests of speedy justice. In some circumstances, the case may eventually reach the Supreme Court.

When the sentence involves *arresto* for no more than three years or *prisión* for no more than two, the judge may grant suspension of sentence of from two to five years under peace bond. Where *arresto* or *prisión* is imposed for more than two years, and two-thirds of the sentence has been served, or when in any case of sentence to *presidio* three-quarters of the time has been served with good conduct, and

with the concurrence of the Attorney General and the prison council of the particular institution, the remainder may be suspended and the prisoner paroled.

In minor crimes of violence and against property, where mitigating circumstances exist and the criminal makes restitution, judicial pardon is allowed. Pardon and amnesty for political offenses can be decreed only by the President in accordance with the specific law of Congress.

Minors

Since 1946 there has been a Juvenile Court in each department to conduct proceedings involving infractions of law by persons under 18, and to take cognizance of cases of abandoned and neglected children. The judge of each court is assisted by a psychiatrist, a special investigator and social workers.

Upon apprehending a person under 18, all police are directed to report the case to the Juvenile Court, meantime, if possible, remanding the offender under bond to his parents or guardians, but in no case confining him in the company of common criminals. The Judge of Minors is required to study the personality and environment of the minor, a process that may last as long as 90 days, before conducting a hearing. All proceedings are held in confidence, and all public information media are forbidden to publish the name of the offender.

Punishments for minors in this age group range in ascending order of severity from simple admonition to commitment to a special reformatory for minors. All punishments include the provision that the minor must receive mental and moral education.

Habitual Criminality

Extraordinary Decree 14 of 1955 was passed to provide general authority to proceed against the habitual criminal. The Penal Code had no similar provisions but took account of repeated offenses only in a few specific crimes, usually only increasing the permissible sentence by a fraction. Decree 14 established the legal principle of the state of special social peril (*estado de especial peligrosidad social*), and prescribed the conditions under which proceedings could be started by reason of prior record—in general, for two or more cases of a specified crime within 10 years, or three or more misdemeanors within three years. Under the law, habituality is implied where the offender was arrested and investigated, even though conditionally released on grounds of insufficient evidence. Thirty-two categories of offenses are listed including crimes of violence and those against property and public morals, as well as vagrancy and professional begging. Chronic alcoholism, drug addiction and violent insanity are included to permit restriction to a hospital or a mental institution for treatment.

Jurisdiction in such cases is given to designated existing courts, including police courts, and additional courts authorized for this purpose. Procedure may be initiated on complaint or from the record of past offenses. Apprehension and investigation follow normal rules, except that the intervention of the representative of the Public Ministry (State's Attorney) is discretionary. The accused is entitled to legal representation. The case is tried in private and on the basis of the record only, unless expert testimony is called.

Sentences are always confinement in an agricultural penal colony except in medical cases. They are discretionary within set limits, as in the penal code, and range from 1 to 10 years. Review is required, and appeal may be filed, as under the code of criminal proceedings.

PRISONS AND PENAL FARMS

Administration

The Ministry of Justice is charged with the administration of the prison system through its Department of Prisons. Most prison personnel belong to this department, but prison guards are on permanent detail from the police. The directors of prisons are in some cases police officers borrowed from the National Police and, in others, retired army officers. The principal officers of a prison constitute the Council of Discipline, which is concerned with such matters as internal discipline, parole and pardons. There is also a Council of Guardianship (Consejo de Patronato) which is quasi-governmental in that it consists of government representatives, members of charitable or welfare organizations and prominent citizens. Its duty is general prison welfare, and its recommendations carry some weight.

Prisons are classified in three main types: penitentiaries, district prisons and municipal jails. Penitentiaries are few in number and include a central one, La Picota, in Bogotá and others at Tunja, Barranquilla, Ibagué, and one or two older ones. The newest, completed in 1960, is on the island of Gorgona in the Pacific, 20 miles from the coast of Cauca and 75 from the port of Buenaventura. It is a maximum security prison for the most dangerous criminals; the accumulated sentence of each of its present few hundred inmates ranges from 50 to 100 years. Eventually it is expected to house 1,000 prisoners. There is a district jail for each judicial district and a municipal jail in most municipalities. There are also a few women's prisons, one in Bogotá. Otherwise women are confined in separate sections of penitentiaries.

Only two penal agricultural colonies are known to exist. One, Araracuara, for dangerous prisoners with long terms, is isolated in the tropical jungle of Amazonas on the Caquetá River. The other and far larger one, for lesser offenders, is at Acacías, south of Villavicencio, the capital of Meta.

Prison Conditions

Most of the prisons in the country are old, and some very crowded. Health conditions are poor, and rations are said to be adequate in quantity but nutritionally deficient.

There is much emphasis in the law codes on reform and rehabilitation through work. The policy may be well applied at the penal colonies, and possibly at some of the prisons in the smaller cities, but in the old prisons of the large cities overcrowding has made the workshops inadequate, and there is no land available for prison gardens. Poor living and working conditions, coupled with forced idleness, have produced disorder and indiscipline. Murders among the inmates have concerned the authorities and have occasioned continuing press comment, especially in Bogotá.

A press report of Bogotá dated at the end of 1960, based allegedly on official records, disclosed that there were 186 prison deaths during the year, of which more than 100 were murders by other prisoners. The balance died from illness and accident or were killed trying to escape. Prison murders in Bogotá alone totaled 40.

During the same year, 547 prisoners escaped from the jails of the country. Many escapes are laid to administrative laxity and lack of training and discipline of the guards. For example, in Bogotá it was found that many prisoners were given passes without authority, some for over night. Also, many of the guards were known to have fraternized and gambled with the prisoners and accepted bribes to bring them tools and weapons.

THE INCIDENCE OF CRIME

Crime Rates

Over the past few years (the last full statistics available are for 1958) the crime rate has risen steadily, as evidenced by both the number of investigations initiated and the number of persons accused as a result. Not only has the absolute number increased, but also the rate per 100,000 of estimated population (see table 1).

Table 1. Crimes Investigated and Rate per 100,000, 1956-58

Year	Investigations	Persons accused	Cases per 100,000
1956.....	87, 146	108, 962	842. 1
1957.....	102, 993	123, 820	956. 1
1958.....	118, 802	152, 018	1, 131. 6

Source: Colombia, Departamento, Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, *Anuario General de Estadística*, 1958, p. 364, 365.

Throughout this period the same four departments, not always in the same order, had the highest rates. In 1958 they were, in descending order, Cundinamarca, Tolima, Cauca and Huila. Of the persons accused of crime in 1958, 93.6 percent were male, and where such information was reported, 42 percent were from 18 to 25 years of age and nearly 85 percent were literate. Almost all had some form of employment.

Considering the number of investigations and persons involved, the number of trials and, still more striking, the number of eventual convictions are remarkably small (see table 2).

Of the 8,010 convicted of felony in 1958, more than half received sentences to *prisión*, and about one-fifth to *presidio* (see table 3).

Table 2. Trials and Results, 1954-58

	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958
Trials heard.....	24,010	29,390	27,705	27,749	30,937
Cases continued or quashed.....	13,188	19,982	18,283	19,364	19,307
Acquittals.....	1,818	1,669	1,849	1,442	1,620
Convictions.....	8,304	7,739	7,573	6,943	8,010
Convictions per 100,000 pop.....	67.1	61.1	58.5	52.2	59.2

Source: *Anuario General de Estadística, 1958*, p. 399.

Table 3. Punishments Imposed for Convictions of Felony, 1958

Presidio.....	1,637 (1 to 24 years)
Prisión.....	4,484 (6 mos. to 8 years)
Arresto.....	876 (1 day to 3 years)
Penal Colony.....	906 (1 to 10 years)
Fined.....	38
Suspended Sentence.....	13
Criminally Insane.....	44
Peace Bond.....	6
Labor at Public Works.....	6
	<hr/> 8,010

Source: *Anuario General de Estadística, 1958*.

Crime statistics partially available for 1959 and 1960 disclose that the incidence of serious crime remained basically unchanged from that of 1958 and previous years. The five crimes of great frequency studied are homicide, assault and mayhem, robbery, stock stealing and sexual crimes (see table 4).

The Juvenile Courts heard 6,435 cases in 1958, an increase of about 1,000 from the average of the four previous years. Of the

cases heard, 4,310 were first offenses, 1,310 were repeaters, and 815 were "protection cases," that is, with no punishment considered.

The prison population, exclusive of municipal jails, showed a net gain for the year 1958 but nevertheless a considerable decrease from that of the end of 1955 (see table 5).

Table 4. Frequent Crimes, 1958 and 1959-60

Crime	1958	July-Dec. 1959	Jan.-June 1960	12 months 1959-60
Homicide.....	7,797	3,805	2,936	6,741
Mayhem.....	30,624	16,611	16,244	32,855
Robbery.....	16,440	8,023	8,061	16,084
Stock stealing.....	5,730	3,243	3,270	6,513
Sexual.....	4,742	2,669	3,217	5,886

Source: Adapted from *Anuario General de Estadística, 1958*, p. 363, and *Boletín Mensual de Estadística*, No. 119, February 1961, p. 9.

Table 5. Prison Population, 1955 and 1958

Prison type	Dec. 31, 1955	Jan. 1, 1958	Dec. 31, 1958
Penitentiaries.....	1,313	2,287	2,269
District jails.....	9,190	9,687	11,529
Circuit jails.....	18,000	4,793	6,659
Women's jails.....	35	764	809
Penal colonies.....	1,404	1,670	1,366
Detention jails.....	366	243	231
Correction jails.....	168	191	136
Totals.....	30,476	19,635	22,999

Source: *Anuario General de Estadística, 1958*, p. 410, 411, and *Anuario General de Estadística, 1955*, p. 247.

None of the statistics given, except those in table 5, take into account misdemeanants or vagrants. During 1958 these offenses resulted in the jailing, usually for short terms, of 4,580 for vagrancy and pick-pocketing, 555 for tax fraud and evasion and 18,012 for minor police charges. An indeterminate number of habitual vagrants presumably increased the number in the penal colonies, under the "special social peril" decree of 1955.

Smuggling

The violation of customs regulations by the illicit export and import of goods, including the systematic smuggling of firearms,

constitutes a considerable loss to the national economy and a serious addition to the criminal potential.

The press contains many reflections on the seriousness of the situation and the government's apparent inability to correct it. A year-end article in the Bogotá newspaper *El Tiempo* gives an estimate of the extent of illegal traffic during 1960, based on independent investigation. The paper offers a figure of Col\$360 million annually as the value of contraband entering the country by coastal smuggling. The principal areas of entry are on the Caribbean coast, especially the Guajira Peninsula and the Gulf of Urabá. Carrying less bulk than the power boats used for coastal smuggling, but nevertheless of some importance in the trade in arms and ammunition, are light planes capable of landing on any cleared piece of level terrain. The paper estimates that 3,000 pistols and revolvers are smuggled in each month.

According to *El Tiempo* the trade is highly organized; import has its capital base in the proceeds of the sale of coffee illegally exported, and therefore constitutes a double drain on the economy. There is also an estimated loss of more than Col\$100 million in cattle driven over the Venezuela border. Besides arms, the most lucrative items of import are whisky, porcelains, electrical accessories and women's clothes.

The government customs service (*aduana*) is very poorly supported by the budget. It has few planes, its coastal patrol boats are inferior to those of the smugglers and it has only 3,000 agents (*resguardos*) for nearly 1,900 miles of coastline. The service, apparently completely independent of the police, is so poorly paid that its agents are under constant temptation to accept bribes.

CHAPTER 23

FOREIGN POLICIES

The outstanding positive foreign policy goal has long been to obtain from abroad the economic benefits—chiefly investment and loans, but also improved trade relations—that would assist the country to overcome the besetting problem of poverty. Large-scale economic development hinges upon aid, chiefly from the United States; domestic reform in the economic and social sphere would be insufficient in itself, though it may be a condition for obtaining the needed amount of assistance, as President Kennedy's message of March 1961 suggested. This is a principal objective of foreign policy, one possibly more attainable through a passive and cooperative role in hemisphere relations and international organizations than by diplomatic initiative (see ch. 32, Foreign Economic Relations).

A secondary aim is security. Since no pressing threat to independence or national integrity exists at present, this aim entails little unilateral diplomatic initiative or innovation, but places heavy reliance upon the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) as institutional means for maintaining order and stability, particularly in the Caribbean area, most vital to Colombia's economic ties. Full participation in these organizations also helps satisfy the strong Colombian interest in legal, and indeed legalistic, solutions to international problems, the antithesis of a resort to force that would be inimical to its national security and interest.

Given the limited aims and small domestic impact of foreign policy, cultural intercourse plays a major role in external relations. Less palpable and apparently less vital than the usual political, military or economic involvements, cultural relations nevertheless reveal more strikingly the underlying sympathies and inclinations of the ruling class. Economic dependence on United States trade and assistance cloaks the persistent undercurrent of antipathy toward the great power of the hemisphere. Cultural exchange with the United States has recently developed to impressive magnitude in response to deliberate efforts by Washington, since the advent of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy, to counteract Latin American hostility. Yet the attraction of Colombian intellectuals to France and French culture exists without programed stimulation. The ap-

peal of Spanish thought and literature has an obvious historical basis, and Colombia feels a cultural affinity for the Latin countries of Europe exceeding any comparable feeling toward nearer neighbors.

Among immediate neighbors, Venezuela and Ecuador enjoy the greatest good will; Peru is much less respected. Relationships with other South American countries are comparatively recent, although there is a record of cooperation with Chile, particularly in police and military training. A Colombian educator, Daniel Samper Ortega, observed before World War II that the least expensive way to go from Colombia to Brazil was via New York. Since the war advances in transportation and communication have brought Colombia into closer relations with other countries of South and Central America. Despite frequent disagreements among themselves, they usually unite in supporting the rights of small nations against larger powers. In disputes between the United States and the Soviet Union, however, Colombia and most of its neighbors have consistently supported the United States. At the same time, they clearly do not welcome any prospect of intensified involvement in the cold war.

Since the restoration of amicable relations with the United States in the 1920's following the prolonged bitterness over the Panama Canal, and since the settlement of boundary disputes with its neighbors, Colombia's foreign relations have held to a quiet course. Only an inflammatory issue or threat has been able to evoke toward external affairs the popular or official interest which domestic politics hold. With the possible exception of Castro's Cuba no such issue has appeared since World War II. Partly for this reason, and partly because of the limited objectives of Colombian foreign policy, the postwar record of external relations has been relatively constant and predictable in spite of extreme fluctuations on the domestic political scene (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

Nevertheless, Colombia, without contributing to international disorder itself, has been surrounded since World War II by potential crises. The success of the OAS in mediating and resolving most quarrels of the area appears to justify a continued reliance on that organization for maintaining the peaceful conditions essential to the country's security.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Colombia's entry into the twentieth century brought little change in its long-standing isolation from world affairs. Even after World War II, when international relations increasingly demanded the nation's attention, Colombia preserved substantially its isolationist position by channeling its external relations mainly through the OAS and the United Nations. In this manner, bilateral involve-

ments were either minimized or focused specifically on economic or cultural relations, leaving the large issues of international peace and security to the available hemispheric and global forums.

Throughout its history, Colombia's relations with other countries have been limited by the lack of particular goals attainable through international political involvement. The record therefore wears the appearance of long periods of passivity punctuated by occasional boundary disputes with hemispheric neighbors. The important exception to this parochial pattern arose just after the turn of the century and involved Colombia in two decades of rancor and re-crimination with the United States over the question of Panama.

In January 1903, Tomás Herrán, Colombian plenipotentiary, and John Hay, pursuing President Theodore Roosevelt's quest for an American-owned canal across the Panamanian isthmus, signed a treaty leasing to the United States a canal zone in Panama on terms financially advantageous to Colombia. This was the culmination of a prolonged set of maneuvers and negotiations which had finally focused United States intentions on Panama in preference to Nicaragua, and which had included arrangements between the United States and Britain covering their respective rights in management of a future canal. The United States Congress had authorized, in the Spooner Act, acquisition of a canal zone and the property of the French Panama Canal Company. Accordingly, the Senate quickly ratified the Hay-Herrán treaty. But the Colombian Congress, motivated by concern for its country's sovereign rights and by the prospect of added financial benefit, rejected the treaty and thereby brought Roosevelt's cherished project to an impasse.

The President was prepared to overcome this latest obstacle by extralegal means and would have recommended to Congress that the canal be started without a treaty. But developments in Panama itself offered an alternative course that was quickly grasped. The separatist sentiment that had long characterized Panama's relation with the central government in Bogotá erupted once again in a revolution led by José Arango and designed to create an independent Republic of Panama. The Panamanian junta blocked efforts to maintain the authority of Bogotá for only a few days in November until the United States, acting in unseemly haste, bestowed recognition on the new republic.

The way was thereby cleared for construction of the canal independent of Colombia's wishes. But relations between Colombia and the United States were poisoned for many years to come. The first major attempt at reconciliation occurred in 1909 when a treaty was signed and presented to the Colombian legislature (see ch. 2, Historical Setting). Nationalist passions and indignation over the canal incident were still so strong that the treaty was rejected, an act

contributing to the fall of the Colombian President, Rafael Reyes. The Wilson administration renewed the effort to restore friendly relations in 1914, but the provision of the proposed treaty providing for indemnification of Colombia seemed to many pro-Roosevelt United States senators a repudiation of the former president's achievement, and the treaty failed to gain Senate approval.

Not until 1921 was a treaty ratified that contained enough concessions to please Colombians without provoking opposition in Washington. The growing importance of Colombian oil played a significant role in establishing in the United States a climate favorable to the restoration of friendly relations with Colombia. Subsequent relations, based largely upon the fruitful economic ties which complementary economies can enjoy, have been stable and amicable. The Colombian residue of ill will toward the North American colossus, reflected in occasional complaints about intervention and dollar diplomacy, has not materially affected diplomatic relations.

Colombia's difficulties with its Central and South American neighbors have consisted of occasional boundary disputes that have interrupted otherwise uneventful records of polite, but hardly intimate, contact. The loss of Panama in 1903 erased one such problem with Costa Rica, substituting for it a disagreement with Panama itself. The latter dispute remained unsettled until after Colombian-United States relations improved; in 1924 Colombia and Panama resolved the boundary question by treaty and entered into diplomatic relations.

A dispute of greater importance took place in 1932 when Peru seized an area around Leticia in the Amazon Valley. Colombia's relations with Peru had never been so close as its historic ties with Ecuador and Venezuela, and feelings were aroused to a high pitch over this disagreement. A League of Nations commission reached a settlement in 1934 whereby the area was returned to Colombia, but the issue has survived as a latent source of ill will between the two countries.

In 1941 a long-standing dispute with Venezuela involving substantial territory reopened, but a resolution was obtained without resort to violence. The Grancolombian idea for reconstituting a larger national entity composed of Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela, although not an immediate or practical possibility, has retained its appeal in some circles. Undoubtedly it has contributed to the generally friendly context in which relations among the three countries have been conducted.

Throughout the interwar period and after, Colombia was a cooperative participant in inter-American affairs. It served, for example, as a member of the Committee of Investigation and Conciliation which tried without success to mediate the quarrel between

Bolivia and Paraguay that gave rise to the Chaco War in 1932.

The absence of intimate involvement in international politics made Colombia, in common with most of its neighbors, a neutral arena for competing cultural influences. The Good Neighbor Policy, inaugurated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, represented the United States' first large-scale program of cultural diplomacy and was designed to obliterate the unfriendly sentiments surviving in Latin America from the era of intervention and so-called dollar diplomacy. By means of cultural exchange and more helpful trade policies, the United States hoped to establish its place in, and thereby strengthen, the inter-American system. Counterposed to the concept of hemispheric solidarity and cooperation was the program conducted by Spain, France and Germany, emphasizing the selfish motives of the United States and the traditional cultural ties between Latin America and Europe.

Colombia's behavior at the beginning of World War II signified at least a partial victory for hemispheric solidarity. Before Pearl Harbor the United States had an agreement with Colombia providing a military mission to assist in the improved training of the latter's armed forces; a trade agreement reached in 1940 added strength to commercial relations between the two countries. After the outbreak of the war, Colombia joined with Mexico and Venezuela in sponsoring a resolution at the Rio Conference (January 1942) which would have required all Latin America signatories of the Havana Declaration of 1940 to sever diplomatic relations with the Axis powers. Failing to secure anything more than a "recommendation" to this effect, Colombia itself broke off diplomatic relations and promptly moved to expropriate the SCADTA airline, which was suspect because it was founded and run by German and Austrian pilots after World War I as the first Western Hemisphere commercial airline. These steps were a marked contrast with Colombian neutrality in World War I.

MACHINERY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Colombian Constitution gives almost exclusive jurisdiction over foreign relations to the chief executive. As in domestic matters, the President is responsible for the formulation and execution of official foreign policy, subject to the rather weak check of the Congress. He has an unrestricted power of appointment and removal of his Cabinet ministers; he controls and directs the armed forces; and he is expressly protected by the Constitution against legislative inquiry into diplomatic instructions and secret negotiations. Article 20 contains the two principal delegations of authority in external relations, empowering the President:

To provide for the external security of the Republic defending the independence and honor of the Nation and the inviolability of its territory; to declare war with the consent of the Senate or to make war without such consent when it becomes necessary to repel a foreign invasion; and to conclude and ratify the treaty of peace, reporting his actions with pertinent documents to the next session of Congress;

... to direct the diplomatic and commercial relations with foreign powers, appoint Diplomatic Agents, receive foreign diplomatic representatives, and to enter into treaties and conventions which shall be submitted to Congress for approval.

Thus, the Congress as a whole retains only the power to approve treaties and "to call upon the Government for written or verbal reports necessary for the better performance of the work of the respective House." The Senate retains the power to authorize declarations of war, although circumstances could permit circumvention of this provision. The President, paramount in all governmental functioning, is therefore given a still freer hand in the conduct of external relations.

The Constitution is otherwise silent on the subject of foreign relations except to stipulate that "the Government may celebrate with the Holy See, subject to subsequent approval by Congress, conventions for the regulation of the relations between the State and the Catholic Church on bases of reciprocal deference and mutual respect," a provision revealing the privileged role of the Roman Catholic Church and the Holy See in Colombia.

Although the foreign minister is customarily an official of importance in the governmental hierarchy, the diplomatic establishment is small—in keeping with the modest role played by foreign policy. The diplomatic corps has remained a virtual monopoly of the upper class, drawing most frequently upon professional persons, intellectuals and retired military officers for its personnel. In the more informal realms of cultural and economic relations, the country is most often represented by persons of elevated status in the social pyramid (see ch. 6, Social Structure).

The process of foreign policy determination, like the substance of the nation's foreign policy, is remarkably unchanging. Colombia's withdrawn position in international politics and the limited nature of its foreign policy objectives keep enunciations of external policy from weighing heavily in domestic politics. So long as the government's position remains prudent and conservative, as it has in recent years, foreign policy debates in Congress and among the public do not arouse particular fervor. For the most part, then, the Government of the day pursues a familiar and accepted course with changes of phrasing when appropriate to differentiate the contending political parties. Only when economic advantage appears to be at stake or when a disruptive factor such as the Cuban

revolution clouds the hemispheric horizon is the government challenged to adjust its foreign policy. But even in such a case the tendency is to rely upon the legal formulas and conciliation mechanisms of the OAS rather than to strike out independently on a new course.

CURRENT POLICIES AND RELATIONS

In August 1958, Colombian Foreign Minister Turbay Ayala joined with his counterparts from Venezuela and Ecuador to enunciate the common features of their countries' foreign policies. The resulting Declaration of Bogotá was significant in several ways: it expressed the intention of the participating countries to maintain harmony in their external relations and to work toward a common market that would eliminate the profound concern of the three governments with economic and cultural relations, relegating international politics to a secondary level; and it demonstrated by its main emphases the close connection between domestic problems and foreign policy.

The declaration advocated that the three countries try to influence the rest of Latin America to participate more actively in "promoting world peace and security," and it underlined the importance of human rights and juridical principles. The principal approach to such matters was understood to be through the international organizations to which the three belong, notably the United Nations and the OAS. It was evident, however, that Turbay Ayala and his colleagues were mainly concerned with the internal problem of economic development and that their views on foreign relations were strongly conditioned by this central issue. This accounts for the common market idea and the stated connection between cultural interchange and social progress. Even the ideals of peace and justice were stated in close association with the aspiration to raise living standards. It follows that much of Colombian foreign policy is concerned with foreign trade and that most relations with foreign countries are seen primarily in their economic dimension (see ch. 32, Foreign Economic Relations).

Cultural relations also have an economic aspect insofar as they lead to establishing in Colombia necessary schools and other training establishments and to acquiring technical aid. A large portion of such aid through cultural diplomacy has derived from North American sources, beginning with the Good Neighbor Policy and continuing in the period after World War II. But cultural ties, since they seldom involve dangerous political commitments, allow much latitude for expressing the profound relationship to the Latin countries of Europe and the long-standing affinity for England. Colombia, in particular among South American countries, with its

proprietary attitude toward the Spanish cultural tradition, makes much of its kindred feeling for the Spanish, French and Italian literary and artistic products of Europe. Yet such cultural bonds are intangible and seldom assume the palpable form of exchange agreements and cooperative educational ventures which typify Colombia's relations with other OAS member states and especially with North America. Indeed, the Declaration of Bogotá referred explicitly to cultural interchange among "countries of this hemisphere."

The political aspects of external relations are generally through international organizations, the OAS, where only the hemisphere is concerned, and the United Nations, in matters involving Europe. Colombia is becoming increasingly aware of the whole globe, either through considerations of trade or through its responsible role in the United Nations, and a trend has begun that will gradually modify the country's exclusive orientation to the hemisphere and Western Europe. Colombian participation in the Korean War through its United Nations contingent was a case in which the larger dimensions of world politics forced themselves upon the attention of Colombia. Developing competition from Africa in coffee growing and exporting is another intrusion into Colombian isolation. Even the Soviet bloc, emphatically ignored by Colombian diplomacy since Colombia severed diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1948, will demand increasing attention, either by trade blandishments or through United Nations affairs.

Organization of American States

The Organization of American States was founded at the Bogotá Conference of American States in 1948. The direct outgrowth of the Pan American movement which established an inter-American organization in 1889-90, the OAS represented an adjustment of the inter-American system to new developments of the postwar period. In particular, it became a regional grouping of the type foreseen (and fought for by Latin American representatives) in the founding of the United Nations; its charter is closely related to the appropriate provisions of the United Nations Charter. The OAS Charter, though formally of recent vintage, embodies the institutions and procedures developed over many years of hemispheric consultation. Also basic to OAS are the Rio Treaty of 1947, in effect a hemispheric defense pact, and the Pact of Bogotá which consolidates a generation of experience in maintaining harmony among the member states.

The OAS Charter provides for numerous boards and committees to deal with special problems, as well as for the Pan American Union as a secretariat. But its prime organ is the periodic Inter-

American Conference which ordinarily meets every five years to elaborate policy for the whole organization and to deal with any threat to amicable relations within the hemisphere. Its most dramatic body is the Foreign Ministers' Meeting which is obligatory in the event of an armed attack on any portion of the Western Hemisphere and which may gather to deal with any emergency. The first one under the new organization scheme was called at the request of the United States in 1951 to strengthen hemispheric bonds against the "aggressive policy of international communism."

The OAS is burdened in its operations by occasionally competing interests among its members and, particularly, by the memory of United States interventionist policies. The emotional reaction of Latin Americans to any hint of intervention has proved a difficult obstacle to positive action, for almost any genuine threat to the hemisphere would entail some action by the United States that could be regarded as intervention. This helps to explain the Castro emphasis upon selfish United States intentions in his propaganda appeals to Latin Americans.

At the same time, the OAS has great attractions for Latin Americans precisely because it is based on the sovereign equality of member states and permits no great power veto as does the United Nations. Moreover, to nations like Colombia that carry too little weight in global politics to pursue a truly independent and effective foreign policy, the OAS affords a vehicle for concerting and thereby maximizing regional influence. The diverse and ramified functions performed by the OAS also permit member states to limit their diplomatic establishments, reduce their bilateral involvements and devote a minimum of attention to international affairs. A member can, while acting responsibly within the OAS, leave to that body a large portion of its foreign relations.

Despite its isolationist tendencies, Colombia has played an active part in OAS from the outset. Not only host to the founding conference, Colombia also supplied the new OAS with its first secretary-general, Alberto Lleras Camargo. More recently, the Colombian President, supported by a large segment of the press, welcomed President Kennedy's proposal for large-scale economic aid to Latin America, not only as beneficial to Colombia, but also as an important means of strengthening the inter-American system. Another, related phase was opened early in 1961 with the conclusion of an agreement with the United States providing that one of the first Peace Corps contingents would be sent to Colombia.

The Challenge of Cuba

The prevailing harmony and amity of the inter-American system suffered a rude shock with the emergence of the Castro regime in

Cuba. The Cuban revolution itself was enough to upset the more conservative forces in Colombia. The real disturbance arose, however, only after it became apparent that the new Cuban regime represented a challenge to established order in other countries of the hemisphere.

Colombians have staged several demonstrations both for and against the Castro government. The Cuban example activated a certain amount of residual hostility toward the United States, which was countered by other spokesmen reminding their countrymen of the gratitude due the United States for its aid. In August 1960 a group of peasant volunteers was organized to stand ready to defend Cuba against intervention. On the other hand, the Church and the conservative Laureanistas have vigorously opposed Castro and his presumed intentions.

Throughout, the government steered a cautious and non-committal course. Although Cuba had been requested to recall its ambassador in September 1960, a new envoy was proposed the following February, and diplomatic relations were uninterrupted. The government remained unperturbed in the face of criticism from both Right and Left, one wing desiring support for Castro and the other urging the severance of relations. Turbay Ayala defended the continuation of relations before the legislature, even when foreign policy debates and legislative inquiries called attention to attempts by the Cuban regime to organize movements to subvert the country's public order (see ch. 24, Subversive Potentialities). Official policy has remained generally critical of developments in Cuba, especially of the suspected role of China and the Soviet Union in disturbing hemispheric harmony by means of their influence in Cuba. Through early 1961, however, there has been no apparent official desire to take the initiative in action against Castro except in pursuing a policy agreed upon by members of the OAS.

The United Nations

It is mainly through the General Assembly of the United Nations and the various specialized United Nations agencies that Colombia conducts its relations with the world outside the Western Hemisphere. Aside from its bilateral trade relations and other predominantly economic associations (such as the appointment of an ambassador to the European Economic Community), Colombia gears most of its global diplomatic relations to United Nations agendas and procedures. This does not necessarily rule out hostility, as when Khrushchev berated the Colombian delegate at the United Nations in October 1960. But it provides a legal and institutional framework within which Colombia can adjust its policies to the realities of the international power struggle while avoiding many of the pres-

tures which might otherwise afflict a relatively weak nation standing alone. With respect to the cold war which has so dominated United Nations proceedings at times, Colombia has been one of the more steadfast opponents of the Soviet bloc among the smaller powers, having broken diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1948. It was the only Latin American country to supply troops for United Nations action in Korea, though it has been alleged that this was as much the result of internal political struggles and the desire to assume an active role in the international arena.

Colombia and other Latin American countries had participated in the League of Nations with an enthusiasm that varied in direct proportion to the prestige of the organization. They had seen in the League, with its goal of universality, a counterweight to United States pre-eminence in the Western Hemisphere. Ultimate disenchantment with the League did not prevent a recurrence of this motive when Latin American delegates took part in the San Francisco Conference. Colombia was a leader in the vain effort to base the United Nations clearly on the principle of sovereign equality. There was, then, some irony in the subsequent turn to the OAS, which observed that principle, in preference to United Nations which accorded special status to the great powers. Nevertheless, the Latin Americans, who had participated in the wartime establishment of such bodies as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Monetary Fund, continued their active role in the United Nations and sought to insure that international law would replace force in international political relations.

More concretely, Latin Americans were haunted by the fear that the United Nations, with its veto provisions, could govern or block action within the inter-American system aimed at settling hemispheric disputes or meeting aggression from without. The Colombian delegate, Alberto Lleras Camargo, was a leading spokesman for the Latin American campaign which led to adoption of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter providing for collective self-defense on a regional basis.

Some additional measure of Colombian participation in the United Nations was the country's membership in the Security Council in 1947-48 and again in 1953-54. It was also the first Latin American member of the Economic and Social Council in 1946. Colombia's voting record in the United Nations places it squarely within the Latin American bloc; but, except on matters pertaining to the cold war, that bloc has been one of the less consistent voting groups. Colombia, which has taken a leading role in opposing the Communist members of the United Nations, has proved quite independent in its decisions on other substantive matters.

In general it can be said that Colombia has pursued prudent legal policies in its interpretations of issues before the General Assembly, voting so far as possible for the anti-Communist side in the cold war, for the rights of small nations, and for peaceful settlement of disputes on the basis of an international law conceived in ideal and somewhat doctrinaire terms. Since its own most cherished interests have seldom been at issue, Colombia has been able to assume a disinterested position—that is, however, subject to the influence of such factors as its loyalty to the Holy See and the OAS.

CHAPTER 24

SUBVERSIVE POTENTIALITIES

Almost none of the many rebellions, revolutions, *golpes de estado* (coups d'état) and other violent changes of government which have taken place in Colombia can accurately be classified as subversive of the form of the state. Many have been preceded by an illegal, conspiratorial phase, but almost without exception the purpose has been that of seizing power within the traditional framework of government. Constitutions have been set aside for the time being, but usually by the constitutional means of declaring an *estado de sitio* (state of siege); and constitutions have been changed, but never on the basis of altering either the essential forms and methods of government or their ideological foundations. Even Rojas Pinilla, who eventually made inept efforts to create a one-party support (the "People-Armed Forces" idea) for his regime, developed this idea quite openly within the framework of his personal dictatorship. He may have been sincere in his slogans of "country above party" as an effort to suppress the anarchy of long-continued partisan warfare, despite his simultaneous use of this "Third Force" to perpetuate himself in power. His effort at political rehabilitation in early 1961 was at least ostensibly based on the ballot, rather than force or conspiracy.

The only group or movement of known subversive principles, doctrine and purpose is the Colombian Communist Party (Partido Comunista Colombiano—PCC). It came into being in the mid-1920's, and under various names, either openly or underground, has maintained continuous existence ever since. Its estimated strength, never greater than 8,000, is of less importance than its propaganda and infiltration potential. The Party has always received its principal direction from Moscow, but since the late 1950's, there has been an increasing intrusion of Chinese Communist influence, and it is difficult to determine whether it is on a cooperative or competitive basis. Castroism (Fidelismo), which has attracted considerable spontaneous support in the lower class, has been freely utilized in Communist propaganda, particularly since it reinforces the ever-present anti-North American agitation.

Another group agitating against the government, the National Front and the traditional parties, the Armed Forces and United

States influence is the Worker-Students' Rural Movement of the 7th of January (Movimiento Obrero Estudiantil Campesino 7 de Enero—MOEC). Believed by some to be anarchist in principle, it is thought by others to be penetrated if not taken over by the PCC. In 1961 it was not strong enough to be seriously considered a "movement," but it had considerable nuisance value because of its demonstrations, riots and propaganda. Although anarcho-syndicalism had some supporters in the early labor movement it was too intellectual an exercise for the illiterate and lost most of its rank and file either to Communist-controlled or conventional labor unions years ago. Even if it in fact survives in MOEC, it is without real subversive potential.

The Movement for Liberal Recovery (Movimiento de Recuperación Liberal—MRL) is accused of Communist sympathies and connections by Conservatives and some moderate Liberals. Its official position is that of a dissident left wing of the Liberal Party based on Gaitanista principles of drastic social and economic reform. Its *jefe único* (sole leader), Alfonso López Michelsen, in his efforts to build voting strength has employed tactics of political mobility to a degree that renders him liable to a charge of demagoguery. On the one hand, the MRL clings to its Liberal Party designation and denies any commitment to the PCC, while on the other it maintains a separate directorate, and López has announced that his party will accept Communist votes (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Early Activity

Communism as a movement or organization did not appear in Colombia until 1924. At this time an agitator sent from Russia organized discussion and study groups of intellectuals, students and workers in Bogotá. The Grupo Comunista, as it was called, included among its members a number of liberal intellectuals who later became prominent in the Liberal Party, among them Gabriel Turbay, who was one of the Liberal candidates for president in 1946. Besides the Bogotá group, others of similar nature were organized in Cali, in Medellín, and in the "banana zone" of the Magdalena Valley.

Police attention soon resulted in the deportation of the Russian, Savidesky (or Savisky, or Sawitsky, as it is variously spelled), and the break-up of the Bogotá group. The publicity given the affair, however, particularly in the Liberal press, awakened interest in and sympathy for the communist movement, especially among the working class.

Most of the publicly known history of Communist operations deals with efforts to gain control of the labor movement (see ch. 15, Labor Relations and Organization). In this field the Communists found the anarcho-syndicalists already active. They furnished the majority of delegates to the Workers' Congress of 1925, from which resulted the National Workers' Confederation (Confederación Obrera Nacional), the first "union of unions" in the country. The anarcho-syndicalists, part of whose body of dogma preaches complete freedom of association and rejects all forms of control expressed through a discipline of centralism, whether of government or party, were out-manuevered by the better-organized Communists, and the confederation elected a Communist president who took it into the Red International of Trade Unions. The next step, taken at the Congress of 1926, was to form a labor party. After some debate, a majority of the center decided to form the Socialist Revolutionary Party (Partido Socialista Revolucionario—PSR), which, for the time being, became engaged in propaganda and proselytizing. In 1927 the PSR applied for affiliation in the Third International (Comintern). Upon gaining membership the PSR began to send representatives to the U.S.S.R. for important meetings and to assume posts in Communist international bodies. Ignacio Torres Giraldo, member of the Party's Central Committee, became a member of the presidium of the Red International of Trade Unions, the predecessor of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

Like other Colombian parties, the PSR soon showed itself subject to factionalism. The left wing, entirely Marxist in its theses, was opposed by a sizeable faction of people basically Liberal in their sympathies. They had joined the PSR in the hope of being able to bring about a general strike to overthrow by violent means the Conservative Party which had held power continuously since the beginning of the century. The banana workers' strike of 1928, supported by the Marxists and forcibly suppressed by the army, did much to further the split. Country-wide indignation at the government's ruthless action and the economic effects of the depression of 1929 lowered the stock of the Conservatives to such a degree that the Liberals could hope to win the 1930 elections. The more moderate members left the PSR to join the Liberals; Communist influence weakened, and the PSR candidate in the elections drew only a few hundred votes.

After the elections, pursuant to a decision of the Comintern, the PSR changed its name to the Partido Comunista Colombiano; during the next few years it returned to its work within the unions and extended its propagandizing to try to make converts among

agricultural workers, notably in Tolima. This was a period when the Comintern was stressing agitation among racial minorities; therefore the PCC paid much attention to the Indian population. During the border war with Peru (1932-34) the Party's antiwar propaganda caused popular outbursts against it, in one of which the offices of the Party's paper *Tierra* were ransacked. The paper's license to publish was taken away.

The Comintern's Popular Front line, confirmed as directive in 1935, did not apparently become effective in Colombia until 1936. Before that time Communists had attacked Liberal President López as ineffectual and his reform measures as hypocritical. On May Day 1936, however, Gilberto Vieira White, by this time a national PCC leader, appeared on the same platform with the President to praise his "reformist and democratic policies."

The new line brought about supposed collaboration with the Liberals in the labor movement, but in practical effect furthered Communist attempts at penetration and control. One result was the participation of the Confederation of Colombian Workers (Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia—CTC) in the Communist-controlled Confederation of Latin American Workers (Confederación de Trabajadores de América Latina—CTAL), organized in Mexico in 1938 (see ch. 15, Labor Relations and Organization).

Despite this success, the Party again entered a period of internal struggle. Torres Giraldo, for a long time absent in Moscow, had returned in 1934 as Secretary General of the PCC. He was opposed by Augusto Durán, Moscow-trained leader of the Barranquilla section of the Party, advocate of direct and violent action and opponent of intellectualism. Vieira White, though already a rival of Durán, joined forces with him to oust Torres in 1939. Durán became Secretary General, and Vieira was named President of the Party, a title never before used. Its creation only intensified the rivalry between the two.

The Party faithfully followed the changes in the international party line during World War II occasioned by the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939 and the 1941 invasion of Russia. The Soviet alliance with Germany brought about another split in the CTC, but the Confederation was rapidly reunited after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. At this time the policy of cooperation with the Liberal Party was renewed, and the Communists changed their name to Partido Social Democrático—PSD. Party membership grew rapidly as leftist Liberals, including some intellectuals, joined it. In the off-year elections of 1944 the PSD seated one senator, four deputies and 67 members of departmental and municipal councils. There were 30,000 PSD votes counted.

PSD prosperity was short-lived. Paradoxically, the decline in strength was connected with the incipient split in the Liberal Party. Others besides the Communists had felt that the Liberal reforms were half-hearted and ineffective. These reformist liberals found their spokesman in Jorge Eliécer Gaitán who was capable of gathering a larger rank-and-file following than any politician in the country's history. Communists left their party in droves to join the Gaitanistas. When the Liberal Party divided, nominating both Gaitán and Gabriel Turbay, the Communist leaders split too. Surprisingly Durán backed Turbay who, though 20 years before a member of the Grupo Comunista, was now the more conservative of the two. Vieira, followed by a considerable section of the Party, urged backing Gaitán. The Party polled a total of 25,000 votes and elected one senator and one deputy.

Even though after the election Durán switched support to the defeated Gaitán (who incidentally rejected Communist ties), Vieira kept the split open and at the Party Congress of 1947 made it permanent. Vieira emerged as Secretary General of the PCC (which resumed its own name), and Durán and his followers formed the Communist Workers' Party. The Cominform recognized the PCC, and Durán was expelled from membership. In the congressional and local elections of 1947, the Communists polled only 16,000 votes, lost their Senate and House seats and elected only one departmental councillor.

Communist Enclaves

Just to the east of the small town of Viotá, which is on a country road connecting it with Bogotá less than 50 miles away, is an area completely Communist-controlled called the Republic of Tequendama. Its history goes back to 1934 when a Communist, Victor Merchán from Boyacá appeared in the area. He organized a number of impoverished coffee pickers and induced them to settle as squatters on the disused parts of a large *fincas* (coffee estate) in the mountains above Viotá. Little is known of the early years of this enterprise, but since squatters were often tolerated on unused parts of large landholdings, they evidently remained undisturbed.

Gradually the strength of the colony increased through recruitment, and its solidarity through the imposition of Party discipline, so that the local officials were replaced by the Communist organization. Before 1940 they were able to demonstrate their absolute control and actually publicized it all over the country. All government, including a school system, was in their hands.

They were undisturbed until 1948, when the Conservatives won the election and started to extend the power of their minority government by trying to take control of the countryside. Merchán's

organization then moved back into the mountains from Viotá and established their "capital" in Brasil, a remote village. Here and in other small centers they established what they called "auto-defense" units—Communist militia. They followed the policy of maintaining the peace in their own area and not raiding outside of it, although small guerrilla bands from other areas could always find temporary refuge there.

In general the same policy was followed during the intensified violence that followed the *bogotazo* (the riots and uprisings in April 1948 in Bogotá), but some reports indicate that efforts were made to maintain contact with and influence the heads of friendly guerrilla bands and to keep in touch with other Communist groups by means of clandestine radio stations. When at the beginning of 1954 Rojas declared the PCC illegal, it made no difference to the Viotá enclave, and no serious attack was made on it. It remained impenetrable to any officials of the legal government even after the Party was again granted legality in 1958.

Merchán, by then a member of the PCC Central Committee, continued to control the area in mid-1961. Strangers were permitted only under close surveillance, and stories emanating from it are difficult to verify; some may stem from the Party's desire to gain prestige from its state of independence. According to report, all the functions of government are represented, including a dues- and tax-gathering system and a court of three judges which adjudicates quarrels, thefts and family matters and is empowered to order executions. A school system run by Communist-trained teachers is in operation, and the militia trains regularly. A special Cadre School (*Escuela de Cuadros*) gives courses to selected members and applicants from all over the country in doctrine, organization, sabotage and guerrilla tactics. Crude but effective small arms are manufactured for the militia.

The Sumapaz region, in the higher mountains southeast of Viotá, is another area where Communist influence is strong. It is not sealed off, as is the Viotá enclave, and the local leader, Juan de la Cruz Varela, is unable to maintain such complete control. He poses as a leftist Liberal and was in fact elected to congress in 1960 on the MRL ticket, but his history, particularly since 1948, is one of complete cooperation with the PCC, whether or not he carries a Party card. Liberal Party members in the same area have engaged in armed combat with his men, and farmers resist his demands for contributions.

The Sumapaz area has a tongue which extends west over the mountain ridge into Tolima, to the Town of Villarica. In the spring of 1955 the Army fought a pitched battle with guerrillas there which resulted in a draw, even though air support was used

for the attack. Apparently the forces of de la Cruz Varela were determined to seize the rich coffee crop just harvested. The area was still in 1961 a focal point of disorder.

Another extension of the Sumapaz area is toward the east, along the upper Ariari River, in an area close to the government's colonization area, and where the Communists appear to be attempting to disrupt or infiltrate the colony. In a clash there in September 1960, news reports indicated that four brothers of de la Cruz Varela had been killed.

Along both sides of the Cordillera Oriental south of Sumapaz are other communist areas of some permanence, among them the country around Dolores, Tolima, and El Pato, Meta. Others are reported to exist in northern Huila. Gaitania, in southern Tolima, in January 1960 was the scene of a clash between a Liberal "ex-guerrilla" chief, Mariachi, and a Communist band led by Charro Negro, which was trying to take over and organize Mariachi's territory. The Communist leader was killed, and troops were called for to pacify the area. Another area becoming critical in 1961 was the Quindío region in the mountains between Tolima and Caldas. Communist elements there, according to news reports, were calling it the "Colombian Sierra Maestra," in honor of Fidel Castro.

Communism and Violence

It has never been necessary for the Communists to originate violence in Colombia, where it is endemic (see ch. 22, Public Order and Safety). They have always been in the position to further it when it has seemed to be politic or to decry it when that course seemed expedient. The anarchists who were associated with the Communists in the early unions of the 1920's were advocates of violent strikes and sabotage, whereas the Communist policy of the time was to expand, recruit and organize, building, they hoped, for a general strike through which they might come to power.

There is no evidence to connect the Communists with the peasant uprisings of the mid-1930's, although this was the period during which they were attempting to organize the farmers and Indians. In 1936 began the period when they were offering cooperation to the Liberal Party, then in power.

At least as early as the upsurge of general violence beginning in 1946, Communists began to organize their own militia, or auto-defense forces, and to train them in guerrilla tactics. In the general confusion of partisan allegiances during the period of the worst troubles, before 1953, separation and labeling of any partisan body or violent clash as positively Communist or Communist-inspired was impossible.

Much has been written about Communist inspiration of and connection with the *hagotazo*. The immediate reaction of many connected with the Ninth Conference of American States, including General Marshall, was that the entire uprising, including the assassination of Gaitán as a provocative act, was a carefully laid Communist plot. True, within a short time after the murder, the course of the rioting showed evidence of central direction and prior planning. On the other hand, neither on-the-spot investigation by Colombian authorities nor a detailed investigation made at Colombian request by Scotland Yard, the results of which did not become public until 1961, disclosed any evidence that the murderer, a strange, solitary and possibly deranged man by the name of Roa Sierra, was connected with Communists or any other persons in planning or committing the act. Also, it was known at the time that the PCC was seriously split over the divergence of policies between Vieira and Durán and that neither was capable of producing unified action.

There is, however, a body of somewhat disconnected and circumstantial evidence to show that a disturbance or uprising was planned from outside the country, for some time in the early days of the conference. A letter purporting to be from Blas Roca, Cuban Communist leader, to another participant in the plot and published in a Colombian paper which received it from "a friendly diplomatic source," mentions the 12th of April rather than the 9th as the day when the rising would take place.

The then head of the Colombian Security Police published a book about a year after the events which gives details indicating a plan of some sort. Numbers of known foreign Communists gathered in Bogotá some time before the meeting, some of whom made contacts with members of the local party. Among them was Fidel Castro, who brought in a supply of subversive handbills which he and another Cuban scattered from the balcony of a theater which the Congress delegates were attending. He was later seen, rifle in hand, in the forefront of the mob rushing the Presidential Palace. Interrogated by the police, he was exonerated of connection with the assassination and flew back to Cuba. Other evidence suggested by the Security Chief was that the CTC, at the time thoroughly infiltrated by Communists, burned many records a few days before April 9. They were interrupted in the act by Security agents, who retrieved from the burning a list of code phrases and their key, obviously intended for radio broadcasts during an uprising. Also the Soviet Embassy shipped many boxes of records to Venezuela and stored others in a supposedly safe house where they were seized by Security agents. They were found to consist of quantities of

propaganda, especially against the United States, and lists of party members and sympathizers.

It was noted that immediately after the rioting started, a radio station was seized from which revolution was at once proclaimed and specific orders were given to named individuals and to persons in other cities. Also strange and significant to Colombians, most of whom, regardless of party, are good Catholics, were messages alleging that priests were firing on the crowd from church towers and directing that they be seized. Many churches were burned and looted. It was also thought strange that certain Venezuelan radio stations announced certain specific events as having happened in Colombia before they actually took place.

Since investigations almost surely indicated that there was no plot to kill Gaitán, the conclusion drawn by many was that the initial rioting was spontaneous, for Gaitán was much loved by the people, but that these events were seized upon by those who had plotted disturbances as an opportunity to exploit the violence fortuitously created for them.

Communist Propaganda and Literature

Since the PCC resumed a legal existence in 1958, when the unconstitutional decrees of Rojas Pinilla were voiced, Communist propaganda and publications have been openly disseminated. Constant themes have been North American imperialist-monopolist interference in Colombian affairs and the repressive behavior of reactionary native capitalists and owners of *latifundios*. To free the people of these burdens, the PCC is proclaimed the vanguard in the struggle (see ch. 25, Propaganda).

The pronouncements of the Ninth Congress of the PCC, held June 24 to 28, 1961, themselves a form of both internal and external propaganda, stress the same points. Except for a resolution pointing out the significance and preaching emulation of the rapid development of the revolutionary Cuban state into a full-fledged socialist one and another resolution calling for a constituent assembly to do away with *convivencia* (coexistence) and parity (the National Front), it does not appear to differ essentially from the program of the Eighth Congress of 1958. In similar language, the threat is repeated that if the ruling classes resort to repression by force, the people, led by their vanguard, the PCC, would "take the road of armed struggle" in a counteroffensive.

Communist literature, not only for the education of Party members, but also for distribution outside the Party appears to be readily available. Besides standard works of Russian origin on Marxism and Leninism, literature translated from the Chinese is

distributed. A series of education manuals for the Communist Party includes "Problems of the History of the Chinese Communist Party," by Mao Tse Tung, and "How to be a Good Communist" and "Internal Struggle Within the Party," both by Liu Shao Chi. Mao's manual of guerrilla warfare is apparently widely distributed; it has been found in the effects of members of bandit gangs and guerrilla fighters, including some not known to be Party members.

Organization and Finances

The basic statute of the PCC, published as part of the documentation of the Eighth Party Congress in December 1958, outlined a typical Communist Party organization, which so far as is known, remained valid in 1961.

In its first chapters, the document sets forth the standard Communist aims and purposes, which include the struggle to install a Democratic Regime of National Liberation, headed by the working class, with the Party as its announced vanguard. A section on the duties and rights of members stresses Party discipline, criticism and self-criticism, the preservation of Party secrets, due attention to the selection of members and the obligation to support the Party financially. After establishing the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership, the statute states that the source of all directives is the Party Congress and, between Congresses, the Central Committee.

The fundamental organization of the Party is the cell (*célula*), which may be formed by a minimum of three members. Cells are organized in places of work or of residence. When there are more than 25 members in a factory, cells may be created in each of its departments, sections or shifts, in which case an Enterprise Committee will head them. Each cell of no more than 5 members elects a Secretary; if it has 6 or over, it elects a Secretariat of 3. Cells must meet at least once every 15 days.

When a large number of cells exist in one locality, they elect a Zone Committee. It comprises 5 to 7 members and has a directing Secretariat of 3. It should meet monthly and hold a zone conference each 6 months. Over the zones (or the separate cells where no zone exists) is the Local or Municipal Committee, composed of 7 to 11, elected annually at a conference of cell or zone delegates. It, too, has a Secretariat of 3 to 5 members and is in turn subordinated to a Regional Committee which it elects annually at a regional conference of local and municipal representatives. The Regional Committee consists of 11 to 15 members who elect from among themselves an Executive of 5 to 7, which in turn has a Secretariat of 3, which concerns itself with day-to-day matters. The

Regional Committee also has a Finance Control Commission of at least 3, which audits accounts and supervises the collection and distribution of dues.

The Party Congress, theoretically the supreme body, meets every 2 years, in principle (there was no meeting between 1958 and 1961). Its purpose is to receive the reports of the Central Committee, to act upon the program and statutes of the Party, to determine and approve the Party line and to elect the Central Committee. The Congress is composed of delegates from the subordinate bodies in numbers fixed by the Central Committee. The latter, whose number is not fixed by statute, directs all Party action between Congresses and meets ordinarily every 6 months. It elects from its members an Executive of not less than 7, which in turn directs the Party business between committee meetings. There are also a National Commission for Organization and a Central Commission of Finance Control. The Organization Commission maintains the records of members, oversees their discipline and qualifications and controls Party education. The Finance Commission performs the same duties as that at the Regional level.

There is an interim body, the National Party Conference, called by the Central Committee when the latter deem a wider discussion of policy desirable. It is composed of regional representatives.

Special mention is made of Communist *activos* (Party actives), who are specially designated to coordinate the work of members in mass organizations, among which are listed unions, peasant leagues, cooperatives, women's and youth associations, and sports and cultural organizations. These are the specially trained organizers, propagandists and agitators whose duty is to control front organizations and penetrate other associations with a view to controlling them.

The only auxiliary specifically mentioned is the Union of Communist Youth, which is given special emphasis both as a base of recruitment and a means of organizing all young people.

The Party funds are stated to be raised from four main sources: ordinary dues, at a rate of 1 percent of pay or income, monthly; donations of sympathizers and friends; proceeds of special campaigns, festivals, collections, and so forth; and the special Builders Quota, which constitutes the price of the member's card, set at one day's pay or income, annually. This fee goes directly to the Central Committee.

The first three categories of funds are distributed 20 percent to the Central Committee, 30 percent to the Regional Committee, 25 percent to the Local and 25 percent to the cell.

The Party flag is red with a hammer and sickle inscribed within a five-pointed star.

ANTI-COMMUNIST MEASURES

The Party has been legal for most of its existence and has always been numerically small. Because of the traditionally bitter partisanship between the Liberals and Conservatives, any government in power has been far more concerned with its normal opposition than with what has seemed the minor intriguing of the Communists. There has been, moreover, a perhaps naive reliance on the suppositions that illiterate peasants and laborers cannot grasp the principles of Marxism-Leninism and that Catholicism has such a hold on the people that they will reject the atheistic tenets of communism. Possibly a combination of all these reasons explains why, until very recently, governments have been apathetic to Communist activities.

As recently as January 1960, President Lleras Camargo, in conversation with a North American author, seemed relatively unconcerned about the Communist strongholds in the heart of the country, very close to his capital. His major worry was to suppress and pacify what he called the active bandits and guerrilla fighters, and to consider only later the then relatively quiet Communists.

Events in the latter part of 1960 and the first half of 1961 have indicated an increased awareness that communism as well as political partisanship can be dangerous to the country. The early support in Communist, MOEC and MRL quarters for Fidelismo has backfired to a degree, as it became evident to lawmakers and the administration that the Castro regime was actually a Communist state and that its agents and friends in Colombia were in fact subversives. In April 1961, for example, the Communications Ministry took a firm hand with *Prensa Latina*, the Cuban news agency, for inflated accounts of pro-Castro demonstrations; earlier the ambassador to Cuba was recalled and not replaced, although formal relations were not broken as of July 1961.

The CTC, during the last half of 1960, expelled some of its Communist-dominated constituent unions and at its December national congress installed a new president who is firmly anti-Communist.

The Cardinal Archbishop has issued two strong pastoral letters, one in October 1960 and one in May 1961, warning Colombian Catholics against the false and atheistic doctrines of communism and warning that to teach or accept its teachings can be cause for excommunication.

The President's speeches have also taken a firmer line against subversive efforts which have hindered his reform programs and the economic well-being of the country. There have been repeated speeches in Congress, accompanied by disclosures of subversive attempts, demanding firmer measures against agitation and infiltra-

tion by Communist and pro-Castro elements. In the Free University of Bogotá, a number of professors have threatened to resign if the allegedly pro-Communist rector and some of the professors he has appointed are not ousted for their Marxist teachings.

The sum of the above events over the past year or less indicates an increasing realization of and concern about subversion as practiced locally and about the dangers to Latin America of the Communist foothold in Cuba. If the Conservatives and moderate Liberals can join on the issue before the approaching elections and subordinate partisan politics to agreement on the Lleras reform program, the Communists and pro-Castro elements will be denied their principal basis for agitation.

CHAPTER 25

PROPAGANDA

Colombians are subjected to many types of propaganda. The country's many social and economic problems lend themselves to propagandistic exploitation. Subversive groups call for total power, promising deliverance from poverty and ignorance. The Roman Catholic Church carries out political propaganda in behalf of social justice.

The Partido Comunista Colombiano—PCC (Colombian Communist Party)—and its front organizations vigorously exploit, for propaganda purposes, the dissatisfactions and intellectual unrest which social and economic problems have created. Communist propaganda does not aim at seizure of political power, but merely seeks to accentuate acute domestic issues, mainly those which affect farmers and urban workers, and to intensify dissatisfaction with a view to encouraging riots and demonstrations. It also attacks the United States and tries to disrupt good relations with it. It relies heavily on face-to-face agitation, on the penetration of worker and student organizations and on the circulation of pamphlets, leaflets and, to a lesser extent, periodicals.

Propaganda promoting the goals and methods of the Cuban revolution has so grown in scope and intensity as to become a source of concern to the Colombian Government. Carried out by foreigners and assisted by the Cuban Embassy in Bogotá, it resembles Communist propaganda in intensity and substance. In addition to making violent denunciations of the United States, it suggests the example of the Cuban revolution as the remedy for domestic social and economic problems. It reaches the public through some newspapers and through radio stations subscribing to the services of *Prensa Latina* (Latin Press), believed to be the official news agency of the Castro regime.

Soviet and satellite propaganda in 1958–60 boasted of Communist economic, social and cultural accomplishments, and called for increased economic and cultural exchange between Colombia and Communist states and for weakened Colombian ties with the United States. Spanish-language radio broadcasts, illustrated magazines and films, and exhibits and activities of commercial and cultural delegations were used.

Communist China, which since the late 1950's has become a significant source of Communist propaganda from abroad, follows basically the same line, with even stronger attacks directed against the United States.

The activities of the United States Information Agency include supplying factual material about the United States and world events to the press and radio. Most of the leading newspapers and the major radio networks make regular use of this material. The activities of seven Colombian-United States binational centers, sponsored by USIA, are designed to acquaint Colombians with the culture and institutions of the United States. In late 1960 the USIA established community centers, mainly in working-class districts, to stimulate interest in community improvement; documentary films are made available to labor, student, religious and other groups.

Communist and Cuban propaganda has generally failed to attract broad public response and has elicited some negative reactions. But it has also made some converts among the urban lower class, particularly among those who have some education. Marxist political and economic theory has aroused the curiosity of some intellectuals. A few professional people have indicated interest in the methods and techniques of communism as applied to industrial and economic problems. The "Yankee, No!" slogan, with its implicit appeal to nationalism, has had an effect among the urban and rural lower class and the less educated members of the lower-middle class.

Some Colombians have also shown themselves susceptible to rightist forms of propaganda. There has been a continuing rightist tradition in the country which has had varying aspects. One has been a persistent high regard for the old Spain of the monarchy and a belief in the virtues of Spanish culture. In the period of the struggle for independence, these views found concrete expression in the maintenance of pockets of royalist resistance, particularly in the southern highlands. Some elements of such sentiments persist. In the contemporary period, right-wing Colombian elements have expanded the concept of "Hispanidad" to include admiration of the virtues of Generalissimo Franco's falangism (see ch. 18, Attitudes and Reactions of the People).

Falangism differs from right-wing sentiment, which is in the local republican tradition, even though at certain times in Colombian history right-wing republicanism has appeared to regret separation from Spain. The Liberator, Bolívar, believed in authoritarian republicanism which even in his day could be described as rightist. During the political vicissitudes of the succeeding centuries, there have always been those who were willing to assume the role that Bolívar thought the executive should play. In modern times, the administrations of Ospina Pérez, Gómez and Rojas have indicated

the susceptibility of many Colombians to the appeals of rightist forces—all authoritarian, some nationalist, others internationalist. The Rojas government showed the appeal that could effectively be made to some Colombian people by a right-wing authoritarian government in the name of social justice against the prerogatives of the oligarchy (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). The renewed response to the political activity of General Rojas in early 1961 revealed that such attitudes still exist. In fact, the whole history of the last decade or more indicates that right-wing propaganda will continue to fall on fertile ground.

USIA activities have generally appealed primarily to educated members of the middle and upper classes, but are frequently received with reserve in some quarters. Other social classes, however, are becoming, to a growing extent, the targets of these programs. Many Colombians still identify the United States with well known soft drinks, rock-and-roll, blue jeans and gangster movies.

The effect on Colombians of foreign activities is perhaps best illustrated by the inscription which appeared on the walls of many buildings in Bogotá early in 1961: "Russia, no; Cuba, no; Yankee . . . maybe."

COLOMBIAN PROPAGANDA

Information services designed to get public attention and approval for governmental activities are performed by the Oficina de Información y Prensa (Office of Information and Press). Such activities are small in scope. In addition to holding news conferences, the office distributes transcripts of presidential and congressional speeches and of legislative drafts to the representatives of the press and radio networks. It also publishes (primarily for Colombian embassies abroad) the *Boletín Informativo*, a weekly synopsis of principal legislative, political and economic events; excerpts of presidential and congressional speeches and press comments by major newspapers are also featured.

Informational services performed by Colombian embassies abroad are very limited. Inquiries pertaining to specific questions concerning the country are answered, and copies of the *Boletín Informativo* and some pamphlets of interest to businessmen and tourists are available for distribution. The Pan-American Union's English-language publications featuring information on Colombia include several pamphlets, especially the 27-page *Colombia* and another entitled *Visit Colombia*. The 40-page booklet, *Introduction to 20 Latin American Countries*, also features a section on Colombia.

The accomplishments, aims and aspirations of the National Front government are stressed in public speeches by the President and by members of Congress. Improvement in internal stability, absence of fraud and violence in the elections of 1960, and government ini-

tiative in the promotion of labor peace are given as examples. The effective operation of government since 1958 is offered as evidence of the growing political maturity of Colombians and of the general viability for the country of a coalition government based on bipartisan cooperation.

Before elections, the National Front government is portrayed as the sole alternative to violence and civic chaos. Cabinet ministers contend against increasing propaganda activities of Communist and pro-Castro elements. The President links the right to free political expression, improvement of social justice, elimination of civic violence, and solution of the agrarian question with a plea for more nonpartisan support. Representatives of the 1961 Colombian government, in the course of their contacts with non-Colombians, emphasize the uniqueness in Latin America of President Lleras' bipartisan National Front government, the President's qualities of leadership (as revealed both in home politics and in the Organization of American States) and his intellectual prowess.

Although propaganda from Communist and Cuban sources has increased, the government has not launched an organized program of refutation. To curb the diffusion of printed propaganda, the government has confiscated, in several Colombian ports, large quantities of Communist pamphlets and other publications which have reached the country by ship. Communist and Cuban pro-Castro agitation has been vigorously denounced in speeches of President Lleras and of members of the Cabinet and Congress. Leading Conservative and Liberal political figures take great pains to rebut Communist and Cuban propaganda.

The Acción Cultural Popular—ACP—is a country-wide network of radio schools operated by the Catholic Church from Sutatenza, and is by far the most effective means of supporting the Church's political aims, both in terms of audience range and content. Instruction in reading and writing is interspersed with news and comments on current affairs in which the opponents of Catholicism are associated with sin, Communism and social injustice. The ACP assists rural listeners in obtaining low-cost radio receivers tuned exclusively to the stations of the Sutatenza network.

The Church has become an important force in spreading anti-Communist propaganda. References to Communist danger are often linked with warnings against Protestantism (see ch. 12, Public Information; ch. 10, Education; ch. 11, Religion). The Church has also placed growing emphasis on social and economic issues, sometimes exhorting the faithful to follow the tenets of Christian socialism.

Publications designed to promote tourist trade are published mostly by Empresa Colombiana de Turismo (the Colombian National Tour-

ist Board). Others are compiled and published by public relations companies such as the Instituto Colombiano de Opinión Pública, which annually publishes *Quick Colombian Facts*, the most widely available and best known English-language short reference work on the country, and also publishes a Spanish-language version entitled *Factores Colombianos*. *Quick Colombian Facts* calls attention to the country's rejection of war as a means of solving international disputes and to its long-standing practice of peacefully settling border disputes. Colombia is called "the first Latin American democracy." Its military contribution to the Korean War, the only one made by a Latin American country, receives much emphasis. The Colombian practice of consistently defending the institution of political asylum is also stressed. In the historical synopsis, the period of civil unrest and of the Rojas dictatorship (between 1948 and 1957) are passed over briefly and no details are given regarding the degree and extent of the violence which took place.

Guía Turística de Colombia (Tourist Guide for Colombia) is distributed in the Latin American Republics as well as in the United States. There is also a smaller English-language counterpart entitled *This is Colombia*. An illustrated 90-page booklet, *The Colombian Information Bulletin*, is published periodically by the New York City Branch of the Colombian National Tourist Board and contains commercial and cultural information exclusively. *Bogotá a la Vista*, an English-Spanish tourist guide to Bogotá, is sponsored jointly by the Tourist Board and by the municipality of Bogotá.

Illustrated English-language pamphlets published by the Federación Nacional de Cafeteros (National Coffee Growers' Federation) are intended to create interest in, and demand for, Colombian coffee. The pamphlets also feature historical and geographical information, as well as brief descriptions of social welfare activities sponsored by the Federation.

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

Domestic

The Colombian Communist Party uses its legal status to full advantage in carrying out propaganda activities (see ch. 19, The Constitutional System). Student and labor groups are special targets, particularly susceptible to infiltration. The number of Communist and pro-Communist periodicals increased from 20 in 1958 to 22 in 1959, but their circulation is low, and interest in them small. Most of the publications are biweeklies and monthlies with circulations of between 2,000 and 3,000. Several appear irregularly and are intended only for internal distribution among members of the

various branches of the Communist Party or of Communist-affiliated groups. The press organs of the far-left Liberals, which often publish items sympathetic to the Soviet Union and Communism, compensate in some measure for the limited distribution and appeal of outright Communist publications (see ch. 12, Public Information).

The weekly *Voz de la Democracia*, with a circulation of 12,000 to 15,000 in 1958, is the principal Communist press organ. *Acción*, published in Manizales, is a pro-Communist monthly directed at professional people and intellectuals as well as at members of the working classes. Four monthlies are aimed mainly at labor: *Frente Sindical* and *Resurgimiento* (both with circulations of 3,000); *Avanzada* (published in Medellín); and the Communist-front *La Palabra del Pueblo*. Students represent the special target readership of *Crisis*, published at irregular intervals in Medellín, and of *Juventud*, a monthly bulletin of the Union of Communist Youth in Colombia.

In addition to the periodicals, other printed Communist propaganda material freely circulates in the country. Bogotá is one of the centers for the printing and distribution of Communist publications in Latin America. The publications include books on the life of Mao Tse Tung, books by him on guerrilla warfare, comic books and first readers for children, works by Marx and Lenin and books on Soviet culture. *Who Betrays Democracy?*, a work by the Colombian Communist leader Gilberto Vieira, is also among the available Communist publications. The Menorah book-publishing house is among the four bookstores in the country where foreign and domestic Communist or pro-Communist publications are produced and distributed.

Communist-front organizations distribute printed Communist propaganda and paint slogans on public buildings. The Movimiento Obrero Estudiantil Campesino de 7 de Enero (Worker-Students' Rural Movement of the 7th of January) is typical among these groups. Led by Elie Guitierrez and Marina Ramirez, its membership comprises mostly unemployed drifters and perennial students. The Unión Nacional de Estudiantes Colombianos (National Union of Colombian Students) is a major Communist-front organization for students. Systematic penetration and propaganda activities are directed at other, non-Communist peasant, labor and student groups in an effort to transform them into mouthpieces of Communist propaganda.

Communist propaganda activities draw their main strength from an area located in the mountain region of south-central Colombia, which contains several small neighboring towns, including Viotá, Sumapaz, Villarica, Dolores, Gaitania, El Pato and Cumaral, and

is dominated by local Communist bosses (see ch. 24, Subversive Potentialities). Systematic propaganda activities are carried out in the environs of Viotá at a hamlet called Brasil, which is the residence of Victor J. Merchán, Communist boss of the region and member of the national committee of the Colombian Communist Party. Weekly indoctrination sessions are held for hundreds of coffee workers in the area in a meeting hall in Brasil called Casa de la Liga Campesina. "Yankee imperialism" and the oppression of peasants by big landowners are frequent themes. Occasional special meetings are held during the week for women. The workers are also expected to purchase *Voz de la Democracia*, although many of them are illiterate.

Brasil also has a Casa Comunista (Communist House), a Communist-Party training school called La Escuela de Cuadros. Under the direction of Martín Camargo, candidates from all parts of the country receive instruction in Marxist and Leninist doctrine as well as in sabotage and propaganda techniques. Mimeographed propaganda sheets soliciting support for the Democratic Front of National Liberation, a Communist-proposed, Communist-dominated "popular front" of left-wing parties, are also produced at the Casa Comunista.

Attacks on the United States are the principal themes of keynote speeches and slogans of Communist or Communist-front rallies, Communist Party celebrations and Communist printed media and Party documents. It is denounced as the cause of Colombia's problem as a perpetrator of international unrest and as a menace to world peace. Colombia is portrayed as a victim of economic exploitation by the United States, and the National Front government is accused of selling out the country's interests to "Yankee imperialism."

The slogan, "Yankee imperialism," was given particular stress in the fall of 1960 when a \$500 million program of loans to Latin America was announced by the United States. The program was condemned by the Communists as an instrument of blackmail constituting part of the plan of the United States to attack Cuba. It was said that "alms" offered by the United States were insufficient to solve the vital problems of Latin America. In speeches designed to rally support from the Communist-proposed merger of the extreme-left faction of the Liberal Party and the Communist Party, United States imperialism was identified as the principal danger which must be combated through the united efforts of all "democratic forces." "Increased trade with the socialist countries" was demanded to counteract the economic penetration of the country by commercial companies of the United States and to end the oppression of American imperialism.

In 1960 Castro was extolled as the protector of Latin American sovereignty and dignity, and the Cuban revolution was upheld as an example for Colombians to follow in solving national problems. Much of the pro-Cuban propaganda had the purpose of creating a belief in the strength of the Castro regime. The Cuban revolution was called "indestructible" since it enjoyed the support of "all Latin America and of the socialist camp." At the same time, the defense of the Cuban revolution was hailed as an essential condition for world peace.

Praise of the Soviet Union figured prominently, especially in official communiques of the Communist Party and in keynote speeches at Party festivals. The Soviet Union and countries of the Soviet bloc were hailed as one great advancing force carrying on a struggle bound to result in the defeat of imperialism. Soviet achievements in culture, science and education were extolled.

Communist-front student and labor groups harp on so-called exploitation of petroleum resources by United States and English companies in connection with demands for their immediate nationalization. The high cost of living is contrasted with low salaries prevailing in some industries. Delays in granting union participation in matters relating to the dismissal of employees are denounced as a product of a conspiracy of big business.

The lag in putting into effect the law of 1958 providing for university autonomy, including greater participation of the student body in university affairs, has been a favorite propaganda theme presented to student groups. The interpretation of national economics in Marxian terms has been a topic of Communist-sponsored lectures directed at intellectual audiences.

Representative speakers and workers of the far-left Liberal organization, the Movimiento Revolucionario Liberal—MRL—have often acted as mouthpieces for Communist propaganda. In speeches given by MRL representatives at Communist rallies and Party festivals, Communist propaganda themes are re-emphasized and linked to demands for full legal status for the Communist Party, including the right to compete for the Presidency. At a Communist-sponsored rally in July 1960, the speaker representing MRL glorified the Cuban revolution as the outstanding model to be followed by all Latin American countries and, in connection with the land reform, demanded the confiscation of large estates without compensation to their owners.

Foreign

Since the early 1950's, the Soviet Union and its satellites have shown growing interest in Latin America as a propaganda target;

by the late 1950's, Red China had also intensified its propaganda. The main Soviet propaganda effort supports the long-range objective of increasing Soviet and satellite influence. Vehement denunciation of the United States is left primarily to domestic Communist and Cuban propaganda; the Soviet Union and Soviet bloc countries concentrate on stressing their own economic, cultural and scientific achievements, and suggesting the alleged advantages to Colombia of initiating or intensifying Soviet-Colombian cooperation in these fields. Propaganda promotes increased trade activities, cultural exchange and travel. Disarmament, peace and the absence of unemployment in Communist countries have been corollary themes.

Diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Colombia were broken off in 1948, but Czechoslovakia has a consulate general in Bogotá. The Instituto de Intercambio Cultural Colombiano Sovietico (Colombian-Soviet Institute for Cultural Exchange) is an important source of Soviet propaganda. It was established first in Bogotá in 1959 under the name of Asociación Colombiana de los Amigos de URSS—ACAU (Colombian Association of Friends of the USSR). In 1961 the Institute also began to operate a branch in Medellín. It sponsors exchange programs for scientific and cultural delegations and arranges visits to the Soviet Union for representatives of labor and for student and professional groups who attend special courses. Library service, musical events, motion pictures and lectures are among other offerings of the Institute.

The Asociación Colombiana de Amigos de la China—ACAC (Colombian Association of Friends of China)—was established in 1959 to support the propaganda efforts of Red China. One of its organizers, and its secretary in 1960, is Jorge Zalamea Borda, a noted intellectual.

Spanish-language publications of the Soviet Union, the Soviet satellites and Red China may be obtained in some bookstores in the cities. These publications include *Cultural y Vida*, *Unión Soviética*, *Tiempos Nuevos* and *Mujer Soviética*, published in Moscow; *Boletín de Información Checoslovaco*, *La Mujer Checoslovaca* and *Boletín Económico Checoslovaco*, from Czechoslovakia; and *China Revista Ilustrada* from Red China.

The total number of weekly hours of broadcasting in Spanish to Latin America by the Sino-Soviet bloc rose from 70¼ in 1958 to 97 in 1959. Spanish-language broadcasts by the Soviet Union's European satellites have accounted for the largest increase—from 28¼ hours a week in 1958 to 41 hours a week in 1959. The Soviet Union increased the total weekly broadcasting hours in Spanish from 28 in 1958 to 35 in 1959; Red China broadcasts rose from 14 hours to 21 hours during the same period. The programs, which include

general news, commentary on Latin American events, and cultural features have good technical reception, but no information is available regarding the range of their audience or the nature of audience reaction. The theme of "Yankee imperialism" has been vehemently stressed in the broadcasts of Radio Peiping; Radio Moscow, since the meeting between President Eisenhower and Khrushchev, has placed somewhat less emphasis on it.

Some of the films produced in the Soviet Union and satellite countries have contributed to the propaganda effort to convey a favorable image of communist countries. A Soviet bloc film festival was held in 1959. Full-length feature and documentary films, made in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, were shown in Colombia in 1959 to audiences in the larger cities. Documentary films, representing life in the Soviet Union in glowing terms, have been the subject of some Colombian criticism, but their general reception has not been unfavorable.

Cultural propaganda emanating from Red China was highlighted by the visit in May 1960 of the Peiping Opera. Some 23,000 persons attended the eight performances held at Bogotá's *Teatro Colón* and in an improvised theater at the Bogotá fair grounds. The visit received extensive newspaper publicity. Adding emphasis to the current propaganda line of the Peiping government, members of the opera company emphasized, in their statements to the press and in the course of their contacts with groups and individuals, the need for more vigorous cultural exchange between Colombia and Red China.

While a favorable image of the Communist countries as projected by Sino-Soviet propaganda has gained acceptance among few Colombians, it apparently has aroused the curiosity of many. This trend is reflected in an increase in the number of Colombians traveling to Communist countries since 1958. In that year 141 Colombians visited various countries in the Sino-Soviet bloc, including a large delegation to a meeting of architects held in Moscow. In 1959, 94 persons, including government officials, cultural and labor leaders and Colombian Communists, accepted invitations to visit countries of the Sino-Soviet bloc; Colombia was represented at the Vienna Youth Festival by a delegation of 28. During the same year, a Colombian Roman Catholic priest, with the approval of his bishop, visited the Soviet Union to study cooperatives.

Travel from the Communist countries to Colombia also increased in 1959. The visitors from these countries included a legislative delegation from Czechoslovakia and three athletic and cultural groups from other Communist countries.

CUBAN PROPAGANDA

Since the rise of the Castro regime in Cuba in 1959, Colombia has become an important target for Cuban propaganda. The spreading throughout the country of propaganda, often subversive in nature, by Cuban diplomatic personnel and undercover agents of the Castro government has been pointed out by several Colombian Cabinet members in connection with recommendations to sever diplomatic relations with Cuba. Many of the agents enter the country as tourists. The demand for tourist visas by Cubans increased spectacularly in 1960, although in former years tourist traffic between the two countries was of minor significance. Most of the requests for visas came from Cuban photographers, radio announcers and journalists. Other international agents seeking admission into Colombia have also been supplied with Cuban passports.

Cuban propaganda tends to exploit the same issues emphasized by the Communists. Vehement denunciation of "Yankee imperialism" and vitriolic criticism of political leaders in the United States always form a part of the introduction of Cuban propaganda barrages. These are generally followed by a graphic description of Colombia's economic and social ills accompanied by exhortations to its people to follow the example of the Cuban revolution. Frequent mention is made also of the Castro regime's ties with the Soviet Union, its European satellites and Red China.

The Cuban Embassy in Bogotá is one of the main centers for the spreading of Castroist propaganda and is used as a base of operations by various groups, notably the Communists. The Cuban ambassador, Rodolfo R. de la Vega, recalled last year, maintained close contact with Communist leaders, including the secretary-general of the Colombian Communist Party, Gilberto Viera. Officials of the Cuban Embassy have also visited the Communist-dominated areas of Viotá and Samapax. The Embassy was active in aiding Communist propaganda activities designed to sabotage the progress of the Conference of the 21 Latin American States which met in Bogotá in September 1960. It also has supported, and partly financed, the Movimiento Obrero Estudiantil Campesino, whose members have been active in inscribing on walls in Bogotá such slogans as "The Vote, No! Revolution, Yes," or "Cuba, Yes, Yankee, No."

The Embassy sponsors a country-wide network of societies called Friends of the Cuban Revolution. The main activity of these societies is the indoctrination of students, workers and peasants with the ideas of the Cuban Revolution. They are also instrumental in the organization of pro-Cuban demonstrations and in supplying such demonstrations with propaganda posters and balloons. In the

summer of 1960, the Friends of the Cuban Revolution made preparations for an "anti-imperialist congress" to be held in Bogotá.

Travel to Cuba by Colombian students is also arranged through the Cuban Embassy, which, for example, arranged for 39 Colombian students to attend the Havana Youth Congress in July 1960. Another 150 students are believed to have traveled to the Congress under other auspices.

Printed propaganda material distributed by the Embassy includes pamphlets, reprints of speeches by Castro, and mimeographed leaflets. Some of the latter urge Colombians to "go out into the streets in support of the Cuban Revolution"; others contain violent attacks on civil authorities. Most of the material arrives in Colombia through regular diplomatic channels direct from Cuba or from the Cuban Embassy in Panama. Some leaflets and handbills, however, are mimeographed in Bogotá. The material is disseminated through student and labor groups which have become infiltrated by pro-Castro agents. Leaflets are also distributed by sympathizers on the streets. A movie projection team, which as yet operates undercover, is also believed to be part of the Embassy's propaganda operation.

Most of the pro-Castro, pro-Communist propaganda is transmitted to public information media through *Prensa Latina* (Latin Press), the official news agency of Castro. Although the Bogotá office of this agency serves mainly far-left Liberal and Communist organs, it places some items in moderate newspapers as well. Several radio stations, notably Radio Renacimiento (Radio Station New Birth), subscribe to the services of *Prensa Latina*.

Since 1960 Cuba has been in the process of improving its short-wave radio facilities for broadcasts to Latin America. In January 1961 it was announced that a Cuban International Service would broadcast to Central America and the Caribbean at 0200-0400 Greenwich Mean Time—GMT—on 6060 kilocycles (100 kilowatts) and to Spanish South America at 0400-0500 GMT on 15340 kilocycles (100 kilowatts). Both frequencies are believed to be audible in Colombia. In December 1960 Cadena Oriental de Radio (Oriental Radio Network) initiated a program for Latin America, "Senal de America," from Havana on 1260 kilocycles at 0200-0230 GMT. After extending greetings "to the people of Latin America," the introductory announcement stated that "'Radio Senal' hoped to be in contact with humble, honest men of the continent, to bring them the truth about the Revolution." At the time this program was begun, however, the network's lack of shortwave transmitters probably precluded its reception in most parts of Latin America.

The effects of Cuban propaganda, however limited, became manifest in scattered instances of pro-Cuban demonstrations during 1960. On July 20 of that year several main buildings in Cali were covered with posters glorifying Cuba and vilifying the United States. On the same day the Friends of the Cuban Revolution launched tricolor balloons decorated with the Cuban flag from the city's main square. An anti-Communist demonstration in Bogotá, in October 1960, was interrupted by a group chanting, "Long Live Cuba." In August 1960 a group of 50 peasants from the department of Caldas submitted written declarations offering to fight as volunteers for Cuba in case it was threatened with invasion. The declaration pointed out that the group would fight in opposition "to the aspirations of Yankee imperialism."

A mouthpiece of Cuban propaganda is the well-known writer and intellectual, Jorge Zalamea Borda. In the course of one of his visits to Havana, at the invitation of the Cuban government, Zalamea stressed the absence of dictatorship in Cuba, adding that the arming of people by their government precludes the existence of that form of government. He further stated that the Cuban revolution has met with "gigantic popular support."

USIA ACTIVITIES

Programs conducted by the United States Information Agency are designed to promote understanding of the culture, institutions and international position of the United States, and to acquaint Colombians with democratic practices on the community level. Great stress is placed upon their factual nature. Some aspects of the program are intended to counteract Communist propaganda. Special efforts are made to reach student and labor groups.

Some USIA information reaches Colombians through their own press and radio. News items supplied by USIA are used by 35 out of 57 dailies. The combined total circulation of the dailies using USIA material was 904,330 in 1959. In 1960 the space devoted to USIA items in Colombian newspapers totaled about 28,000 column inches per month. Radio stations devoted more than 19,000 hours per year to the broadcasting of items received by the USIA. Three major national networks, Primera Cadena Radial Colombiana—Caracol (First Colombian Radio Chain), Radio Cadena Nacional (National Radio Chain) and Circuito Todelar (Todelar Circuit), comprising a total of 84 stations, broadcast programs supplied by the Voice of America.

It was estimated in 1960 that about 2 million Colombians per year attend the showing of USIA documentary films. Most of the films are shown in the USIA-sponsored Colombian-United States binational centers, others by mobile film units. In 1960 special showings

were held by mobile units several nights per week at the Barrio Las Ferias and the Barrio Las Cruces, two districts in Bogotá inhabited mainly by workers. The films shown included "Paz y Amistad en Libertad" (Peace and Friendship in Freedom), which dealt with President Eisenhower's trip to 11 countries, and "Norteamérica en Autobus" (North America by Bus).

Other topics featured in USIA documentaries were United States foreign policy, parallel features in the cultures of Colombia and the United States, items designed to refute Communist propaganda, and articles on science and space exploration. "Space Pioneer," "Alaska, Newest of the United States," "Pilgrimage of Liberty, Nautilus" and "Pan-American Festivities" were among the USIA documentaries that were particularly successful with Colombian audiences. All films have Spanish language sound tracks.

USIA has seven Colombian-American Binational Centers located in Bogotá, Barranquilla, Bucaramanga, Cali, Cartagena, Manizales and Medellín. Designed mainly to stimulate interest in the cultures of Colombia and of the United States, the centers feature libraries, moving picture showings, amateur theatrical performances, language classes in English and Spanish, and many other cultural and social activities. They also furnish information and handle applications of young Colombians wishing to study in the United States under the auspices of the Institute of International Education. In 1960 an expansion of the facilities was planned for the Barranquilla Binational Center, which at that time had 540 students enrolled in its English-language classes and 100 additional members.

In March 1960 the binational centers started the publication of *Cotusa*, an English-Spanish cultural magazine which features articles on literature, art, music, theater and films in Colombia and in the United States, and also includes in each issue a section entitled "Scientific Notes" and a feature story on a city in Colombia and one in the United States. To provide university students with cultural and research material on the United States, the centers have planned the establishment of reading rooms in university libraries. One of these reading rooms is already in use at the University of Atlántico in Barranquilla.

USIA began in late 1960 the establishment of community centers to emphasize practical instruction and entertainment suitable for those who have little or no education. The community centers were to be established mainly in working-class neighborhoods and were to serve as bases of activities leading to community improvement. Courses are offered in crafts, reading and writing, hygiene, English and typewriting. Democratic practices are followed in the organization and administration of the community centers, with local citizens participating in the planning of programs and in fund raising

One community center has already been established in the Ciudad Quiroga section of Bogotá. Activities at the Quiroga center include cooking, sewing, child care, hygiene, home improvement and English classes for adults, discussion groups for young people, a sport club for youngsters and reading and game hours for family groups. The center also has library facilities.

OTHER INFORMATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Great Britain operates the Instituto Colombiano Británico in conjunction with its consulate in Bogotá. The Institute has library facilities and offers classes in Colombian folk dancing. Its programs are on a high cultural level and are offered in a quiet, club-like atmosphere—which make them very popular with educated, upper-class Bogotáños. The Alianza Francesa, under the sponsorship of French consular authorities, is similar in nature and caters to the same class of Colombians.

The Pan-American Union attempts to propagate the idea and promote the public acceptance of inter-American cooperation. Its Spanish-language booklets and pamphlets include sketches on Latin American countries and expositions of the purposes, aims, and services of the Organization of American States. A representative publication in the latter category is entitled *Bosquejos de las Repúblicas Americanas* (Sketches of American Republics). This and other similar publications are distributed through the offices of the Pan-American Union in Bogotá to schools, civic organizations and individuals.

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SECTION III. ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 26

CHARACTER AND STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY

Colombia is an underdeveloped country with abundant natural resources. Its economy is basically agricultural, closely tied to coffee production. Industry has grown rapidly since World War II, but has been offset by an almost equally rapid increase in population which cancels out most of the gains of economic development. Although international comparisons of per capita income have to be taken with reservation, the estimated per capita national income is between U.S.\$220 and U.S.\$330, placing Colombia in the middle of the Latin American scale, which ranges from U.S.\$70 in Bolivia to U.S.\$750 in Venezuela.

Regional conditions vary, largely because of great differences in topography and climate, but with the gradual improvement of communication, transportation and public services, national patterns are emerging. The economy is firmly rooted in the private enterprise system, but the role of the government is increasing through its incipient national economic planning, the expansion of its fiscal operations, and its investments in development programs requiring formidable capital outlays, such as steel industries, transportation and hydroelectric power production.

The richness of the country contrasts sharply with the low standards of living and the marked disparity between the few rich and the many poor. Over nine-tenths of the population pay no income taxes because their earnings are below the taxable minimum. Economic power, as expressed in land and capital, is held by the descendants of the *conquistadores*, an exclusive upper class which, though socially rigid, is economically active and efficient. The bulk of the population is composed of subsistence farmers and a rapidly growing urban proletariat. An economic middle class—in rural areas farmers engaged in commercial agriculture, and in urban areas retailers, skilled workers and service personnel—is slowly gaining strength.

Although over half of the labor force is engaged in rural vocations, as against one-third in industry, commerce and services, agri-

culture contributes only about 33 percent of the gross national product because of uneconomic land utilization and inadequate cultivation methods. The land tenure system, still rooted in the social and political pattern of the Spanish conquest, is rigid. Two-thirds of the farmers cultivate less than 10 percent of the utilized land; their small subsistence plots are crowded on the steep mountain slopes. The wide level areas are used for livestock raising by the big landowners who constitute less than 1 percent of the farming population, but possess over half of the productive land.

The low purchasing power of the rural population practically excludes it from the industrial consumer goods market, thereby reducing the volume of domestic trade to a fraction of its potential. The low output of the rural economy makes it necessary to import agricultural products, thus diverting a sizable amount of foreign exchange from capital goods import and thereby retarding industrialization and over-all economic development.

The most advanced production and processing methods in agriculture are in the coffee industry, which is often considered an entity separate from the agricultural sector. Grown on medium-size farms by some 400,000 farmers and their families, coffee makes up 35 percent of the total agricultural output value, and earns 75 to 80 percent of the country's foreign exchange. Promotion is in the hands of a well organized marketing and credit organization, the National Federation of Coffee Growers, one of the most influential agencies in the country.

The economy's heavy dependence on coffee exports makes the country extremely vulnerable to fluctuations of coffee prices on the world market and inspires fear of the consequences if synthetic coffee becomes marketable in the near future. Diversification in the production of export goods is therefore a pressing problem, and some progress in this direction has been noted in recent years. There is now general recognition, however, that basic changes can come about only through an over-all agrarian reform which would institute structural changes in land tenure, agricultural credit policy, taxation, land utilization, production and marketing methods and would consolidate existing improvement programs in the various phases of agriculture. The absence of agreement among political factions on the extent and the time-table of such a reform is a serious obstacle.

Colombian industry has surpassed all other Latin American countries in rate of growth since World War II because of increased private investment stimulated by the expectancy of quicker and greater profit than agriculture yields, and increased government efforts toward economic self-sufficiency. In the absence of over-all planning and coordination, the different branches of industry have

developed unevenly. Heavy industry is almost completely lacking, with the exception of the Paz del Río steel mill constructed in the 1950's.

Little is produced in transportation equipment, machinery, electrical appliances and paper products. On the other hand, the food processing industries can meet the present domestic demand, and beverages, tobacco products, textiles, shoes and fuels are also produced in adequate volume. Construction materials are largely domestically produced, and the chemical industry has made strides in recent years. Although natural resources are in many areas unexplored and untapped, gold, silver and emerald mining were major industries before the development of modern manufacturing, and since the late 1920's petroleum has been the second most important export commodity.

Industry is dependent on import of capital goods and, to a great extent, of raw materials. Not only do recently built auto-assembly plants receive all parts from abroad, but the paper, rubber, chemical and electrical machinery industries, as well as several smaller enterprises, cannot exist without imported raw materials. Among its economic goals, the government gives high priority to the substitution of domestically produced raw materials for most of those currently imported.

Limitations imposed by topography retarded the construction of a nation-wide transportation system. The country pioneered in commercial air transportation, but lack of an adequate surface transportation system has hindered the integration and specialization of industry. Colombia is one of the few countries still engaged in major railroad construction. Railroad connections between the two coasts and the interior of the country were first established in 1961. The number of local feeder roads and the overall highway system is growing steadily; scheduled to start construction in 1961 is a link in the Pan-American Highway to join the section now under construction through Panama.

The country has invaluable resources of hydroelectric energy, oil, coal and timber. So far only the exploitation of oil can be considered satisfactory. The production of hydroelectric power lags behind demand, the coal potential is barely explored and timber resources have been exploited to a very limited extent.

Capital shortage is characteristic of the economy. Investment is heaviest in transportation, manufacturing and petroleum industries. In agriculture and in rural housing the shortage of long-term credit is particularly pressing. Colombians have demonstrated more resourcefulness and have provided more domestic capital than most Latin American countries; yet borrowing abroad, mainly in the

United States during the late 1920's and again in recent years, has been essential to the economy.

The United States has been not only the major source of foreign investment but also the most important trading partner, although the European prosperity of recent years has reduced the United States share in Colombian trade. Trade with other parts of the world, including members of the Sino-Soviet bloc, is negligible.

Labor is available in sufficient numbers but not in adequate quality. Foreign labor is employed in specialized and skilled categories, but its proportion is restricted by law. The shortcomings in general and technical education together with deficiencies in diet and in health conditions of the lower income groups handicap a large portion of the population in efforts to utilize fully their physical and mental potentialities. Furthermore, differences in altitude and climate act as obstacles to the free movement of labor.

Development efforts on a private or semiofficial basis had been present in certain branches of the economy long before the beginning of intensive industrialization. Development of coffee production and improvement of the quality of cattle were promoted as early as the turn of the century. After World War II the government began to create agencies to promote branches of the economy considered vital to attaining self-sufficiency, to bettering the standard of living and to improving the balance of payments. Organizations furthering tobacco, cotton and agricultural production, colonization and manufacturing were subsidized intensively.

Over-all growth has been slow and uneven. The gross national product increased only 3.5 percent annually during the 1950's; while the rate of industrial growth was about 7 percent, that of agriculture was only 2.3 percent. Hence, the rate of over-all growth has barely kept ahead of the 2.5 percent annual increase in population, while the most important branch of the economy, agriculture, actually lagged behind it. At this rate of development the economy has been unable to absorb the annual increase in numbers of labor force with the result that about 150,000 persons annually swell the ranks of the unemployed and underemployed.

The urgent need for integrated development stimulated the creation of the Council for Economic Policy and Planning and the administrative Department for Planning and Technical Services in 1958. The two agencies, in cooperation with the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (UN-ECLA), the Inter-American Economic and Social Council of the Organization of American States (IA-ECOSOC-OAS), the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), and other international economic and

financial bodies, as well as with the United States International Cooperation Administration (US-ICA), engaged in the task of raising the rate of growth of the GNP to an annual 5 percent, a goal proclaimed essential by the government of Lleras Camargo.

To achieve this goal, the government has introduced fiscal and financial measures which call for austerity in administrative spending and increase in public investment; long-term development plans, the first of which, the "Four-Year Plan for Public Investment," was launched in the fall of 1960; a tax reform designed to stimulate development; a Col\$200 million domestic bond issue for the completion of the Atlantic railroad, other transportation, industrial, power and municipal development projects; liberalizing the credit policy; and strengthening institutions engaged in credit operations for development.

Strengthening the Agrarian Credit Bank as the main arm of the government in agricultural development, and increasing support of regional development projects such as the Cauca Valley Authority, are progressive measures but will have limited effects if the planned over-all agrarian reform is not passed or is weakened by restrictive amendments. The need for simultaneous improvement of social and educational conditions presents additional burdens. More lip service than actual support is given measures to extend the social security system, raise the minimum wage and provide low-income housing.

Liberalizations in foreign trade, including a new exchange policy in force since June 1957, which provides for extensive use of the free market, have given the economy a strong stimulus and raised the hopes of the Colombian people that most of the ambitious development plans can be realized. A large part of the commercial debts accumulated before 1957 have been paid off, and confidence in the Colombian economy has been restored abroad. The country hopes to further its economic development through inter-American economic cooperation. It participates in an international research project concerned with the feasibility of a common Latin American market, and it has signed the Act of Bogotá (1960), whose aim is cooperation with other Latin American states to achieve social and economic progress.

At the end of the four-year term of the present government in 1962, the influence of new political forces may alter the prospects and pace of economic development, but social and economic aspirations are too strong to be eliminated or satisfied merely by political maneuver or changes in leadership. As in other Latin American countries, the post-war era has witnessed the desire for basic changes in the present socioeconomic structure of the country, a desire that has been stimulated by social revolutions in Cuba and elsewhere in

the hemisphere. These aspirations are recognized by an increasing number of people who, however, disagree widely on the extent of change necessary.

The elite is still hopeful that, with adequate foreign capital, technical aid and a few major reform measures, most of the aspirations can be satisfied without disrupting the present system. Others, including the Communists, believe that capitalism is not dynamic enough and that the tempo of change is too sluggish. They recommended drastic structural changes and much larger governmental participation in the economy.

CHAPTER 27

AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL

Agriculture engages the labor of 52 percent of the economically active population, contributes some 35 percent to the gross national product, and provides 80 to 90 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings. About one-fourth of the total area of the country serves agricultural pursuits, but only 2.6 percent is used for crop production, whereas 23.6 percent constitutes pasture for livestock.

The relatively small crop-producing area, which employs the vast majority of the agricultural labor force, produces 22 percent of the gross national product; the considerably larger grazing area sustains a smaller number of people, contributing only 13.5 percent to the gross national product. Crop and stock farming are seldom practiced jointly.

Foodstuffs constitute the principal crop products, and coffee represents about three-fifths of the total. Although corn, potatoes, yucca, sugar cane, plantain, barley, wheat, rice, and bananas are the staple foods, coffee, as the principal export commodity, has the greatest impact on the national economy.

During the past decade, Columbia has been compelled to import only about 4 percent of its food requirements, mostly wheat, barley, cacao, fats, and oils for consumption, and several other crops for seedling purposes.

The agricultural sector of the economy has shown less dynamism and a slower rate of growth than other sectors. Between 1953 and 1959, the growth was 2.3 percent per year, much lower than the 4 percent growth necessary to bring the over-all growth of the economy to a desirable annual 5 percent. For the time being, the increasing demand for foodstuffs has been partially met through a reduction in food exports and an increase in imports. The growing of such products as barley and cotton has been increased considerably in recent years, but these isolated successes do not mitigate the urgent need to modify certain economic and social factors which have for a long time hampered agricultural progress.

The outstanding problem of agriculture is the structure of land ownership. Large- and medium-sized holdings, owned by a relatively small number of upper-class families, occupy the level areas of the overwhelmingly mountainous country and are almost exclusively

utilized for extensive stock raising, while a multitude of holdings too small to sustain a family are located on the poor soils of the mountain slopes and are utilized for crop production. Overpopulation on the small farms produces social pressure and provides a source for the growing urban proletariat. Great and fluctuating differences exist in income, living standards, and methods of production among the various types of agriculturists in the country.

The income and production of farmers in all categories is limited by the chronic shortage of credit, storage, and transportation facilities. The latter two deficiencies are causes of considerable waste in both the quantity and quality of agricultural products, but they also account for the development of regional markets. Marketing of produce on the national scale is the exception rather than the rule (see ch. 31, Domestic Trade). With the exception of coffee, few agricultural products are distributed nationally. Farmers take their produce to the nearest market immediately after harvest and sell it with little participation of middlemen.

The economic and social pressures calling for over-all agrarian reform and development are on the increase. The passage of numerous laws reflects the concern of the government. Groups with special agricultural interests have been promoting agricultural research and education and the improved marketing of their respective products; these groups have at times achieved—with government or foreign aid—worthwhile results, but poor coordination and administration, a shortage of capital and skilled technicians, the low level of agricultural education, the absence of an effective marketing organization, and the obstruction of a largely conservative ruling group have restricted progress to isolated phases of agriculture (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

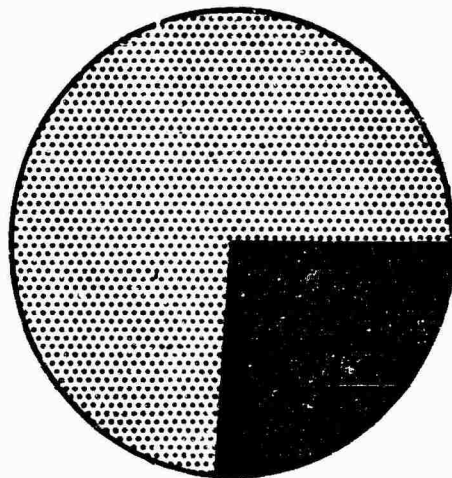
Present government policies are aimed at achieving complete self-sufficiency in agriculture, even though the costs of domestic production may be higher than the cost of imports, and toward more diversified and expanded exports. Tariffs, credits, and other administrative and financial measures are employed with some success to promote the production of goods serving these ends. The country, for example, has doubled its cotton production during the past two years and has not only become self-sufficient, but a cotton-export country for the first time (1960) in its history. As a result of vigorous government action, the yield per acre of wheat, maize, potatoes, pulses, and cacao has increased; there are good indications that barley, rice, sugar, and coffee production will follow the same trend.

Improved irrigation, drainage, and the use of domestic fertilizers are recognized as essential to the proper utilization of the soil presently under cultivation, as well as to the utilization of new land.

Improved incentives for colonization or internal migration are essential to the latter end as well. All these, in addition to the execution of integrated plans for research, education, and the provision of storage and transportation facilities, demand the employment of far greater resources than the country possesses. The need for foreign assistance was emphasized by President Alberto Lleras Camargo's request for a \$100 million loan from the United States, in order to implement the agrarian reforms under consideration in 1960. The government must also overcome domestic opposition from the class of large landowners, who resist an over-all reform involving land redistribution on the basis of the claim that such reform will temporarily reduce output, a luxury that the country cannot permit itself under present circumstances.

LAND UTILIZATION

Almost three-fourths of the country is forest or swamp land, land under permanent snow, or land the nature of which is undetermined. Over 7 million acres (2.6 percent) are used for crop production, and 66 million acres (23.6 percent) are used for stock raising (see fig. 10).






Symbol	Land Use	Acres	Percent
	Forest, swamp and other unuseable lands.	207,600,000	73.8
	Stock farming.	66,200,000	23.6
	Crop farming.	7,200,000	2.6

Figure 10. Land Utilization in Colombia.

Climatic conditions in general have discouraged settlement in the hot and humid lowlands, where the farmer must struggle continuously not only with the soil but also with the rapidly growing wild flora, countless pests, and many diseases. It was mainly because of these environmental factors that the Indians of pre-Colombian times concentrated their denser settlements on higher elevations, which were also more easily defensible against hostile tribes. The Spanish, similarly, settled mainly on the useful level areas of the high plateaus and elevated valleys of the cordilleras. There, in addition to the comfortable climate and good soil, sufficient Indian labor was also available, rain was more evenly distributed, and two annual harvests were possible.

The bulk of the land now utilized for agricultural purposes lies concentrated in the mountainous western part of the country, mainly in the temperate and cold regions. Here almost 50 percent of the land is utilized, in contrast with the eastern part, where only 13 percent of the land is utilized. The exception to the relatively extensive land utilization in the western regions is found in the hot rain forests of the Chocó area, where only 2.3 percent of the land is in use.

The present geographic distribution of utilized land is the combined result of many factors, among which climate, elevation, quality of soil, and land tenure practices have been most important, although inadequate education and research and lack of credit, storage, and transportation facilities have also played significant roles.

Soils

Pilot surveys give some indication of the soils in the western part of the country, but no over-all soil survey is available. Soils may be placed in three categories; soils usable in their present state, soils usable after treatment and management, and useless soils. The soils of the high plateaus and elevated valleys, composed of sufficient plant nutrients to be used for several seasons without special treatment, fall mainly in the first category. On the highest elevations and on very steep slopes, however, soils are stony and less suitable for agricultural purposes. In the lower regions of these valleys, as well as along the rivers of the Pacific Coast, soils are composed mainly of silt carried down by the rivers during periods of floods. Although these soils are almost uniformly fertile, they are constantly wet, and to be planted they must be drained. They have long been used during dry periods as pasture lands, and parts of these flood areas have in recent years been used for rice cultivation.

East of the Magdalena River, along the low elevations of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, fine loams made large-scale banana

production possible; on the higher elevations, brown clay and humus, high in potash and iron content, provide good soils for coffee farmers. The shallow, sandy, and stony soils of the arid Guajira Peninsula provide meagre pasture for livestock. Irrigation and treatment of the soil could improve the area considerably.

The soils of the practically inaccessible rain forests or selvas that cover large parts of the Chocó area are bleached of much of their plant nutrients and would need chemical treatment for cultivation. Although experts differ, it is assumed generally that the soils of the rain forests in eastern Colombia fall into the same classification and that their immediate utilization is rather problematical.

Soil Erosion

Large tracts of land that were prosperous and rich at the time of the Spanish conquest now lie bare and bleak in the high valleys and mountain slopes of the cordilleras. Soil erosion has reached such major proportions that certain areas are unable to maintain even subsistence farmers. For instance, the Magdalena River alone carries some 458,000 cubic yards of soil every day in its waters. The process is most noticeable in the Eastern Cordillera, north of Bogotá. Soil erosion is also visible on practically all steep slopes and bare ground in the river valleys. The usable land has actually been decreasing in several areas.

Soil erosion caused by precipitation has been promoted rather than retarded by modern man. Intensive agriculture practiced on small level plots by the Chibcha Indians before the conquest retarded the deterioration of the soil. The small farmer of subsequent generations was forced to move from the level land to the mountains, where he cleared the steep slopes by burning the trees and underbrush. This practice, combined with the constant replanting of the same crop, especially annuals, in the same soil, contributed to soil depletion and erosion. Constantly repeated, the process has led to the gradual depletion of the land's fertility.

Although soil conservation programs, the use of fertilizers, and techniques of crop rotation and land management are energetically promoted by the government—notably by the Cauca Valley Corporation (Corporación Autónoma Regional del Cauca) in its area—the farmer's lack of education, skills, and credit are seriously retarding factors.

Factors Promoting Land Use

Improvement in land utilization is being sought through the more intensive use of the land already under cultivation and by reclamation of presently unused land. Vast forest-covered areas could be cleared to provide millions of acres for agriculture. Data com-

piled by the United Nations show that in the departments alone, excepting Chocó, some 19 million acres could be added to the 50 million acres presently being exploited for agricultural purposes. Thus about 63 percent of the total area of the departments could be utilized. Agricultural land in the Chocó area could be increased to 4 or 5 million acres if proper irrigation, drainage, soil management, and transportation facilities were provided. No estimates are available regarding land utilization in the *intendencias* and *comisarias*, but it is thought that millions of acres there could be developed through the construction of roads, the dredging of rivers, and the drainage and irrigation of lands. Along the eastern slopes of the Eastern Cordillera alone, there are some 25 million acres of forest land with good soils, which could be utilized without too much investment.

Land Reclamation

The state owns vast areas of untilled land in Bolívar in Córdoba, and in the eastern part of the country. Before 1936, anyone who settled on such land and grew crops on one-third, or maintained two-thirds in pasture for ten consecutive years, and paid the established price, could obtain full title to it. With the passage of the 1936 Land Act (Act 200), confusing regulations and divergent practices were eliminated, and the government was authorized to determine the most economic use of untilled state lands—whether, for example, they could best be utilized for agriculture, forestry, mining, or other purposes.

Decrees issued in 1937 and 1937 charged the Agrarian, Industrial and Mineral Credit Bank (Caja de Crédito Agrario, Industrial, y Minero) with the responsibility for planning and operating new settlements with supporting colonization projects initiated by other government agencies, such as the former Colonization and Immigration Institute. Lack of planning, insufficient credit, and the absence of implements and facilities had resulted in the failure of several small colonization projects before the Bank was given full authority. At present, the Bank buys land and sells it to settlers, administers government parcelization and colonization projects, and organizes colonization centers.

One successful colonization program is being carried out on the eastern slopes of the Eastern Cordillera, at Ariari, near Villavicencio in Meta, where 2,400 families who had previously settled there and 300 new colonists are being aided on a 170,000-acre tract of land. Each family receives a minimum of 123 acres and credit up to 5,000 pesos for home construction. A commissary, medical services, technical advice and assistance, an agricultural extension service, and other public services are available. Farther south in

the same general area, at Doncello and Belén de los Andequiens in Caquetá, over 700 families are receiving about the same services as those provided at Ariari. But this project suffers from lack of roads, which makes marketing of produce almost impossible.

The Agrarian Credit Bank is also active in many other settlement projects. The Sarare Project, covering 700,000 acres, has been set aside for colonization in the Departments of Boyacá and Norte de Santander and in the Comisaría of Arauca. Five-hundred thousand acres of this land are believed to be cultivable, especially for cocoa, bananas, maize, and oleaginous plants. The Bank, in cooperation with the Rehabilitation Bureau of the Department of Norte de Santander, had by last report, assisted some 500 old and 157 new families. Individual holdings range between 120 and 250 acres. For some Col\$3 million, the Bank also has purchased haciendas with a total of 12,400 acres, to be divided into 650 individual farms. During the period 1960-61, a sizable group of settlers was to be established on it and other lands added to it.

About 1.5 million acres, of which 800,000 to 900,000 acres are workable, have been designated for colonization in Meta, Huila, and Tolima. The area consists of some 370,000 acres on the Páramo de Sumapaz in a climatic zone similar to that of Bogotá; 74,000 acres on the Páramo de Sumapaz in the cold zone; 250,000 acres in the cold zone along the Arroz River; some 500,000 acres on the high Ariari River, including all three climatic zones; and 250,000 acres near Galilea in the temperate zone. Two hydroelectric plants with a capacity of 100,000 kilowatts are planned. The development of a lumber industry and the raising of sheep are the best economic prospects. The capital requirement for this colonization project over a three-year period is at least U.S.\$40 million. Negotiations involving the Agrarian Credit Bank and ministries of Public Works, Agriculture, and Education are in progress to secure the necessary financial support.

Parcelization is also used to increase the output of the land. In Colombia, parcelization is a system of purchasing large tracts of idle or insufficiently used land and dividing it up into small plots for the purpose of intensive agriculture. The new owners are encouraged to solve their community needs through the formation of farming cooperatives. Fifty-five such projects are now in progress, 35 of which were begun by the former Colonization and Parcelization Institute and 20 by the Agrarian Credit Bank.

Capital for the financing of these projects comes mainly from the commercial and savings banks, which are compelled by a law passed in 1959 to utilize 10 percent of their deposits for this purpose. Other sources are the national government and the depart-

ments involved, mainly Santander and Norte de Santander. The purchaser of such land must deposit from 5 to 25 percent of the price, depending on the fertility of the soil, his personal financial status, and other criteria. The balance is paid off in 10 to 15 years, usually in semiannual or annual installments. The settler may receive an initial credit of up to Col\$400 pesos to facilitate his move to the land and an installation credit of a maximum of Col\$5,000 on a short-term basis—usually a four-year loan—to purchase seeds, livestock, tools, and lumber. Additional credits are made available as the settler establishes himself. When government funds are involved in the loans, the settler is obliged to pay interest only for the first year.

Water Control

Irrigation of dry land and drainage of wet land serve both to intensify and to extend land use. This has long been expressed in ambitious plans, but only meager results have so far been achieved. Early irrigation works in the tobacco zones of Santander, in the banana zones of Magdalena, and in the sugar-cane fields of the Cauca Valley were products of private enterprise. More recent large-scale projects, such as the Coello-Saldaña project in Tolima, are government sponsored. At present, a total of some 500,000 to 600,000 acres of land are irrigated, and some 75,000 to 80,000 acres are drained. Some 1 million acres could be improved by such water control.

One of the most hopeful signs of bold planning and action has been the creation of the Cauca Valley Corporation in 1954. Initiated under the direction of David E. Lilienthal, it has been modeled after the Tennessee Valley Authority (see ch. 23, Industrial Potential). In addition to power plants, the plans call for flood control through the creation of two huge reservoirs. The Timba and Salvajín dams would safeguard some 200,000 acres from the periodic floods which occur in the valley about every 10 years. Ground water, which may rise as a result of the building of the irrigation projects, will have to be artificially drained from almost 1 million acres in the bottom of the valley. The Agua Blanca and Reldanille-La Unión-Tore draining project, affecting 42,000 acres, has already been completed, but construction work on the Timba dam, which will become the principal structure in the system, has not yet begun.

Work on other water control projects is slow. The only project of any size completed recently is the Coello-Saldaña River project in Tolima. Completed in 1951, the effects of its irrigation on crop production have been very encouraging. The 62,000 acres affected by the project, administered since 1954 by the Agrarian Credit

Bank, grow rice, some cotton, and other crops. Rice production has increased tenfold since the beginning of irrigation.

A number of projects for which no funds have been secured remain in the planning stage. One of the most ambitious plans under consideration is the Montería-Cereté project in Córdoba, involving 150,000 acres and costing about Col\$40 million, to be obtained from the Agrarian Credit Bank and from foreign sources. The César Vier and Ariguani projects in Magdalena should affect 900,000 acres; the Zulia River project in Norte de Santander is planned to improve 120,000 acres; the Palo River project in Valle is planned for the improvement of sugar-cane production on 2,500 acres. Surveys made in such areas as Nariño and Tolima along the Prado River amount to no more than the gathering of preliminary data.

Funds have been made available by the United States under Public Law 480 for the construction of the Ponedera-Candelaria project in Atlántico, which will affect 40,000 to 70,000 acres. The Colombian Government has provided Col\$1 million and the Agrarian Credit Bank, Col\$3.5 million for the relatively small Venado-Cabrera project in Santander, designed to irrigate 750 acres.

Mechanization

The criteria of the need or opportunity to use mechanization are quite different on the small farms of the mountain slopes and on the large estates of the level areas. The low-income subsistence farmer, dependent on a small patch of land, still relies mostly on hand tools such as the machete and the hoe. On large, level estates or plantations, crop and stock farmers are better equipped financially and technically to mechanize at least partially. Thus, the greatest progress in agricultural mechanization has been made in the preparation of level land for both crop and stock farming. Most of the sugar cane, rice, and cotton is grown on level land, as well as part of the barley and wheat. On newly settled lands, situated in more or less level areas, the use of tractors for the preparation of the soil—although not for sowing or harvesting or locomotive power—is increasingly extensive. In areas where irrigation is used, mechanization is more advanced. Some large landowners producing cereals employ harvesters, mainly on irrigated rice lands. Heavy tractors are used in the clearing of forests and in construction work on large farms. Government statistics recorded a total of 10,400 tractors in the country in 1958.

The Use of Fertilizers

The use of organic fertilizers is not widespread. Because crop farming and stock raising are seldom practiced together, the use of

farmyard manure is very limited. Cattle dung is used by some growers of potatoes and other vegetables, but other sources of organic fertilizers, such as compost or city garbage, are almost unknown. The subsistence farmer usually abandons his piece of land after continuous planting of a single crop and the absence of proper soil management have chemically eroded it; he then clears himself a new patch from the nearby forest. The land left fallow may recover chemically within a given period of time in level areas, but on the mountain slopes it will more likely deteriorate further under the impact of rain and water. Under these circumstances, it is vital to the country's economy to change such practices and to promote the use of fertilizer.

Because most of them must be imported at prices few farmers can afford, chemical fertilizers also are little used. The average consumption per acre in 1953 was only about 12 pounds, and it has not materially increased since that time. Phosphorus and nitrogen are the two minerals most lacking in Colombian soils, although some phosphorus has been provided from the iron-smelting industry. The use of organic fertilizers and the rotation of perennial crops with leguminous plants would help considerably in making up these deficiencies.

The Agrarian Credit Bank provides about 75 percent of the fertilizers used in the country. It sells compound fertilizers for different crops and provides agricultural lime as a neutralizer of soil acidity.

Development of Land Distribution

The Indians of the highlands owned land in common. It was distributed in parcels to heads of families according to their respective needs. Changes in distribution occasionally were made when required by changes in the size of the family or conditions of the soil. Families as a rule cultivated their land independently and occasionally engaged in mutual assistance.

With the coming of the Spanish conquest, land was seized in the name of the Crown and distributed among the members of each expedition. The level floors of the plateaus and elevated valleys became the property of the conquerors. Although attempts were made through law to reserve certain portions of the land to the indigenous population, avarice gradually nullified good intentions. Land was taken from the Indians by violence, through misinterpretation of law, and through various types of pressure. The pressures were maintained following the initial period of conquest, although in isolated cases some Indians were able to return to their land and reach reasonable agreements with their conquerors. Nevertheless, the continuing inflow of greater numbers of European immigrants and their preference for raising livestock rather than crop

farming brought about the development of large estates on level lands, used mainly for livestock raising and supporting a relatively small number of persons; and of a large number of small plots, mostly on slopes, used for intensive crop farming but too small to support the relatively large number of people who work them. In the presence of the population increase, this system has become increasingly unsuitable to meet the economic needs of the country, and its reform has become the most important social, economic, and political issue of recent years (see ch. 2, Historical Setting; ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

Information concerning the most economical size of land holdings for various types of farming units in each climatic zone is not available. The 1951 census showed a total of nearly 1.6 million rural properties. How many were farming units is not indicated, but 820,842 units located in the departments were classified by size (see table 1). The data show an overwhelming number of small

Table 1. *Size of Farming Units in Colombia, 1951*

Approximate size		Number of farms	Percent of total number	Area occupied (in 1,000 acres)	Percent of total area
Acres	Hectares				
Under 2.5.....	Under 1.....	112,000	13.70	128	0.25
2.5 to 12.....	1 to 5.....	347,380	42.27	2,213	3.33
12 to 50.....	5 to 20.....	230,550	28.09	6,012	10.73
50 to 250.....	20 to 100.....	101,384	12.35	11,723	20.92
250 to 1,200.....	100 to 500.....	25,072	3.05	18,586	33.15
1,200 to 25,000.....	500 to 10,000.....	4,424	0.54	16,200	28.91
Over 25,000.....	Over 10,000.....	32	0.004	1,186	2.11
Total.....	820,842	100.00	56,063	100.00

Source: Adapted from United Nations, Economic Commission for Latin America, *Analysis and Projections of Economic Development, III: The Economic Development of Colombia, 1957*, pp. 194, 195.

properties occupying a small percentage of the land at one end of the scale, and at the other end, a small number of properties occupying vast areas. Almost 56 percent of the properties are under 12 acres in size, and they occupy only 4 percent of the land. Broadly, farming units in the first two categories listed in table 1 are incapable of supporting the average-size family. Such farms are smaller than 12 acres and are often located on slopes as steep as 45°; they have poor soil, are remote from transportation facilities, and are unsuitable for the application of new technology. These properties are called *minifundios*.

Farming units larger than 250 acres, including 4,424 units over 1,200 acres and 32 units over 25,000 acres, constitute only 3.6 percent of all farms, but occupy 64 percent of the land. Most of these qualify for the term *latifundio*, which signifies a large estate uneconomically cultivated or not cultivated at all. Under the conditions prevailing in Colombia, units of over 250 acres which engage only in stock raising, and most farms over 1,200 acres, regardless of what they produce, could be utilized more economically.

There are about 232,000 medium-sized units, occupying about 21.5 percent of the land; these constitute the most productive type of farm units. Many farms in this category engage in the production of export commodities such as coffee and cotton; some practice a rare but economical combination of crop and stock farming.

LAND TENURE

Types of Tenure on Small Farms

Reliable information on land ownership and tenure is not available. Basically, small farms are either owned by the farmer or are leased or cultivated on a sharecropping basis by a person whose land is inadequate to sustain his family or who has no land at all. The work is done in all these cases by the farmer and his family. The amount of surplus food produced for sale after the needs of the family are satisfied and the rent paid is small indeed. Frequently, the farmer and his family must seek additional sources of income to supplement that from the land.

The most common form of sharecropping is called *aparcería*. In this relationship, the owner rents a piece of land to a sharecropper (*aparcero*), and they both share the harvest in keeping with a pre-agreed division. This relationship takes different forms from region to region, depending on who supplies the seeds, implements, and facilities, the location of the land, and the type of crop grown. Tobacco, rice, cotton, maize, and wheat are grown under this system. The land involved is usually a small plot, often not more than one acre.

There are several factors which make the *aparcería* a retarding rather than a constructive element. Its inadequacies generally result from the terms of the contracts, which may represent such unreasonable advantages for the owner that they fail to provide adequate incentive to increase output. Because of large-scale rural unemployment, the *aparcero* is often faced with the question of whether to accept an unfavorable contract or starve. Inadequate production under the system may often be accounted for by the fact that the owner leaves the execution of the contract to an *alguacil* (bailiff), who usually has no technical knowledge and who is therefore unable to provide the *aparcero* with necessary supervision and guidance.

Experiments carried out at the experimental station of the Ministry of Agriculture at San Gil in Santander seemed to have proved that, with improvement in the terms of the usual contract, and with some credit and technical assistance, production could easily be increased to the benefit of both parties. This lesson has not been learned by the country's landlords.

Types of Tenure on Medium and Large Farms

Medium and large holdings, actually worked with hired labor, may be classified within three categories in terms of ownership and use: holdings operated by the owner; holdings operated by an administrator for the absentee owner; and holdings operated by several tenant farmers. Most of the holdings in this category are either livestock-raising haciendas or farms and plantations producing a single crop, such as sugar cane, bananas, cotton, rice, barley, potatoes, or coffee.

Large, owner-operated farms are the exception. Most owners prefer to live in the cities and leave the operation of their farms either to a manager-administrator, who receives a fixed remuneration for his services, or to an administrator-entrepreneur, who will take the farm over completely and pay the owner an agreed share of the profit in cash. In neither case is there much incentive for the administrator to improve the land under his care. Frequently, the necessary technical knowledge and skill to perform efficiently is also absent. Such factors account for the low productivity of many farms.

Tenant farming was very common before the passing of the Land Act of 1936, when tenant farmers (*viviente, agregado, arrendatario*) were mostly workers who performed farm labor and in return received lodging for their families and a piece of land for their exclusive use. If they were tenants on a stock-raising farm, they usually were permitted to run their own herds along with that of the owner. When the provisions of the Land Act came to be interpreted as giving the tenant claim to the house he lived in and to the land he cultivated, many landowners quickly disposed of their tenants and abandoned the system as it had existed. At present, tenants on such holdings fall into the category of businessmen who find it more profitable to rent a piece of land than to buy it. They generally rent a rather large tract of land, usually 100 acres or more, and either raise livestock or produce a single crop. Although their farming methods are in general more technologically advanced, the single-crop agriculture they engage in and their general failure to employ crop rotation results in the depletion of the soil within a few years.

Another type of agricultural holding is found in the few Indian *resguardos* or reservations, remnants of historic Indian communities,

which survived centuries of pressure from the white man and the shortage of land occasioned by his appearance; most are in the southern region of the Central Cordillera. In 1940, there were some 160 *resguardos*, comprising 86,241 Indians who occupied and worked the land collectively, sometimes supplementing their incomes by working on adjacent *latifundios*.

Additional forms of tenure relate to colonists in newly exploited areas and to the cattlemen of the Llanos Orientales. The government, directly or through a semigovernmental agency, provides each colonist with a piece of land on long-term credit. When the obligations stated in the loan agreement and in the statutes of the respective colony have been fulfilled, the land becomes his. The system leads to maximum production and to sound land management, because the greater the output, the sooner the colonist will be able to repay his loan and own the land.

Cattlemen of the Llanos Orientales have no right to an exclusive use of any specific part of the vast, state-owned grazing land; their cattle share the best available pasture at any time. There is little or no incentive for the improvement or preservation of the qualities of the soil. No program of soil improvement exists in the potentially cultivable Llanos.

PRODUCTS AND PRACTICES

Retrospect

Among the Indian tribes of pre-Columbian times, the Chibchas of the Eastern Cordillera and other highland groups practiced sedentary agriculture. Their staple foods were maize and potatoes, supplemented by the meat of domesticated guinea pigs. Yucca, beans, squashes, and tomatoes also were grown; tropical fruits and cotton were probably imported from the lowlands. Tobacco and such narcotics as *coco* and *dufra*, which probably grew wild, were also known to them. Indians of the Central Cordillera and the Cauca Valley were less sedentary, although they engaged in some crop farming on a pattern of shifting cultivation and thus supplemented the food they obtained through fishing and hunting. Maize, manioc, and yams were produced, and cotton was planted and used for the manufacture of textiles. In the Pasto region, intensive horticulture was practiced on relatively small lots. Potatoes, other tubers, and a little maize were the staple foods, supplemented by gathered fruits (see ch. 4, Ethnic Groups).

The Spanish did not introduce the advanced agricultural techniques that were known in northern Europe at the time of the conquest. They did, however, introduce previously unknown livestock—such as horses for riding purposes, cattle, sheep, and goats—and

new crops—such as wheat, barley, and sugar cane. But they did not bring the metal turning plow nor employ horses and mules in agriculture.

By the seventeenth century, moderately diversified agriculture existed. The Spanish settlers had been interested mainly in livestock raising and established their haciendas on the large level areas of the highlands, setting the pattern for present agricultural production. Diversified agriculture was expanded considerably in the nineteenth century. Sugar-cane production was increased as panels became increasingly popular, and coffee cultivation spread from near the Venezuelan border into the valleys, centering in Antioquia and Caldas. The mechanized production of rice and other tropical crops in the lowlands and the spread of stock raising in the hot zone of Magdalena are of recent origin, mostly since World War II.

The Relative Importance of Crop and Stock Farming

Crop farming and livestock raising seldom are combined in Colombia. Stock farms are almost without exception large enterprises and occupy level land, often with very fertile soil.

A comparison of the two sectors of agriculture reveals that crop farming, utilizing only about one-tenth of the land used for agricultural purposes, annually produces two-thirds of the value of agricultural production. Differences in production values per area unit are even more striking. Crop units, on the average, produce about 16 times as much in value as livestock units. This disparity appears especially great in view of the fact that the cultivation practices of small landholders producing maize, potatoes, yucca, beans, or tobacco have in the past shown little improvement. Hand tools, mainly antiquated, are used almost exclusively, since the farmers' low income and the usual location of the small plots on steep mountain slopes do not encourage mechanization. The greater value produced by crop farming may be accounted for by the fact that the primitive but intensive farming of crop farmers is more effective than the extensive stock-farming practices of the stock farmers, as well as by the fact that one-third of the value of crop production comes from export crops, which bring a higher return than domestically marketed crops and livestock.

Crops

Some 98 percent of the crop-producing area consists of small holdings, for the most part located on mountain slopes growing maize, pulses, vegetables, yucca, plantains, sugar cane, and fruits, and worked only to sustain the farmer's family. Others also grow coffee, rice, cocoa, wheat, barley, cotton, and tobacco for the market. The

remaining 2 percent of the country's crop land is in large estates, mainly banana and sugar cane plantations.

Coffee

On more than 2 million acres of mountain land, Colombia annually produces some 500,000 to 600,000 tons of coffee. The 1959-60 production was estimated to be 650,000 metric tons (see table 2).

Table 2. Summary of Agricultural Production in Colombia *

Crops	Utilized area (in 1,000 hectares)	Yield per hectare (in 100 kilograms)	Total production (in 1,000 tons)			Export (in 1,000 tons)	Import (in 1,000 tons)
			1957	1958	1959		
Coffee.....	840	5.5	456	586	462	290	
Bananas.....	48	106.0			509	200	
Plantains.....	250	48.8	1,100	1,130	1,220		
Maise.....	660	12.9	746	852	850		
Yuca.....	125	57.6	700	700	720		
Potatoes.....	90	97.2	540	700	875		
Rice.....	206	20.4	378	411	421		3
Wheat.....	160	9.1	160	156	145		100
Barley.....	57	20.2	60	75	115		40
Pulses.....	125	6.9	72	60	86		1
Sugar cane.....	161	745.3	11,000	11,250			40 (refined)
Cacao.....	32	4.0	12	12	13		6
Cotton.....	131	10.8	58	73	142		
Tobacco.....	24	16.7	38	38	39		
Sesame.....	15	6.7	15	21	10		
Copra.....	2	8.5			1.7		
Soybeans.....	11	12.7			14		

Livestock	Total Supply in 1,000 Head
Cattle.....	15,100
Sheep.....	1,190
Goats.....	351
Pigs.....	1,870
Horses.....	1,933
Poultry.....	27,600

* 1959 figures, unless otherwise stated.
 † 1953 figure.

Source: Adapted from Colombia, Bank of the Republic, *Statistical Survey of the Economy of Colombia*, 1959, p. 27.

The country's contribution to the world coffee market, surpassed only by Brazil, amounts to about 15 percent. Coffee contributes about 35 percent of the value of crops produced in the country and about 80 percent of the foreign exchange secured through export.

Coffee was first exported in 1835 and gained real significance in the national economy toward the end of the nineteenth century, when the opening of the railroad line from the Magdalena River to Medellín facilitated transport. It is best produced on elevations between 3,000 and 6,000 feet, and almost every region at this elevation is involved in coffee production to some degree. About one-third of the country's coffee is grown on the volcanic mountain slopes of Caldas, but the Departments of Antioquia, Cundinamarca, Valle del Cauca, and Tolima are also major producers, and Norte de Santander, Huila, Santander, Magdalena, and Nariño are lesser, but also important, producers.

About 97 percent of the coffee farms comprise less than 10 acres. The average number of trees per farm is about 2,500. The yield per tree is the highest on the continent, about 100 *arrobas* (2,500 pounds) per *parcela* (the average-sized lot under coffee cultivation). The income from the sale of coffee must maintain a large family on each farm as well as support production. About 400,000 families make their living from coffee production, and their prosperity is seriously affected by changes in world coffee prices. The potential for increased production is great in terms both of quantity and quality. Improvements are being promoted by individual growers, as well as by such organizations as the National Federation of Coffee Growers (Federación Nacional de Cafeteros).

Bananas

Two distinct varieties of bananas are grown: the banana (*banano*), as a fruit mainly for export purposes, and the plantain (*plátano*) or cooking banana, consumed as a vegetable rather than a fruit and a staple item in the local diet.

The production of bananas for export is highly industrialized. It is concentrated on plantations south of Santa Marta, where, along a railroad line some 150,000 to 200,000 tons of bananas are produced on over 100,000 acres. The Magdalena Fruit Company, a subsidiary of United Fruit Company, owns about 18 percent of all banana-producing land, but it also buys fruit from independent producers, organized in two cooperatives. The company provides also disease control and technical assistance to contract farmers.

Located mostly in the northern coastal areas, large-scale commercial banana production has not spread inland, mainly because transportation and capital are absent. Adequate financial backing is especially important, because diseases and windstorms make banana cultivation risky. Some commercial banana production has been started in the Nariño area in southwest Colombia. Plans for the development of banana production in Chocó are in the discussion stage.

Plantains as a rule are grown in small gardens, usually in the hot zone, where most farms have some plantain trees around the house. Consumed by the grower, little of the estimated 1 million tons of annual plantain production enters the money economy. Its nutritional value is about equal to that of the potato. Cultivation is simple; a stump is stuck into the ground and allowed to grow until it bears fruit, 18 to 15 months later.

Maize

Maize has been a staple food for centuries, and it remains the most important foodstuff of the nation. Although its cultivation occupies almost as many acres as coffee, none of the average 800,000-ton production is exported. The country is self-sufficient in corn; only in years of unusually bad harvests is corn imported.

Maize is produced practically everywhere; it is a common saying that where there is a farmer there is corn. The Departments of Antioquia, Cundinamarca, Bolívar, and Boyacá produce about 60 percent of the total production of maize, mostly on small farms planting an average of 6 acres of maize. Cultivation consists of digging holes with a pointed stick, dropping in seed, and weeding the crop once or twice. Such primitive methods explain the low yield per acre, which is less than half of that in the United States. More advanced methods are employed in the area around Bogotá, where on relatively larger tracts of land mechanized cultivation is gaining in popularity, and in the Cauca Valley, where the unusually fertile soil also contributes to above-average yields.

Maize is planted twice annually in the hot zone and lower regions of the temperate zone, and once in the cold zone. The waste after harvest, caused by inadequate storage facilities, contributes most to the cost of production.

Potatoes

Perhaps the oldest crop of the Andean region, potatoes are a staple food of the peoples of the highlands. Centers of production are Boyacá, Cundinamarca, and Nariño. Cultivation practices have hardly changed in centuries, but the use of inferior seed has reduced both the quality and quantity of the Colombian potato. The yield per acre is about one-half of that in the United States and about one-fifth of that of top producing areas in Europe. Government-sponsored programs to improve yields have recently resulted in a steady gain in output.

Pulses

Beans are commercially grown on 200,000 to 250,000 acres. In addition, broad beans, peas, lentils, and chick peas are grown on

small patches by many farmers. Pulses constitute one of the basic foodstuffs of several million people and are consumed throughout the country. Over one-third of production and consumption is in Antioquia, but Caldas, Tolima, and Valle are also leading producers, contributing significantly to the total annual production of some 70,000 to 80,000 metric tons.

Rice

Rice is an important item in the diet of the population in the hot zone. Production has increased in recent years, and accelerated irrigation and mechanization programs will increase production even more in the future. Domestic production is inadequate; the import of rice is always necessary. At present, according to the official statistics, some 200,000 acres, half of them under irrigation, produce rice. This figure probably is high, since plots harvested twice are probably counted twice. Production is centered in Bolívar, Córdoba, and Valle del Cauca as well as in the area around Barranquilla. Together they produce about two-thirds of the country's total, but Tolima and Huila also make significant contributions.

Cultivation practices are more developed in the Cauca Valley than along the Caribbean Coast, where irrigation is rare and seeding and harvesting are done by hand. The National Federation of Rice Growers (Federación Nacional de Arroceros), founded in 1948, is assisting individual rice farmers to increase production.

Wheat

The climate and soils of Colombia are not particularly favorable for wheat production, although a great many varieties of wheat are grown, especially in Cundinamarca, Boyacá, Nariño, Santander, Norte de Santander, and in the Cauca Valley. The acreage devoted to wheat production has not increased in recent years, but improved methods of cultivation have brought the annual output up to between 100,000 and 140,000 metric tons. The yield per acre is still low, and domestic demand still must be in part satisfied by imports, mainly from the United States and Canada. The government attempts to promote domestic production through import controls.

Barley

Acreage devoted to barley is relatively small, although it was increased from 136,000 acres in 1950-54 to 170,000 acres in 1959. Demand has increased since World War II because of the increased need for barley in the making of beer. Barley also constitutes a valuable nutrient in the most depressed areas of the country, where it is grown by some small landholders for family consumption. Total output in 1959 was about 5 million bushels.

Cacao

A native plant of Colombia, cacao is most favorably cultivated under about the same conditions as coffee. About two-thirds of the cacao production is carried on in the Cauca Valley on small farms and the rest in Huila, Antioquia, and Tolima. Before 1919, Colombia exported some cacao, but in recent years about one-fourth of the domestic demand has had to be imported. Great efforts have been made by the government to make the country again self-sufficient in cacao. The slow growth of cacao trees and the necessity of careful cultivation promise only slow improvement in production. The yield per acre, but not the acreage, has been increased in recent years as a result of new incentives by the government.

Yucca

Yucca is another important staple grown by subsistence farmers. Nevertheless, domestic production does not satisfy demand, two-fifths of which must be met through imports. Much of it is used for brewing.

Sugar

Sugar cane is cultivated for the commercial production of refined sugar and for home consumption in the form of *panela* and *miel* (molasses). About 750,000 acres were devoted to sugar-cane production in 1958, of which about 80 percent produced sugar cane for *panela*, 15 percent for granulated sugar, and some 5 percent for *miel*. In the production of byproducts about 90 percent of the raw sugar cane is lost, and thus the over 12 million tons of sugar cane produce only about 1 million tons of *panela*, 350,000 tons of granulated sugar, and 55,000 tons of *miel*.

The production of refined sugar is highly mechanized on plantations owned by 26 large sugar mills, located mainly in the Cauca Valley. The 3 largest mills produce about 40 percent of the total. *Panela* is made in thousands of small *panela* mills. *Miel* is mainly used by monopolies producing alcoholic beverages. Since 1948, Colombia has been self-sufficient in sugar and occasionally produces a surplus for export.

Fruits

Fruit trees are planted in the temperate and hot zones. Because of their high adaptability to slopes and unlevel areas, the potential for the extension of their cultivation is great. Citrus fruit is cultivated in the hot zone.

Cotton

There are vast areas in Colombia suitable for the production of cotton. A vigorous government development program, administered

in cooperation with the Instituto de Fomento Algodonero—IFA (Cotton Institute), has doubled cotton production and brought the country nearer to self-sufficiency in this product. A cotton-importing country throughout its modern history, Colombia exported its first cotton in early 1960.

Three types of cotton are produced in the various areas of the country. A fine cotton, grade "T", is produced mainly in Toluca, Valle del Cauca, and in the vicinity of Girardot in Cundinamarca; a medium type, grade "L", in Atlántico, Bolívar and Magdalena; and a rough type, grade "S", in Santander, Antioquia, and Boyacá. The greatest quantity of cotton is produced along the Caribbean coast, but irrigation projects in the valleys are adding rapidly to the cotton acreage. In 1960, cotton fields comprised some 425,000 acres and produced 315,000 bales (480 pounds each) of cotton, as compared to the period of 1950-54, during which an average of 69,000 tons were produced on 163,000 acres.

Oleaginous Seeds

Cottonseed production has increased along with the increase in the production of cotton; in fact, it has doubled during the last two years. The rapid growth in output is in part caused by government regulations requiring vegetable oil mills to purchase a fixed amount of domestically produced cottonseed. If the predicted 1960 production of 150,000 to 160,000 tons was met, it still did not satisfy domestic needs.

The acreage devoted to the cultivation of soybeans also doubled between 1958 and 1960. The output for 1960 reached over 900,000 bushels, compared with 367,000 bushels in 1958. Sesame, copra, sunflower, and several types of palm trees are also grown as sources of vegetable oil, supplementing the country's main sources. The IFA has found that peanuts grow well in cotton-producing regions and provide a good rotation crop. In 1961 some 30,000 acres were devoted to peanut cultivation, compared to 5,000 acres in 1960.

Tobacco

One of the main industries of the country is the tobacco industry, which absorbs the considerable domestic production of tobacco. Tobacco has been grown in Colombia from early colonial days and exported since the nineteenth century. Recent expansion of the industry may bring about an increase in tobacco production, which declined in 1960 because of poor growing conditions and diversion of some land to cotton production. About 40 percent of the tobacco is grown in the Department of Santander, where some 4,000 families are engaged in its cultivation on small plots of usually one to two acres, each supporting some 8,000 plants. After Santander, Bolívar, Tolima, and Boyacá are the main producers, but tobacco growing

is found in all areas where climate permits and is harvested all year round. In 1960, total production amounted to some 30,000 tons, of which about one-sixth was exported.

Rubber

Rubber grows wild in the selva of eastern Colombia, in the Comisarias of Vichada, Vaupés, and Amazonas, in the Intendencia of Caquetá, and also in parts of the Departments of Chocó, Cauca, Valle del Cauca, and Nariño. The only large plantation is located in the vicinity of the Bay of Urabí (in Antioquia) near the mouth of the Atrato River, where the government has reserved over 200,000 acres for this purpose. Total national production has remained steadily in the neighborhood of some 400 tons, a mere 5 percent of the growing domestic demand. Experiments in the Urabá area and other regions indicate that conditions are favorable for the expansion of rubber production.

Fiber Plants

Fique, a fibrous plant similar to sisal, grows wild in many areas. It is usually planted along farm boundaries rather than on large areas. Because of its undemanding qualities, it is often planted on eroded or depleted soils. In 1958, some 75,000 acres were devoted to its cultivation, and the estimated national production was 22,500 tons. The fiber is spun and woven into various rather coarse fabrics. Most coffee and salt produced is transported in fique bags. Fique ropes are also important items of production. Other fibrous plants which mostly grow wild include jute, ramie, and hemp.

Livestock

About 90 percent of the farm animal population consists of cattle, which are raised mainly for meat and hides and some for milk. There are between 14 and 15 million head. A few specialized dairy farms use modern methods and practice disease prevention. But in many areas, especially in the Llanos Orientales, cattle are grazed on the range, without supplementary feeding with concentrates or sanitary precautions. Birth rates are consequently low, and death rates are extremely and unnecessarily high, reaching occasionally 50 percent of the new-born animals in many herds.

In the hot zone, cattle breeding is carried on mostly in herds averaging about 100 head. Herds larger than that are not common. Artificial pasture is unknown in the Llanos, but a wide variety of artificial pastures—and consequently a better quality cattle—is found on the haciendas of the valleys. In the temperate zone, cattle are raised in small quantities, mostly by coffee farmers, almost all of whom own some cows and produce beef and milk for family con-

sumption. Cattle breeding is best developed in the cold zone. Dairy and double-purpose breeds predominate on cattle farms somewhat smaller than those in the hot zone, but on the average having more cattle than those in the temperate zone. Better care is provided, and yields are the highest in the country, perhaps as high as those of like farms of European and North American countries. Government statistics claimed a daily production of 5.5 million quarts of milk from 1.8 million cows in 1957.

Most common breeds are descendants of the early colonial stock crossed with more recent imports. The result is a hardy, small breed that is slow to mature, low in yield, but resistant to pests and diseases. Nevertheless, black leg, horn diseases, tick, and Texas fever, as well as *sucbe* (the larva of a tropical fly) account in part for a low yield of cattle products. Hoof-and-mouth disease, new to Colombia, also prevails and endangers the prospects for beef and meat export. In recent years, only hides have been exported, although some cattle are occasionally smuggled across the border into Venezuela. Agreements to export cattle to Peru were signed, to be effective in 1961 (see ch. 32, Foreign Economic Relations).

Milk production is highest near urban areas, particularly near Bogotá and Medellín. Systematic milking on other than dairy farms is very rare, and the milk is used mainly for the preparation of cheese, which is consumed on the farm. No appreciable amount of butter is produced. Long-range programs to improve pastures, cattle breeds, and livestock management are in progress.

Sheep and goats are not numerous, mainly because of the scarcity of feed and lack of proper management. Areas of high altitude with steep slopes are more suitable for sheep than cattle raising. The government has shown an interest in the development of this livestock sector, purchasing breeding sheep from the United States. The Department of Nariño and the Intendencia of Guajira are especially interested in the development of sheep, both for meat and wool.

Pigs are not numerous either. The average number of hogs slaughtered annually is about one for every two farms. They are fed mainly on waste, and, exceptionally, on grain or corn. They are exposed to numerous pests and diseases, especially hog cholera.

Lack of transportation facilities affects the marketing of livestock. Transportation on the hoof causes losses in weight; on the other hand, truck transportation adds greatly to the cost of production. The government is promoting a better distribution of slaughterhouses and packing plants throughout the country.

Forestry and Fishing

Over half of the land is covered by forests, although much of it is unexplored and inaccessible. The most densely populated high-

lands have lost their one-time abundant forests through continuous clearing for crop farming, and commercial exploitation has decimated valuable forests in the valleys and lowlands.

Mangrove swamp forests produce raw material for the tanning industry. Deciduous forests produce brazilwood and divi-divi, mainly for local consumption. Rubber, indigenous to Colombia, tagua, ipecac, and vegetable wax are other forest products commercially utilized.

Forest products were at one time important export items. Before coffee became of primary importance around 1880, Colombia was the world's leading source of cinchona bark, and the small port of Tolú on the Caribbean coast gave the name to the aromatic Tolú balsam, derived from the Myroxylon tree and now used mainly as a fixative in perfume and soapmaking.

The government, long aware of the need to regulate the exploitation of forests, provided through legislation a sound basis for an effective forest policy, which has yet, however, to be implemented. Legislation theoretically regulates the circumstances of exploitation, defines protected forests (of which there are at present some 40, near watersheds, on steep slopes, and so forth), compels owners of over 124 acres to afforest part of their land, and compels communities to maintain nurseries, but little or no provision has been made for enforcement. The supervision of forestry matters is the responsibility of the Division of Natural Resources in the Ministry of Agriculture. Its corps of inspectors, in cooperation with local forestry officials, is assisted by experts of international organizations; the Division is far too small, however, to secure the execution of existing forest laws or to engage in effective forest management.

In the absence of a reliable survey on fishing, fish resources, and fish consumption, only generalizations and estimates can be provided. It is believed that the bulk of the fish consumed in the country are fresh-water fish. Intensive fishing along the coasts and around the islands is mostly for local consumption. Commercial fishing on the Magdalena River is important only during February to April, and on the Pacific coast, from mid-January to mid-April, when fish are abundant. Salt-water fish are canned in Barranquilla mostly for export purposes. Frozen fish are transported by plane from Barranquilla to Bogotá, Medellín, and Cali. The total annual fish consumption is estimated to be between 50,000 and 80,000 metric tons, about 10,000 tons of which are provided by commercial fisheries.

Other Agricultural Products

The raising of poultry is just getting underway in the country, as a result of the United States technical assistance program. The program has promoted poultry raising through the development of

an extension service and through presenting 4-S club members (similar to U.S. "4-H" clubs) with 25 chickens if they volunteer to start a poultry project. Government sources estimated the total number of poultry at about 27.6 million in 1959. Eggs are consumed on the farm or locally marketed. Egg production was about 1 billion in 1959.

Marketing, Technology, and Credit

Marketing

The shortcomings of the existing marketing system cause considerable losses to both the farmer and the consumer. Lack of storage facilities, especially for perishables, and the inadequacies of transportation compel the farmer to sell his products within a short distance of his farm and within a short period of time after harvest. Consequently, the market experiences a marked seasonal fluctuation in products and a parallel fluctuation in prices.

The government's attempts to stabilize prices through purchasing and storing of farm products—with the help of the Corporation for the Protection of Agricultural Products (Corporación de Defensa de Productos Agrícolas)—are only partially successful. Large quantities of products are sold on the open-air market of the village square, where traditional methods of bargaining prevail and where little attention is paid to standards and grades (see ch. 31, Domestic Trade). Market news services and market research are limited to the principal cities.

Technology

The use of trucks in the transportation of farm products has increased since World War II. Technology has also favorably affected both small and large landowners in pest control; hand- and motor-driven sprayers have become popular, and dusting planes are employed. The use of processing machinery is very limited, even in such significant sectors as coffee processing. Depulping is in many cases done by machines, but the rest of the processing is accomplished by hand.

Mechanization in Colombia will require increasing amounts of capital to fulfill even its essential goals. At present, the total investment in agricultural machinery and equipment is less than that in the machinery of the Bavaria Brewery (Consorcio de Cervecerías Bavaria) alone. Foreign loans amounting to over \$10 million have been applied to mechanization during the last 10 years, and negotiations for additional loans are in progress.

Credit

Lack of sufficient credit has been one of the major factors responsible for slow agricultural development. As in other less de-

veloped countries, the climate for private investment in agriculture has not been favorable.

In recent years, the government has been able to channel more credit into the agricultural sector through direct legislation, the application of international financial and technical assistance, and the support given semigovernmental development agencies.

Significantly, it has compelled private commercial banks to invest at least 14 percent of their deposits into agriculture (see ch. 30, Banking and Currency System).

The Agrarian Credit Bank, a semigovernmental agency, has become since 1950 the single most important source of credit for farmers. It grants credit almost automatically—to the extent of available funds—to farmers who can produce sufficient collateral. Because of its relatively liberal terms, it is the only source of credit for the small farmer and sharecropper. Its activities supporting colonization and parcelization are concerned with developing newly opened land and establishing settlers with little or no financial means at their disposal. Its interest rates, varying from 5 to 9 percent, are considerably lower than those of the commercial banks.

Other sources of agricultural credit are interest groups such as the National Federation of Coffee Growers, which makes loans to its members against warehouse receipts. Commercial banks, individuals who in most cases are loan sharks, and buyers of farm products are willing to make loans in specific instances, but their interest rates are generally too high to make their loans of real help. Little is known of the specific effects of agricultural credit on output.

ORGANIZATION IN AGRICULTURE

The uneven progress experienced in the different branches of agriculture and in the different regions is paralleled in the great variety and uncoordinated development of government and private agricultural organizations. Each Department possesses its own agricultural agencies, up to now resistant to interference from the national government. Special interest groups, such as the coffee, cotton, and rice growers' associations, have been exclusively concerned with their own agricultural product. A farmer cultivating more than one crop has had to deal with several uncoordinated agencies in addition to the various credit institutions.

Colombian agricultural organizations, whether public or private, are beset by a multitude of special social and political factors deriving from a system in which personality and strong partisanship, rather than rules of procedure, are of greatest importance in administration (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). Heads of agencies change frequently. During the period 1959-60, for example, the Minister of Agriculture was changed four times.

The Role of the Government

A reorganization and strengthening of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1959 was aimed at improving the general agricultural situation by giving the department more authority and a somewhat larger share in the national budget. Although its allocation in 1960 was about 57 percent higher than that of the preceding year, its share in the total national budget amounted to only 5 percent.

In an attempt to remove obstacles to agricultural progress, numerous legislative and administrative measures have been introduced, and more are in the planning stage. Greater production is vital, not only to improve the balance-of-payments situation, but also to feed the rapidly growing population. To bring about an immediate increase in production, the government has intensified its control of agricultural trade through wide use of protective tariffs and price supports and at the time time providing for the expansion of credit facilities (see ch. 30, Banking and Currency System; ch. 32, Foreign Economic Relations).

Continuous efforts have been made to solve land tenure problems. The Land Act of 1936 and Decree 290 of 1957 contained promising provisions and are among the most important examples of government action. The Land Act was relatively ineffective, however, mainly because it made no provision for a general development program in which a solution to the land tenure problem could have been pursued. Nor did it provide the necessary administrative machinery for the execution of the program. Decree 290 established the classification of land in four categories. It attempts to compel the owner to cultivate according to land potential and its access to communication and transportation. Thus, 25 percent of the land classified as Type 1 and 15 percent of the land classified as Type 2 must be cultivated within one year after being so classified. On Type 3 land, a minimum of 10 hectares (24.7 acres) must be cleared when the area is over 50, but less than 200, hectares (123.5 and 494 acres respectively) and 10 percent when the property exceeds 200 hectares. All of the land classified as Type 4 may be kept as grassland or forest. Landowners not complying with the requirements of the law must pay tax penalties running from 2 percent in the first year to 10 percent in the fifth and following years. Tax concessions, on the other hand, were promised to farmers who invested in machinery and implements.

The Decree has been put into effect only in extremely small pilot areas, and even where applied its enforcement has been lax. Data gathered in these pilot projects, however, influenced the drafting of Bill No. 10 of 1959, on the economic use of land and the treatment of idle land, and a "Land Reform Bill," prepared by the Comité Nacional Agrario (National Agrarian Committee) headed by Carlos

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Lleras Restrepo, prominent Liberal leader (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). None of the bills had been passed by the end of 1960. The bills contain provisions for the incorporation of idle land into the country's agriculture by means of water control, the provision of public services, and colonization projects, and also for the expropriation of land with compensation in cases in which the government deems it necessary. The laws also incorporate provisions to increase tax penalties on undercultivated land, as determined by Decree 290 of 1957, and to bring about the expropriation of land over 50 hectares (124 acres) if the regulations are not complied with by the fifth year. They also provide for the creation of a National Agrarian Institute, which would be responsible for the execution of the law.

Act 20 of 1959 authorizes the Agrarian Credit Bank and other credit agencies to invest 50 million pesos in land distribution, colonization, and parcelization programs and empowers the Ministry of Agriculture to expropriate land for distribution to landless agricultural workers.

The country's tax system generally favors landowners but serves only as a poor means of directing the agricultural economy toward the production of needed crops and better land distribution. Farm taxes remain low, although coffee and banana producers pay a 15 percent export tax. As a rule the landowner makes his own tax assessment, a system which favors the large landowners (see ch 29, Public Finance).

Semigovernmental Agencies and Interest Groups

Several governmental, quasi-governmental, and private agencies complement, and, if political interests appear to demand, obstruct the work of the Ministry of Agriculture. Among the quasi-governmental agencies, the Departamento de Investigaciones Agropecuarias—DIA (Department of Agricultural and Livestock Research) plays the leading role in research; the Agrarian Credit Bank is responsible for credit, colonization, parcelization, and related activities; the Corporation for the Protection of Agricultural Products, the former INA, regulates trade, maintains price supports, constructs and administers storage facilities, and in general regulates the flow of agricultural commodities.

The most important organization influencing over-all agricultural policy-making in Colombia is the Sociedad de Agricultores de Colombia (Colombian Agricultural Society), founded in 1871. Concerning itself with all phases of agriculture, and meeting regularly, it nevertheless is not so effective as its long history might suggest. It is limited in its effect because membership is confined to large farmers and because its paid staff is inadequate, consisting of one

officer and a few office clerks. Some of the other, more specialized interest groups of more recent origin have much better organization, are supported by public funds, and are consequently making a greater contribution in their respective fields. The strongest of these is the National Federation of Coffee Growers, founded in 1927. It encourages coffee production, provides technical assistance, affords some credit, and in general strives to raise the level of its members' incomes. It derives its financial support from a share in export duties. The IFA assisted 8,000 farmers in 1958 and played a significant role in doubling cotton output between 1958 and 1960. Its 1960 budget of 40 million pesos is adequate to maintain its services, performed by nearly 500 employees, of whom some 100 are agronomists, engineers, and chemists. The IFA operates all the country's cotton gins. The National Federation of Rice Growers assisted some 1,200 farmers in 1959 by providing them with seeds, fertilizers, and credit. The Instituto de Fomento Tabacalero (Tobacco Institute) assisted about 8,000 of the 36,000 tobacco growers in improving the quality of tobacco and in increasing income. Its budget of over Col\$7 million pesos for 1960 is derived from taxes on imported cigarettes.

Other important agricultural agencies include the Instituto Zoonofílico Colombiano (Colombian Institute of Preventive Veterinary Medicine), the agrological department of the Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi (the Agustín Codazzi Geographical Institute), the Asociación Nacional de Oleaginosas (National Association of Fats and Oil Products), and the Cía. Distribuidora de Azúcares (Company for the Distribution of Sugar), a cartel.

In the livestock sector organizations are less powerful, since they have no export and consequently no financial support from export tax revenue. There are several small groups devoted solely to the promotion of particular breeds, such as the associations of breeders of Holstein-Friesian, Red-Poll, Ayrshire, Cebú, and Blanco Orejinegro cattle. The presidents of these groups form the Unión Nacional de Asociaciones Ganaderas (National Union of Cattlemen Associations), which exercises a significant influence in political life (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). Several other groups of more recent origin have a broader membership but record little activity: the Confederación Colombiana de Ganaderos (Colombian Federation of Cattlemen), the Asociación Nacional de Ganaderos (National Association of Cattlemen), and the Federación Nacional de Ganaderos (National Federation of Cattlemen).

The Cauca Valley Corporation, created in 1954, has many non-agricultural aspects, but its contribution to land development, irrigation, drainage, reforestation, and the development of crops and livestock in the upper Cauca Valley is of great significance and

should serve as a model for similar projects elsewhere. The Colombian Congress is considering a bill for the establishment of a similar regional corporation for the *sabana* of Bogotá and the valleys of Ubaté and Chinququirá.

Agricultural cooperatives promoted by the government have shown a steady growth since the establishment of the first one in 1933. They are concerned with the cooperative marketing of agricultural products, with the purchasing and distributing of supplies to their membership, and with the acquisition and lending of expensive agricultural machinery. In 1947 there were over 400 cooperatives in the country, representing nearly 900,000 members, mostly in the rural areas.

Education, Extension, Research

Agricultural education, except for the extension services, is the concern of the Ministry of Education. The extension services are maintained by the Ministry of Agriculture. The Ministry of Education has a rural education section, with general and vocational schools in rural areas coming under its supervision (see ch. 10, Education). The Ministry also provides 67 special courses for some 3,600 farmers and coordinates and supervises the distribution of scholarships awarded by such external agencies as the United Nations, the Organization of American States, or the United States International Cooperation Administration. There were 22 students majoring in agricultural subjects abroad in 1959, and 15 graduates in agriculture had returned to the country during the same year. A shift of preference from European-type agricultural education to that found in the United States was noted during the 1950's.

The centers of agricultural education are the agricultural colleges at Medellín and Palmira, which receive technical assistance from Michigan State University under the United States Assistance Program in Colombia. A new college has been founded at Tunja, and the University of Caldas has a small agricultural college at Manizales. Economic schools emphasizing agricultural economics were started in 1959 at the University of the Andes in Bogotá and at the University of Valle in Cali. Vocational, agricultural, home economics schools, and schools for the training of teachers in agriculture, as well as pilot institutes of rural education, are mainly operated by the state (see ch. 10, Education).

In theory, the extension service is the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture, but in practice it has been performed by several special interest groups, such as the Federation of Coffee Growers, and by the agricultural agencies of local governments. The national government, in cooperation with the Servicio Técnico Agrícola Colombiano-Americano—STACA (Colombian-American Agricultural Technical Service), the Agrarian Credit Bank, and the Cauca

Valley Corporation, operates its own network of some 45 local extension offices, which usually consist of an extension technician, a home demonstrator, and an assistant. One of the most fruitful accomplishments of the extension service of the national government is the coordinating of the activities of the various agencies in the field.

One of the successful means applied in reaching the grass roots of the farm population is the organization of agricultural youth groups similar to the U.S. 4-H clubs, but called 4-S in Colombia. A total of 350 such clubs, with a membership of 6,000, were organized and maintained by the extension service of the Ministry, by STACA, and by the Cauca Valley Corporation in 1959. In addition, there are some 55 Amas de Casa (home economics) clubs with over 1,000 members. Projects in which the extension service engages include community improvement programs, and efforts are made to persuade farmers who attend extension courses to perform demonstrations in their home communities, thereby multiplying the effects of the teaching process. Developing cordial cooperation between the extension service and the local agents of specialized interest groups, such as the National Federation of Coffee Growers or the National Federation of Rice Growers, has improved the dissemination of essential information.

Both government and the industries recognize that research is a prerequisite to the improvement of the quality of agricultural production as well as to the increase of output. Nevertheless, lack of adequate financing, technical personnel, and coordination, as well as inconsistency in planning, produced only meager results between World War I and World War II. In the 1940's, experimental stations and laboratories concerned with export crops received more systematic support from the respective interest groups concerned. Important preliminary work had thus been done before 1954, when the Department of Agricultural and Livestock Research of the Ministry of Agriculture contracted with the Oficina de Investigaciones Especiales—OIE (Office of Special Research)—to administer programs carried out in cooperation with the Rockefeller Foundation. The agency, profiting from the achievement of isolated research groups and enjoying financial stability as well as a staff of highly trained personnel, has been able to make significant contributions within a relatively short period of time. The experimental station system has been reorganized into six major groups coinciding with different climatic zones, and improved varieties of coffee, maize, sugar cane, rice, cotton, tobacco, potatoes, and wheat have been developed and made available. At present the government maintains research and experimental stations at Tibaitata (Cundinamarca), Palmira (Valle), Tulio Ospina (Antioquia), Cereté (Cór-

dela', and Tolima (Tolima); it has also 11 substations in other communities.

Research is performed by several other institutes and agencies, either independently or under contract to the government. One of the most outstanding is the Instituto de Investigaciones Tecnológicas (Institute of Technological Research), formerly operated by the Agricultural Credit Bank, but since 1958 an autonomous planning and research agency. Although sponsored by the Armour Research Foundation, it is now staffed exclusively by Colombians. Its research activities concentrate on better utilization of food crops, fertilizers, insecticides, and livestock feeds. It has registered significant progress in the improvement of agricultural machinery for small-scale farming. Its budget for 1960 was projected at almost Col\$3 million, provided mainly by the government and private industry.

International or foreign agencies, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, participate in research related to agricultural statistics, soil analysis, agricultural administration, planning, marketing, land reform, colonization, and like projects. Most of these projects are carried out jointly by the foreign agency and a designated governmental or semigovernmental agency.

CHAPTER 28

INDUSTRIAL POTENTIAL

The productive capacity of Colombian industry is rapidly increasing, but at present only a fraction of the country's latent, over-all industrial potential has been tapped. Petroleum and coal are available in large quantities, and iron ore is present in sufficient quantity to satisfy present domestic needs. Hydroelectric power potential is sufficient to provide ample and inexpensive energy for the future. The development of manufacturing in its present early phase has revealed an effective response by a considerable segment of the population to the demands of technology. The 1959 contribution of the industrial sector to the gross national product amounted to about 28 percent, of which manufacturing contributed 21 percent, mining 3.5 percent, and construction 3.8 percent.

Industries producing nondurable consumer goods supply over 25 percent of the country's needs, but almost 50 percent of the requirements in durable consumer goods still must be imported. Domestic demand in textiles, footwear, tires, cement, glass, building materials, tobacco, and certain chemicals and pharmaceuticals have been met almost entirely by local production. With the same end of self-sufficiency in view, the government understands that one of the country's most important economic problems is that of reducing the importation of semifinished durable goods by increasing their production at home. Government tariff and investment policies are actively directed toward the goal of expanding the production of intermediate goods in general.

Industrial growth has not been even in all sectors. Branches with a considerable history in Colombia, such as mining and construction, have expanded at a moderate rate, but the manufacturing industry has surpassed all other branches with a cumulative average growth of almost 8 percent per year since 1925. During the 1950's, when the population increased 17 percent, manufacturing industry expanded 72 percent in productive capacity. The creation of entirely new industries—steel, rubber, textile, and chemical—is mainly responsible for this advance.

In addition to expanding rapidly, industry also has become more diversified and better organized. The large number of small handicraft industries processing local raw material for local consumption

has decreased; the more efficient large scale factories, which until recently concentrated on the production of finished durable consumer goods made from imported raw materials and semifinished and other intermediate products, have begun to diversify their production and especially to produce semifinished goods.

Historical Retrospect

Although the earliest modern types of industrial developments for the most part date back only to the early years of the twentieth century, artisan and mining industries antedate the arrival of the Spaniards. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, many types of artisan activities were carried on, producing, for example, fine quality leather and textile goods. Water-powered flour mills existed. Gold, silver, and iron were mined by methods learned from the Indians. Cottage industries appeared in the nineteenth century, producing such goods as candles, soap, perfumes, and liquors for commercial purposes; there were also early enterprises employing machinery in the production of beer, flour, chocolate, paper and matches, hats, textiles, shoes, pottery, china, glass, and crystal. Many of these industries were short lived; others survived and provided foundations for modern industrial development. The refining of iron began early in the nineteenth century, and a few years later the first blast furnace was installed. The production of sulphuric acid also was short lived, but a gunpowder enterprise (which, incidentally, generated its own power) remained in operation through the last quarter of the century. Bogotá began to use gas light in 1876, and an iron works in Antioquia began to produce simple mining and agricultural machinery in 1884. The Bavaria Brewery (Consorcio de Cervecerías Bavaria, S.A.), presently the leading industrial enterprise of the country, established its first plant in 1891, and an industrial exposition at Bogotá in 1899 indicated the country's interest in modern industrial development.

The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the expansion of existing industries for the production of new goods and the establishment of heavier industries, as well as other types of enterprise, in a number of urban centers. The first modern sugar refinery dates back to 1901, the first modern textile plant to 1906, and the first cement plant to 1908. The production of glass and pharmaceutical products was begun, and by 1921 the first commercial production of petroleum was undertaken. Electric power and light production were expanded. By 1925, 7.6 percent of all goods and services were produced by the manufacturing industries, not including the artisan industries.

The world depression of the 1930's, which reduced the import of manufactured goods, provided a strong impetus for domestic pro-

duction. In fact, many economic historians view this decade as witnessing the real beginning of the country's modern industrial development. Hundreds of new enterprises were established, and industrial diversification became clearly apparent. The rapid rate of growth continued during World War II, and by 1945 the manufacturing industry had increased its share to 13.4 percent of the gross national product.

A further broadening of the industrial base took place during the 15 years following World War II. The government became increasingly active in the economic sphere, and by 1953 the manufacturing industry accounted for 18.2 and, as has been noted, by 1960, almost 21 percent of the gross national product. The output of the mining and petroleum industries has also increased. An improvement in transportation facilities has been a particularly important factor supporting industrial development.

Present Problems

Colombia's industrial development reveals conditions characteristic of the early phases of industrialization: reluctance of both producer and investor to engage in high-volume, low-cost production, a shortage of capital, and a determination to gain exaggerated profits.

The main factor retarding industrial growth is the high cost of production, the causes of which are manifold. In addition to the high cost of imported raw materials, intermediate goods, and domestic raw materials, the inadequacies of transportation facilities and the high cost of transportation have contributed to economic regionalism, which in turn has resulted in wasteful duplication of production. The cost of power is high, and persons of modern industrial skills and technical knowledge are scarce. The latter problem is due mainly to shortcomings in Colombian general education, to lack of well-organized efforts to produce persons with specialized training, to labor legislation which rewards seniority rather than efficiency, and to Colombian inability to provide reliable and efficient supervision. The last deficiency makes it necessary in the most successful establishments to retain supervision in the hands of the industrialist or to entrust supervisory positions mainly to foreigners and foreign-trained nationals (see ch. 13, Labor Force). The low nutritional level in the country also adds to labor's inefficiency.

RESOURCES

Minerals

The mineral resources of the country are extensive and varied (see fig. 11), and Colombia hopes to reduce its dependence on coffee

through the development and export of hitherto untapped mineral resources. Colombia ranks second in South America in petroleum output; it leads in production of gold, possessing about one-third of the known gold reserves of the continent. It is the world's principal producer of emeralds, and one of the few places where platinum is found. The country can meet its domestic requirements in oil, cement, clay, coal, salt, gypsum, silica, and several other minerals.

One of the most promising sources of industrial potential is the country's coal reserves, variously estimated at between 10 and 27 billion tons. One layer of coal runs from Cundinamarca north almost to the Venezuelan border and provides a source of supply for the industrial centers in the Eastern Cordillera, including the Paz del Río steel mill. Another considerably smaller field extends through the Cauca Valley from Cauca to Antioquia, within an easy distance of Cali and Medellín. A third field has been reported, but not yet explored, in Bolívar.

Petroleum resources have played a significant role in the country's economy for the last 40 years, but the known reserves promise only a relatively short period of exploitation if present production rates are maintained. Should explorations now in progress be unsuccessful, known reserves may become exhausted by 1975.

Iron ore deposits of significant amount exist in Boyacá, which supply the Acerías Paz del Río (Paz del Río steel mill). Small deposits occur in Antioquia, Cundinamarca, Caldas, Huila, and Tolima. The ore contains a large amount of impurities, the removal of which in refining increases production costs. Total production in 1959 was 404,000 tons.

Limestone production amounted to 1.8 million metric tons in 1958, and the salt reserves are nearly inexhaustible.

Uranium deposits have been reported in Antioquia and Huila and in the region between Santander and Norte de Santander. The government has granted three exploration concessions: one in an area covering some 17,000 acres, extending from California in Santander to Pamplonita and Cucutilla in Norte de Santander; one in Caquetá; and one in Huila.

Copper is found in several areas, but no economically significant concentration has been reported. Some zinc ore has been mined and exported from a mine at Gachetá in Cundinamarca by the Callaghan Zinc-Lead Company of San Francisco, California. Other finds were reported in Caldas, and scattered mines in Valle del Cauca and Tolima produce small amounts. Mercury is available in promising quantities in the Tolima area of the Central Cordillera. The output in 1958 was 15,400 pounds. Antimony is found in Cauca and Tolima; lead, in almost every department, but mainly in Caldas and Santander. Neither of the latter two minerals, however, is

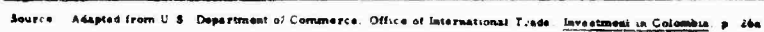


Figure 11. Mining and petroleum exploitation in Colombia.

extracted in significant amounts. Barite has been mined in small quantities in Huila, Norte de Santander, Santander, and Tolima. The 1958 production was about 13,000 tons.

Asbestos and gypsum are available in promising quantities in Antioquia and Nariño. Intensive studies sponsored by the Instituto de Fomento Industrial (Institute of Industrial Development) are underway to establish the extent and quality of the reserves. Gypsum production has been going on for some time and reached 60,000 tons in 1958. Manganese is available in Caldas and Nariño, but it has little value because of the inaccessibility of the locations. Unconfirmed reports point to deposits in Caldas, Antioquia, and Huila. Mica of good quality is available in large quantities. Marble is mined in Tolima and Boyacá. Quartz, sand, building stone, and clay are present in sufficient quantities to satisfy the domestic demand.

Energy

Colombia's potential in primary power resources is impressive. Vast forests provide household fuels, coal and oil fields can supply the growing requirements of industry and transportation for fuel, and hydraulic resources could meet the most ambitious industrial and communal requirements. The hydroelectric potential alone has been estimated to be 40 million kilowatts, with a production capacity of 200 billion kilowatt hours.

In spite of the vast resources and a substantially accelerating output, both industrial and public power services are lagging behind demand and still constitute one of the major obstacles to more rapid industrial growth and urban development. In 1955, the gross consumption of energy per capita was only 415 kilograms of petroleum equivalent, and that of electricity, 166 kilograms. The use of vegetable fuels is manifesting a relative decline, but energy derived from petroleum products, coal, and hydraulic resources is of increasing importance (see fig. 12).

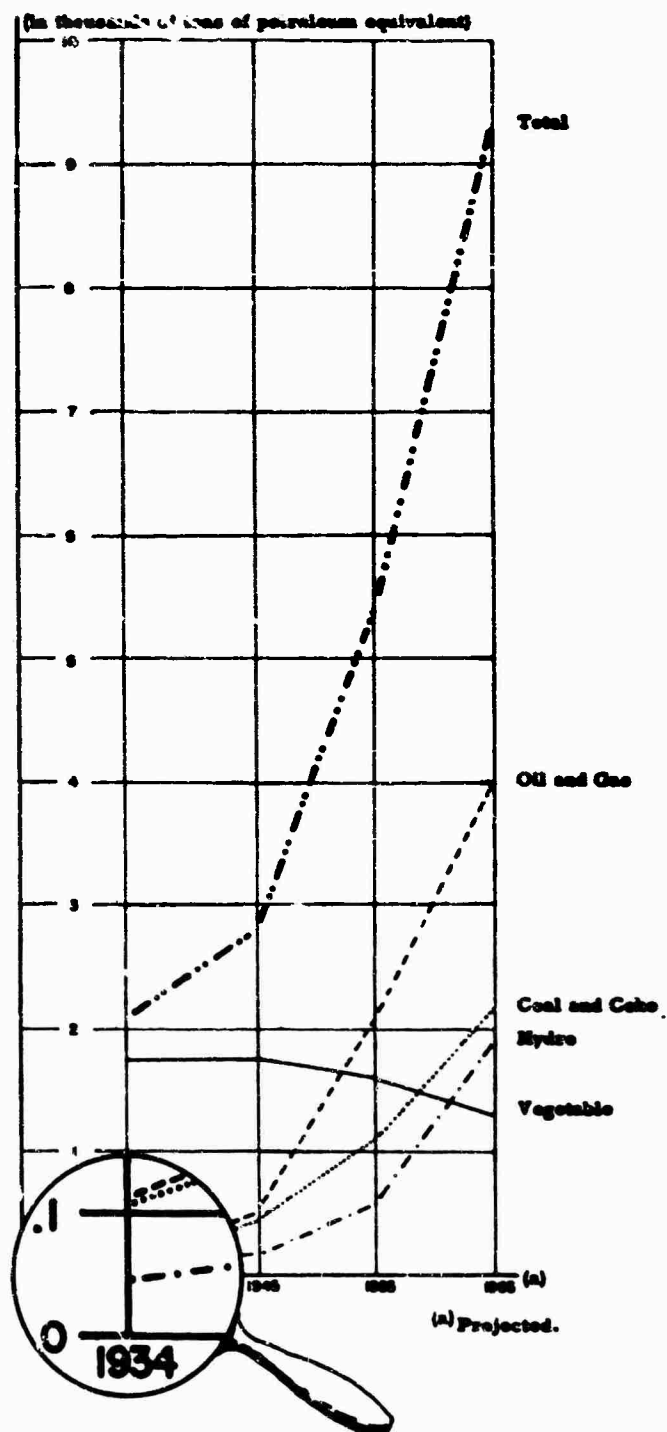
Labor

Nearly 20 percent of the economically active persons in the country make their livelihood in industry.

Rapid urbanization provides ample labor supply in the unskilled categories, but skilled workers are scarce; this factor seriously impedes industrial development and present efficiency (see ch. 13, Labor Force).

Finance

Lack of adequate capital has been one of the principal factors retarding industrial development. Except during the years 1925-29, when foreign capital amounted to almost 50 percent of the total



Source: Adapted from United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Economic Commission for Latin America, *Analyses and Projections of Economic Development: III. The Economic Development of Colombia*, p. 319; and *ibid.*, *Economic Bulletin for Latin America*, I, No. 2, 1956, p. 47.

Figure 12. Gross energy consumption in Colombia.

capital formation, foreign investment has played a much less influential role in Colombia than in most other Latin American countries. It is estimated that toward the end of the 1950's only about 14 percent of the total investment was of foreign origin (see ch. 82, Foreign Economic Relations). Domestic savings rather than foreign loans have played the principal role in the formation of industrial capital. Companies follow a policy of distributing a high portion—about 75 to 85 percent—of their profits as dividends, and favorable provisions in the tax laws encourage shareholders to reinvest their dividends. Consequently, shareholders become savers, and simultaneously, the most important source of domestic industrial credit.

Before the depression of the 1930's, income derived from coffee export was reinvested in the export sector of the economy, and the relatively small amount of public investment was channeled into public works with no or little immediate return. Since the 1930's, the government has been making continuous efforts to provide credit for industry through the establishment of specialized credit institutions or through industrial credit departments of existing credit institutions. In 1932 the Agrarian Credit Bank (Caja de Crédito Agrario) opened an industrial department, and in 1937 the Central Mortgage Bank (Banco Central Hipotecario) followed suit. In 1950 the Popular Bank (Banco Popular) began to extend loans to small-scale and handicraft industries, and in 1954 the Popular Mortgage Bank (Banco Hipotecario Popular) made loans to holders of real estate for the construction of homes.

Government regulations compel commercial banks to invest a certain portion of their savings deposits in industrial developments and insurance companies to invest 10 percent of their reserves either in agriculture or industry. The cumulative effect of these measures, however, has not been dramatic, and the capital shortage continues.

Recent economic policies of the government, as expressed in tax, tariff, and fiscal regulations, have been designed to direct investments into those industrial enterprises which promise to promote economic self-sufficiency through the use mainly of domestic raw materials. Thus, a shift toward increased investment in such enterprises can be observed since World War II.

EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES

In 1954 the Ministry of Mines and Petroleum was created, a new mining code was issued, and the first national mining census was taken. The census listed 914 mining enterprises, including petroleum-producing companies. More than one-third of all mining enterprises were working sand and rock quarries. Small enterprises

engaged in small-scale coal mining made up another third, while all other enterprises constituted the remainder. The total number of employees was about 61,000, and the total value of minerals produced that year was given as Col\$299 million (at that time about U.S.\$87 million), as follows: petroleum, Col\$226 million; coal, Col\$15 million; precious metals, Col\$37 million; salt, Col\$10 million; sand and building stone, Col\$7 million; and miscellaneous, Col\$4 million. The Department of Planning and Technical Services estimated the value of the 1959 output as Col\$670 million (nearly U.S.\$100 million) and the number of persons engaged in mining, including workers of the petroleum industry, as 73,000.

Under Colombian law, the ownership of land does not automatically include rights to the subsoil minerals. The resources of the subsoil are considered possessions of the state. In certain exceptional cases, however, land rights have been granted together with rights to some subsoil minerals. For example, owners of land to which title was obtained before October 28, 1873 (the date that certain chapters of the Fiscal Code took effect) possess the right to exploit such subsoil minerals as coal, iron, lead, mercury, and mica, but do not have similar rights to copper, beryl, gold, platinum, silver, and several others.

The right to exploit deposits of copper, gold, silver, platinum, and precious stones in the subsoil where they are in the possession of the state (except along navigable rivers) may be acquired through filing a simple claim with the government. Deposits of other minerals inland owned by the state and all minerals along navigable rivers may only be exploited by concessions granted by the government.

Fuels

Petroleum

By 1928, Colombia was producing 20 million barrels of petroleum a year. Although the rate of output slowed down during the following 20 years, in 1959 it reached nearly 54 million barrels or 8 million metric tons. This volume is only 2 percent of the production of the United States and 6 percent of that of Venezuela, but it nevertheless has a salutary effect on the country's balance of payments situation. The country has become self-sufficient in oil products, with the exception of high-octane aviation gasoline and a small amount of other petroleum derivatives. The rate of production has been rising faster than the domestic consumption, which was estimated at 2.2 million metric tons in 1959. In the same year, 5.8 million tons of crude oil were exported, producing about 16 percent of the total foreign exchange earnings and second only to coffee in value.

Oil fields, owned by the state and exploited by domestic and foreign companies under concessions from the government, occupy about 11 million acres, or 4 percent of the total land area. Royalties paid to the state during the term of the concession range from 3 to 13 percent, depending on the distance of the oil field from seaports. After the expiration of the concession, the government acquires the title to the entire establishment, including refining and transportation installations and equipment.

Concessions are required not only for exploitation, but also for exploration purposes, regardless of whether subsoil rights belong to the state or to private persons. Exploration is being conducted on some 22 million acres. Exploration concessions are usually granted for a period of 5 years, with a possible extension period for a maximum of 3 additional years; exploitation concessions last for 30 or, in the Llanos Orientales, 40 years, with a possible extension period of 10 years.

In 1959 there were over 3,000 oil wells in the country, of which 2,064 were in operation. In the same year, some 50 companies were engaged in exploratory drilling, and promising new finds were made in the lower Magdalena Valley.

Empresa Colombiana de Petróleos—ECOPETROL (Colombian Petroleum Enterprise), a government-owned company—operates the De Mares concession at Barrancabermeja in Santander. This is the largest and oldest oil field of the country, covering about 1.3 million acres. Its original concession, granted to the Tropical Oil Company, expired in 1951; and the field, together with all installations, railroads, highways, and equipment became the property of the state. Its gross production is decreasing slowly and was somewhat less than 10 million barrels in 1959.

The Colombian Petroleum Company owns the 400,000-acre Barco concession in Norte de Santander and the Cicuco concession in Bolívar; the first produces about 9.1 million barrels of excellent quality oil annually; the second, about 6 million barrels.

International Petroleum Colombia, Ltda.—INTERCOL—owns three small concessions in Magdalena department, one at Aguachica, producing about 23,000 barrels of crude oil annually; one at Totumal, with an annual production of about 38,000 barrels; and one at Lagunitas Gualanday with 12,000 barrels.

Shell-Cóndor, S.A., owns and operates several concessions, the largest of which are the Yondó concession at Casabe in Antioquia, producing some 8.3 million barrels of crude oil on 120,000 acres; the Cantagallo concession in Bolívar, with a production of nearly 1 million barrels on over 50,000 acres; the El Difícil concession in Magdalena, producing some 340,000 barrels on 120,000 acres; and

the San Pablo concession, producing over 4 million barrels and showing a rapid increase.

One of the four major producing concessions, that of Guaguaquí-Terán at Muzo in Boyacá, is owned by the Texas Petroleum Company, S.A., and produces annually over 10 million barrels of crude oil on over 250,000 acres of land. Smaller concessions owned by the same company are one at Palagua in Boyacá, with an annual production of 3,570,000 barrels; the Teután concession at Ortega in Tolima, producing 451,000 barrels; the Sogamoso concession in Boyacá, 50,000 barrels; and the Eremitaño concession, 203,100 barrels. Various smaller concessions produce a total of some 70,000 barrels of crude oil annually.

Proved reserves in 1960 allowed a relatively short projective period for exploitation—if present production rates are maintained, only 12 to 15 years. Thus, the further exploration and discovery of oil fields is of vital interest to the national economy.

Exploration and exploitation of oil would progress more rapidly were it not for transportation difficulties. Existing oil-producing areas are connected with industrial and transportation centers through 21 pipelines, of which 14 carry crude oil and 7 refined products. The longest and most important pipeline, completed in 1926, extends 365 miles from El Centro, at the center of the De Mares concession in Santander, to Mamonal, south of Cartagena. The line is owned by the Andean National Corporation, Ltda., an affiliate of Standard Oil of New Jersey. Two feeder lines are connected to it. One is at Galán on the border of Santander and Antioquia and carries crude oil from the Yondó concession. The other joins the line at Plato on the border of Magdalena and Bolívar and carries oil from the El Difícil concession. In addition, the Andean pipeline also serves the Cantagallo concession.

The second longest pipeline, completed in 1939, connects the Barco concession with the seacoast and runs from Petrólea, near the Venezuelan border, to Coveñas in Córdoba, a distance of 263 miles. The line is owned by the South American Gulf Oil Company, an affiliate of Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, Inc., and the Texas Petroleum Company. The lengths of other lines vary between 5 and 110 miles and connect various producing centers with rivers and seaports. No pipeline at present reaches the Pacific Coast.

Coal

In spite of the vast reserves, exploitation has been slow, mainly because of the inadequacies of transportation facilities. Total national coal output has shown a steady increase from 1.9 million tons in 1956 to 2.0 million in 1957 and 2.3 million tons in 1958. The country exported coal for the first time in 1957. At present, the

mines in Cundinamarca provide most of the coal produced; present production can satisfy present domestic requirements and keep pace with the growing industrial need. With the improvement of transportation facilities, however, it is hoped that the country may capitalize on coal as an export commodity; there is considerable demand for it in other South American countries.

Precious Metals and Stones

Gold, Platinum, and Silver

Before the discovery of gold in Africa, Colombia was for a time the leading gold producer of the world. Its output at present, however, amounts to only 1 percent of the world's total, although it still exceeds that of all other South American countries. Gold output, although higher than in the early years, is considerably below the high output of 660,000 troy ounces in 1941. The average annual output was 390,000 troy ounces during the 1950's. Over 75 percent of this was obtained by alluvial dredging, less than 1 percent by panning, and the remainder from veins. The total value of the output since the Spanish conquest is estimated to be more than U.S.\$1 billion.

About 75 percent of the gold is mined in Antioquia; 11 percent in Chocó; about 5 percent in Nariño; and the remainder in Caldas, Cauca, and Tolima. Large foreign investments have been involved in gold production, and amortization payments have been made regularly when loan financing was involved (see ch. 32, Foreign Economic Relations). The state has a monopoly in the gold and silver mines of Marmato and Supía.

In connection with gold mining operations, platinum is found and mined mainly in Chocó by the Cía. Minera Chocó-Pacífico, S.A., and by its subsidiaries in Nariño and Cauca. The annual output averaged 24,000 troy ounces in the 1930's.

Silver is also found in conjunction with gold, mainly in Antioquia, and in smaller amounts in Caldas and Tolima. The annual production averages 110,000 troy ounces (105,000 troy ounces in 1958), an amount insufficient to meet the domestic demand.

Emeralds

Numerous small emerald mines are scattered throughout the country, but only the mines in Boyacá produce economically. The Muzo, Coscuez, and Chivor mines have been well worked, but because of civil unrest in the area in the early 1950's, mining operations were frequently interrupted and production was considerably reduced. A new mine discovered near Barbur early in 1961 may well prove to be the richest in the world. The government reported an output

of 68,000 carats in 1951 and 20,000 carats in 1955, but no more recent data are available. The sale of emeralds is a government monopoly administered by the Bank of the Republic.

Sulfur

Sulfur has been mined since 1948 on the slopes of Puracé, a volcano in Cauca, by the Industrias Puracé, S.A. The company pioneered in installing the first flotation plant in the world, which now has a production capacity of 40 tons per day. This raised output to such a level that the import of sulfur was unnecessary. Total output in 1958 reached 6,800 tons of refined sulfur, which was used mainly for the production of sulfuric acid by enterprises in Bogotá, Barranquilla, and Medellín. Reserves were estimated at about 6 million tons.

Salt

Salt is produced from large natural deposits, mainly in Boyacá, and from evaporating spring and sea water. One of the oldest, and by far the most significant salt mine, which was first worked by the Chibchas in pre-Colombian times, is located about 30 miles north of Bogotá at Zipaquirá. The Zipaquirá-Nemocón salt deposits comprise hundreds of square miles and are several hundred feet thick, providing a nearly inexhaustible reserve. Its "salt cathedral," a well-publicized tourist attraction hewn out of solid rock salt, can accommodate 15,000 persons. Salt is also mined in smaller quantities in the Western Cordillera and is obtained from salt springs; the Gachetá and Tausa salt springs, both in Cundinamarca, are best known. The total production in 1959 was 266,000 metric tons. Of this, 214,000 tons were mined rock salt and 52,000 were extracted from spring and sea water.

The production of rock salt, a government monopoly operated by the Bank of the Republic, provides about 1 percent of government revenue. Although the government engages in some refining, salt-refining enterprises are mostly privately owned.

ELECTRIC POWER PRODUCTION

The total installed generating capacity of electric power plants was 900,000 kilowatts in 1959, or about 64 watts per inhabitant. These figures represent a significant change, compared with the respective figures of 270,000 kilowatts and 24 watts in 1950. Nevertheless, they do not indicate sufficient capacity to meet the requirement of industry nor to supply electricity in large areas of the country now entirely without a supply. The four industrial areas of Antioquia, Cundinamarca, Magdalena, and Valle del Cauca consume over 70 percent of the electricity generated in the country,

while population centers in many other areas are without electric power and all services dependent on it. According to government statistics for 1958, electricity was available in 704 out of the 815 principal *municipios* (municipalities) and in 166 out of the 1,859 *corregimientos* (administrative subdivisions within a municipality or municipal district).

The absence of large-scale utility companies and of capital in general has resulted in the establishment of small generating units serving individual industrial plants or relatively small geographical areas with high demand at peak hours and little or no demand at others. In the 870 communities in which electricity is available, it is produced by 952 plants, and only 100 of these have a capacity of over 1,000 kilowatts.

The increasing public interest in the production of adequate energy was reflected in the creation in 1946 of the Instituto Nacional de Aprovechamiento de Aguas y Fomento Eléctrico (National Institute for the Utilization of Water and Electrical Development). On the basis of a survey prepared in 1953, the Institute was charged with the implementation of a national electrification plan which calls for the raising of the installed generating capacity to 2.7 million kilowatts by 1970.

Approximately 70 percent of the electric energy is produced by hydroelectric plants, the remainder by thermoelectric installations. The hydroelectric potential of the country is favorably distributed among the most densely populated areas, with the exception of the Atlantic seaboard. Nevertheless, the quality of hydraulic resources and their proximity to settlements have influenced consumption because of resulting differentials in costs of production. For example, unit prices are lowest in Medellín, where abundant water is available near the city, and it is somewhat higher at Bogotá and Cali, where heavier investment into power plants and transmission lines has been required.

Industry absorbs about 87 percent of the total electric energy output. It produces 25 percent of the total and receives 12 percent from public utilities. The promotion of publicly owned utilities is being encouraged, and several communities are engaged in such expansion. The municipal power company of Bogotá, for example, obtained a \$17.6 million loan from the World Bank in 1960 to build a new hydroelectric station of 66,000-kilowatt capacity, to add another 20,000 kilowatts to an existing station, and to build a thermoelectric station at Zipaquirá. The new facilities will double the existing output of electric energy available to the city, raising the amount to 500,000 kilowatts by 1965.

Similarly, the Empresas Públicas de Medellín (Medellín Public Enterprises) are constructing a hydroelectric project on the Nare

River with a capacity of 500,000 kilowatts. Barranquilla plans to expand its thermoelectric generating capacity by 16,500 kilowatts and build a transmission line from the city to Santa María.

It is hoped that an acute power shortage in the Cauca Valley will be remedied through the construction of hydroelectric installations by the Corporación Autónoma Regional del Cauca (Cauca Valley Corporation). In the past, public power stations, with the one exception at Anchicayá, have all proved too small and have lost efficiency because of overuse. Almost all large industrial and commercial enterprises have as a result installed their own power generating units for the production of energy needed at least during the hours of peak load. Existing installed capacity in Cali and Yumbo totals 65,000 kilowatts, while industrial plants with larger than 100 kilowatt units contribute another 11,400 kilowatts of capacity. The requirement in 1960 was about twice this capacity, and the predicted further growth of the area will produce a demand for 300,000 kilowatts by 1965.

MANUFACTURING

The major industries—in terms of output, number of enterprises, and workers—are the foodstuffs, textile, and beverage industries. The clothing and footwear, tobacco, chemical, and mineral industries are also significant, while the petroleum, rubber, and metallurgical industries displayed the most dynamic growth and are gaining an increasingly important place in the total manufacturing output.

Difficult topography, combined with the inadequacies of transportation facilities, has resulted in regional industrial development. Identical or similar industries have risen in at least five areas: Antioquia, Cundinamarca, Valle del Cauca, Santander, and Atlántico (see fig. 1). Recently undertaken improvements in transportation and communication will gradually result in a greater integration of existing industries and allow each region to specialize in those for which it is most suited. Favorable conditions for and trends toward specialization in specific directions can be identified in several regions. Textile manufacturing has been growing in Antioquia more rapidly than in other regions. Two-thirds of the country's textile production, in fact, may be found here. The same region provides advantages for development in the footwear, tobacco, and metal industries. Cundinamarca is well suited for specialization in the manufacture of mechanical and metallurgical products, chemicals, rubber products, glassware and related industries, as well as in printing and the production of beverages. Valle del Cauca produces and concentrates on the production of foodstuffs, paper and paper products, rubber products, chemicals, and some mechanical and metallurgical goods. Santander is mainly concerned with the

petroleum products. No particular emphasis on any product, however, seems to have appeared in the Atlántico region.

Foodstuffs

More enterprises are engaged in foodstuff processing than in any other industrial activity. The 2,786 enterprises employed nearly 37,000 workers in 1953, a group second in size only to those employed in the textile industries (see table 1).

Table 1. *The Manufacturing Industries of Colombia, 1953*

	Enterprises	Employees	Value of production (in millions of Col\$)		Percent of total added value
			Gross	Added	
Foodstuffs.....	2,786	36,990	2,695	518	16.0
Beverages.....	217	13,417	819	481	14.9
Tobacco.....	246	4,571	295	228	7.0
Textiles.....	463	39,389	1,291	535	16.5
Clothing and Footwear.....	2,211	30,722	501	175	5.4
Wood and Cork.....	474	5,561	93	33	1.0
Furniture (wood).....	432	5,455	64	33	1.0
Paper Products.....	84	3,380	141	46	1.4
Printing.....	439	9,786	184	95	2.6
Leather (except shoes).....	267	4,938	137	47	1.5
Rubber Products.....	52	5,022	188	76	2.3
Chemicals.....	581	14,072	642	290	9.0
Petroleum Derivatives.....	18	2,395	506	109	3.4
Nonmetallic Minerals.....	991	20,498	321	181	5.6
Basic Metals.....	75	5,398	261	71	2.2
Metallurgic Products (excluding transport equipment).....	467	10,188	228	92	2.8
Electrical Machinery.....	316	3,197	51	26	0.8
Electrical Machinery.....	194	4,779	147	65	2.0
Transport Equipment.....	585	11,702	157	77	2.4
Other.....	227	5,288	119	62	1.9
Total.....	11,125	236,748	8,940	3,234	100.0

Source: Adapted from Colombia, Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, *Boletín Mensual de Estadística*, No. 117, December 1960, pp. 20-23.

The foodstuff industries produce about 40 percent of the nation's industrial output in terms of gross value. Because of the relatively short industrial process to which most agricultural raw materials are exposed, it seems more realistic, however, to express the contribution in terms of value added to the basic materials in the course of processing. In these terms, the share of the foodstuffs industries in the national picture is only 16 percent.

Grain-processing enterprises are probably the most numerous. Flour mills range from modern plants, equipped with automatic machinery, adequate storage facilities, and a daily capacity of 40 to 80 metric tons, to small stone mills scattered over the rural countryside. The total productive capacity of the industry exceeds present output four or five times.

There are many bakeries and pastry shops, all small enterprises not included in the over-all figures of the foodstuff industries. They numbered over 3,000 in 1953. A large portion of the marketed biscuits and confectionery goods, however, was produced by two large enterprises.

Sugar refining is concentrated in about a dozen mills, but panela (unrefined brown sugar) is produced on the artisan level. Two large enterprises engage in the manufacture of chocolate, with a capacity of 160 metric tons of chocolate production per day. A few relatively large enterprises for the processing of vegetable oils and fats have been established since World War II with the assistance of Dutch capital.

Milk processing and pasteurization takes place in large and medium-size enterprises, mainly in the cities. Butter, cheese, and ice cream are usually produced in rather small enterprises. Four enterprises produce evaporated milk, powdered milk, and similar products.

The canning of fruits and vegetables, except for the modern and well equipped Frutera Colombiana, Ltda., at Cali, is done in small enterprises. Eight enterprises, four located on the Atlantic coast and four on the Pacific coast, engage in the canning and preserving of fish and other seafood. Several small enterprises specialize in the preparation and packing of frozen or salted meat, sausages, and similar products.

Beverages

While still contributing nearly 15 percent of the over-all value added in the course of industrial production, the beverage industry in recent years has yielded second place to textiles. In 1958, it employed over 13,000 persons in some 220 enterprises, and the value of production per worker was very high, amounting to Col\$35,800, surpassed only by the tobacco and oil industries. The largest portion of the beverage industry is made up of brewing enterprises, which produced some 524 million liters of beer in 1957, or 38.8 liters per worker. Brewing is concentrated in five large concerns, one of which, the Bavaria Brewery (Consortio de Cervecerías Bavaria, S.A.), produces about 70 percent of the total output, owns 18 of the 29 breweries, 5 malt plants, a crown and screw cap plant, and a printing and glass plant, and is more highly capitalized than any

other enterprise of the country. Malt is produced by several other enterprises, most of them financially connected with breweries.

Nonalcoholic beverages are manufactured by a large number of enterprises, but two of them, the Gaseosas Posada Tabón, S.A. (Tabón Inn Soda Water), and the Cía. de Gaseosas Lux, Ltda. (Lux Soda Water Company), produce at least half of the national output. Capital from abroad, including the United States, has been invested in such enterprises, especially those established since World War II.

The production of spirits is a state monopoly; franchises for manufacture and the sale of products are assigned to the different departments. Liquor transported across department lines is taxed at a higher rate, and thus interdepartmental competition is discouraged. In Antioquia, Boyacá, Caldas, and Santander, the production of liquor is under private management, but the profits constitute public revenues and are entered into the treasury of the respective department. Wine is produced by private enterprises. Some 140 million liters of two formerly popular fermented drinks, *chicha* and *guarapo*, were produced in 1949, but since then their production and consumption has been outlawed.

Tobacco

The tobacco industry, employing over 4,500 workers, makes the fifth largest contribution to the industrial production of the country in terms of added value. It is able to meet domestic requirements in cigars and cigarettes made of dark tobacco. Two-thirds of the tobacco consumption of the country is in the form of cigarettes, which are manufactured by a very few factories, most of them owned by the Cía. Colombiana de Tabaco, S.A. In contrast with the large-scale enterprises engaged in cigarette manufacturing, cigars are produced by a very large number of artisans, perhaps as many as one thousand.

Textiles

The textile industry employs more workers than any other branch of industry; it ranks second in gross value of production and first in terms of value added to the original product. Over 39,000 workers were employed in 463 establishments in 1958 and produced 16.5 percent of the gross value of the country's industrial production.

Cotton spinning and weaving are the country's oldest textile-making activities, but much of the raw material had to be imported from the beginning of this century until very recent years. Since 1959, however, most of the raw materials and all of the raw cotton required are now domestically produced, as a result of the combined efforts of private industry and the Instituto de Fomento Agro-

donero (Cotton Institute), which have changed Colombia from a cotton-import into a cotton-export country.

The silk and synthetic fiber industry, not unlike the cotton industry, is concentrated in large enterprises in which foreign capital has participated. A more recently developed industry, it was begun in the 1930's, but has grown rapidly since World War II. Large enterprises produce about 80 percent of the total output, with two factories manufacturing viscose rayon and one company making acetate rayon.

The demand for woolen cloth, ponchos, and other covering made mainly from domestic wool cannot be met from the production of local wool spinning and weaving plants.

Hard fiber textiles are produced mainly for the packing of agricultural products. The domestic consumption was estimated as about 23 million units in 1953, of which 7 million were produced by two factories, one at Medellín, the other at San Gil in Santander, and the remainder by artisans.

Clothing and Footwear

The manufacture and repair of clothing and footwear is mostly a craft industry, but in 1958, 2,211 larger establishments employing over 30,000 workers were listed. They produced 5.4 percent of the total industrial output in terms of added value. Ready-made clothing, hats, underwear, and other items of clothing are manufactured by rapidly growing establishments. Leather shoes (worn mostly by residents of towns) and fique sandals are the main products of the footwear industry.

Wood and Furniture

The combined contribution of the wood processing and furniture industry was about 2 percent of the total industrial output in terms of value added to the original material. In over 900 enterprises, some 11,000 workers produce doors, windows, some plywood, other types of construction lumber, furniture, toys, and other wood products. Sawmills are numerous, but almost without exception they are small and located near the centers of consumption. No wood pulp is produced.

Paper and Paper Products

The paper and paper products industry stresses mainly the manufacturing of kraft paper and cardboard in addition to industrial packing containers, kraft paper bags, wrapping paper, and office supplies. Over 3,000 workers were employed in 84 enterprises in 1958 and produced about 1.4 percent of the nation's total industrial

output in terms of added value. During the same year some 46,000 metric tons of kraft paper and cartons were produced.

The need to import most of the raw material used by the paper industry presents a growing problem in the balance of payments picture. Efforts to produce paper pulp domestically have been unsuccessful; the rapidly growing demand for printed materials puts increasing pressures upon the industry. A new paper plant at Pereira in Caldas, utilizing pulp imported from Finland, will begin producing newsprint in 1961. The construction of a paper mill at Cali, to be operational in 1962, is also planned. It may produce 35,000 metric tons of paper annually from sugar-cane residue (bagasse).

Printing

The printing industry includes around 440 enterprises employing almost 10,000 workers. It manifested a considerable growth during the 1950's and in 1958 contributed nearly 3 percent to the over-all output of industry in terms of added value.

Leather Industry

The preparation of hides, including tanning, has been the main function of the leather industry. The manufacturing of leather goods other than shoes is in the hands of artisans. Nevertheless, in 1958 the leather industry had 267 plants with a total of nearly 5,000 workers. Its contribution to the total industrial output of the country was 1.5 percent on around 47 million pesos in terms of added value. The country's large livestock production could support a considerable expansion of the leather industry, if the damage caused by parasites, mainly ticks, could be eliminated and if the handling of hides could be improved. The export of hides was significant before World War II, but industrial development has expanded the domestic market that few hides are now available for export.

Rubber Products

With 52 enterprises and over 5,000 workers, the rubber industry is relatively new and has made rapid progress in the manufacture of tires, tubes, and other rubber products, mainly boots and shoes. Bogotá and Cali are the centers of large manufacturing enterprises, while retreading shops are dispersed over a wide area.

Foreign capital, mainly from the United States, is involved in the Good Year de Colombia, S.A., at Yumbo, near Cali; in the Cía. Croydon del Pacífico, S.A., at Cali; in the Productos de Caucho Villegas, S.A., at Bosa, near Bogotá; and in the Industria Colombiana de Llantas, S.A., also at Bosa. Although domestic rubber production cannot adequately meet all the requirements for raw

material for the industry, and a large amount of raw material, as well as intermediate products, must be imported, the output of the tire factories meets most of the domestic need and is increasing rapidly. Total output in 1958 was 441,500 units of tires, while the total value of production added to the original material was nearly Col\$72 million, as compared to Col\$36 million in 1953.

Chemicals

The expansion of the chemical industry is important to the country; sizable sums of foreign exchange are expended to import intermediate and final chemical products. Although the number of enterprises has not appreciably increased, the output of the 581 plants in operation grew from Col\$89 million in added value in 1953 to Col\$290 million in 1958. Employing over 14,000 workers, the industry contributes 9 percent to the over-all industrial production in terms of added value.

The largest branch of the chemical industry is made up of some 188 pharmaceutical enterprises, about 10 times the number in existence before World War II. The production of the pharmaceutical industry satisfies about 50 percent of the domestic demand, and it constitutes over 40 percent of the total chemical output. Enamel paints and varnishes are produced by a few large enterprises. The manufacturing of matches, one of the oldest branches of the chemical industry, is concentrated in the hands of four major enterprises, in the largest of which some English and Swedish capital is invested. Domestic demand for matches is met by this industry, but materials required in match manufacture, such as paper, potassium chlorate, and paraffin, must be imported. The manufacture of toilet articles, soap, and candles is mainly an artisan activity, and in recent years has been only slowly increasing. They depend heavily on the import of raw and intermediate materials. Artificial fibers such as viscose and acetate rayon are among the most significant products of the chemical industry. They are manufactured in three large enterprises and used mainly by the textile industry. Near the salt mines of Zipaquirá, and connected with it by a five-mile-long pipe line, a soda plant promoted by the Instituto de Fomento Industrial began operation in 1951. It has a capacity of over 100 tons of carbonate, 30 tons of caustic soda, and 12,000 tons of bicarbonate per day. In 1958, the country's total production of soda ash was 16,533 tons and that of caustic soda, 16,165 tons.

Sulfuric acid is produced from sulfur mined near Popayán, Cauca, and from imported raw material. A fairly recently established branch of the chemical industry, it has three establishments with a capacity somewhat larger than the 1958 production of 6,800 metric tons. Tanning materials are produced only in one enterprise

at Bonaventura. It emphasizes mangrove bark extraction and produces about 250 tons of extract per year, mainly used for the tanning of leather soles.

Fertilizers, greatly needed by agriculture, are produced from by-products of the Paz del Río steel mill and the Barrancabermeja oil refinery. The latter, promoted by the Instituto de Fomento Industrial, has a capacity of about 14,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilizers, 5,000 tons of ammonium, 4,000 tons of nitric acid, and 5,400 tons of organic nitrogen. It also provides the basis for the development of other branches of the chemical industry in the production of such items as explosives, nylon, and plastics. Other less important products of the chemical industry are oxygen, acetylene, waterproofing materials, quick-setting agents for cement, heat insulators, anticorrosive paints, flashlight batteries, etc.

Oil Refining Industry

The refining industry produces about 75 percent of the domestic requirements in gasolines. Some 25 percent of high octane aviation gasoline and kerosene used is imported, mainly for use on the west coast, which is relatively inaccessible from other parts of the country. Crude oil is processed into combustible derivatives by 5 oil refineries with a combined capacity of 65,000 barrels per day, and into dissolvents and asphalt by a dozen small enterprises.

The oldest and largest refinery, now owned and, since 1961, operated by the government, is at Barrancabermeja in Santander and has a capacity of 37,500 barrels per day. It produces a full line of petroleum products, including high octane aviation gasoline.

The International Petroleum Colombia, Ltda. owns and operates two refineries. The larger is only four years old, and is located at the terminal of the Mamonal pipe line near Cartagena in Bolívar and has a capacity of 26,500 barrels per day. The other is at La Dorada in Caldas and has a topping plant with a capacity of 2,600 barrels per day. It receives its crude oil from the Guaguaquí-Terán concession, and it produces mainly diesel and fuel oils.

Of the two remaining refineries, one is owned by the Colombian Petroleum Company, S.A. (a subsidiary of the Texas Petroleum Company, S.A.) at Tibú, with storage facilities nearby at Cúcuta in Norte de Santander. Its capacity is 2,500 barrels per day. The Texas Petroleum Company, S.A. owns and operates a refinery at Guamo in Tolima, near its Tetuán concession at Ortega. It has a capacity of 1,000 barrels per day and produces gasoline, kerosene, and fuel oils. A gas plant associated with the refinery processes some 61 million cubic feet of wet gas per day and produces 1,500 barrels of natural gasoline and butane used in the stabilization of gasoline.

In 1959, the total annual production of the refining industry amounted to 8.1 million barrels (of 42 gallons each) of gasoline, 9.4 million barrels of fuel oil, 3.1 million barrels of diesel oil, and 25,500 metric tons of propane gas. At the beginning of the 1950's, when the country had only 2 refineries, the total gasoline output was 2.8 million barrels, one-third of the present production.

Nonmetallic Minerals

Because of its importance to construction, the production of non-metallic minerals has a growing significance. The industry is increasing in both number of employees and output. About 1,000 establishments employed about 20,500 workers in 1958 in the production of cement, earthenware, glass, bricks, china, and various other goods. Due to transportation difficulties, cement manufacturing has developed generally on a regional basis; it is, in fact, one of the most dispersed industrial activities in the country. Although production began in 1908, output gained momentum only after World War II. The total output in 1959 was 1.4 million tons of grey cement as compared to 0.3 million in 1945. Several plants produce construction materials, such as the three large plants, supported by Swiss capital, which produce asbestos-cement goods ("eternit" goods), mainly tubes, roofing accessories, and asbestos-cement sheets for which they use domestic cement and imported asbestos.

Bricks and earthenware pipe are also produced by a large number of establishments using rather rudimentary equipment. Pottery is almost exclusively an artisan industry, but china is manufactured by an enterprise established in 1882, the Cía. Colombiana de Cerámica, S.A.

The glass industry, concentrated in two large and several small enterprises, supplies the domestic requirements in bottles and glass containers, but not in sheet glass or opaque and neutral glass as required by the pharmaceutical industry. In 1961, the Philips de Colombia at Barranquilla started producing glass for light bulbs.

Metallurgical and Metal Industries

The metallurgical and metal industries showed the most rapid development during the 1950's, surpassed only by the rubber industry. The erection of the Paz del Río steel mill at Belencito, north of Sogamoso in Boyacá, had a profound effect on the Colombian economy. In addition to its economic significance, the steel mill constitutes a national status symbol in the eyes of the Colombian people. Its history goes back to 1942, when iron ore finds were made in the neighborhood of Sogamoso, not too far from existing limestone and coal mines. Because of the inferior quality of the iron ore and the relatively high altitude (8,000 feet above sea level),

contradictory recommendations were received concerning the feasibility of erecting a mill. Nevertheless, the Instituto de Fomento Industrial, on the basis of a report of the Koppers Company, Incorporated, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, gave this project priority on its agenda and established the Empresa Siderúrgica Nacional de Paz del Río, S.A. (Paz del Río National Ironworks Enterprise) in 1948. Most of the plant equipment was purchased in France with a U.S.\$25 million loan arranged by the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas (Bank of Paris and of the Netherlands), and from the proceeds of the domestic sale of 60 million shares at Col\$10 each, sold domestically. Steel was first produced in January 1955.

Paz del Río draws its raw material and fuel from its immediate vicinity, where there is also an adequate supply of inexpensive labor. A railroad connection exists with Bogotá, some 160 miles to the south, and there is a highway connection with the port of Olaya on the Magdalena River. The total cost of construction, including surveys and transportation facilities, was between U.S.\$115 and U.S.\$130 million.

The steel plant includes a blast furnace; three Bessemer converters; an electric furnace for the melting of scrap; a battery of 43 coking ovens; and a unit producing byproducts, such as tars, light and medium oils, and benzol. It also has a mill producing merchant bars and rods, a wire mill, and a thermal power plant. Expansion of present facilities and the construction of a sintering plant for a more economical use of the iron ore are in progress, and after 1961 the country will produce sheet steel, a development which will greatly assist the steel-consuming industries.

The Paz del Río steel mill and other minor plants in the country now provide some 30 percent of the domestic requirements in rolled steel, and, except for sheet, plate, and strip products, about 41 percent of the requirements in other products. It is hoped that by 1965 the production of rolled steel and other products will reach 50 and 45 percent of requirements respectively and at the same time provide 50 to 60 percent of the requirements in sheet, plate, and strip products, which are at present (1961) entirely supplied through import. The total production of steel ingots in 1957 was 125,000 metric tons, and that for 1965 is projected to be 300,000 metric tons. Production of steel bars and shapes, rails, wire, and wire rods was 78,000 metric tons in 1957, and is to be 189,000 metric tons in 1965. The projected output of other steel products in 1965 should be 109,000 metric tons.

In addition to the Paz del Río steel mill, the Empresa Siderúrgica de Medellín, S.A. (Metalworks Enterprise of Medellín) has an electric furnace that melts scrap and a rolling mill that produces reinforced bars, rods, and wire. The limited supply of scrap iron

compels the plant to work below its annual capacity of 20,000 metric tons (about 7,000 tons in 1959). Three small enterprises in Cundinamarca produce on a small scale. The Siderúrgica del Muna has a capacity of 100 tons per day; the Siderúrgica Corradine, 15 tons; and the Siderúrgica de Tibirita, 20 tons. A number of small enterprises are engaged in producing intermediate metal goods for construction and other branches of industry. Those plants in the Barranquilla area, relying on imported raw material and scrap, are expanding their facilities.

Other projects under construction include an aluminum rolling mill at Barranquilla for the production of aluminum foil and a plant for the annual production of 2,000 metric tons of zinc at Bogotá.

The metalworking industry, an outgrowth of repair shops owned by the transportation companies and the petroleum industry, increased its output by 280 percent between 1953 and 1958. It employs over 10,000 workers and produces 2.8 percent of the national industrial output in terms of added value. Steel and aluminum furniture, simple agricultural processing machinery, bicycles, razor blades, plumbing accessories, and metal containers are being produced in amounts almost sufficient to satisfy domestic requirements. The various enterprises in the foodstuffs and beverage industries manufacture their own requirements in metal caps. The Consorcio de Cervecerías Bavaria, S.A. and the Cervecería Unión at Medellín, for example, manufacture their own crown caps. A new plant, producing cans for fruits, vegetables, soups, fish, and liquids, is under construction at Barranquilla as a joint venture of Empresa Litográfica, S.A., and the American Can Company. Metallic structures—bridges, hangars, tanks, small boats, tubing, sewers, drains, and such—are manufactured, but production cannot satisfy domestic requirements. By 1961 the output of nails will meet domestic consumption. In addition, the metalworking industry will be expanded by the establishment of a Necchi sewing machine factory and a plant for the assembly of Willys jeeps.

Electric machinery and appliances are produced in over 190 enterprises employing nearly 5,000 workers. Small electric motors and simple household appliances have been manufactured for some time. In 1961, the General Electric de Colombia, S.A., in Bogotá, started the production of refrigerators, air conditioners, and vacuum cleaners. Company plans call for the eventual production of radios, televisions, fans, washing machines, dryers, electric ranges, lamps, and light bulbs.

CONSTRUCTION

During the last 10 years, the construction industry has contributed an increasing amount to the gross national product, but in 1959

its share in the total picture improved only slightly—from 3.3 percent in 1950 to 3.8 percent in 1959. When at its peak in 1955, its share reached 4.6 percent, and its total contribution was some 40 million pesos more (in 1958 prices) than in 1959. The labor force engaged in construction work has never been so large as it was in 1959, when it reached 155,000. The decline in production between 1955 and 1958 has changed to a gradual recovery because extensive public works projects have been undertaken.

ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

Basically, industry is organized along the lines of free enterprise. Private industrialists have an influential agency in the Asociación Nacional de Industriales—ANDI (National Association of Industrialists)—which maintains its headquarters in Medellín and has branches in practically all principal industrial cities. In addition to acting as a strong lobbying agency and as an advisory body to the government, ANDI engages in social and educational services on behalf of its members and their employees.

The medium- and small-sized industrial establishments are served by the Asociación Colombiana de Pequeños Industriales—ACOPI (Colombian Association of Small Industrialists)—founded in 1951, a widespread organization with several thousand members. In cooperation with the Banco Popular, it provides financial assistance for its members and performs services similar to those rendered by ANDI to its members.

The role of the government in industry is expressed mainly through attempts to provide encouragement and assistance for the establishment and development of enterprises promoting national self-sufficiency. These aims have been served through the government's taxation and tariff policies and through the creation and maintenance of autonomous credit and development agencies. Among these, the Instituto de Fomento Industrial plays a very significant role by stressing spheres and encouraging projects vital to the national economy and neglected by private capital. An increase in the import of capital goods and the establishment of the Paz del Río steel mill as well as soda, glass, and foodstuffs enterprises are outstanding results of these efforts.

Public participation in energy production dates back to 1930; it gained impetus after World War II when the Instituto Nacional de Aprovechamiento de Aguas y Fomento Eléctrico was established to aid development. About 80 percent of the energy output is produced by public utility enterprises, many of them owned and controlled by local governments. The remaining 20 percent is produced by private industrial enterprises for their own use.

The Instituto de Fomento Municipal (Institute of Municipal Development) has played significant roles in the promotion of both the power industry and public construction projects. The Instituto de Crédito Territorial (Territorial Credit Institute) has been charged with the promotion of the construction of housing for low-income families.

CHAPTER 29

PUBLIC FINANCE

Public finance as expressed in the budgets of the national and local governments plays an important role in the national economy. Capital expenditures of the national government alone, excluding amortization of public debt, equal about 3 to 4 percent of the gross national product and amount to one-fourth of the total capital investment in the country. Administration expenditures of the government exert economic influence directly on the purchasing power of an increasing number of persons on the public payrolls and indirectly through transfer of payments for social security purposes and payments on the public debt.

Public funds are handled on three levels—national, departmental and municipal. Traditional regionalism attempts to preserve fiscal decentralization; nevertheless, in recent years there has been an attempt by the national government to achieve greater centralization by increasing its relative share in total revenues and its responsibility for the distribution of local revenues. This trend was arrested by the Lleras government, and decentralization of public expenditures again became a stated government aim, though no marked implementations followed. The budgets of the departments and municipalities amount to about 80 percent of those of the national government.

Colombian laws attempt to provide for a rather conservative fiscal policy by requiring that the national government submit a carefully prepared and balanced annual budget in which regular revenues do not exceed those of the previous year by more than 10 percent and expenditures are covered fully by revenues and other means of financing. In public finance, however, as in certain other phases of public life, attitudes reflect a proverbial "obedience in act but not in fact" (*se obedece pero no se cumple*). After the original and balanced budget has been passed by Congress, supplementary budgets and appropriations alter the situation. On a cash basis the national government did not show a budget surplus during the two decades preceding 1959 (see table 1).

Table 1. *Revenues and Expenditures of the Colombian Government*

(in millions of pesos)

	Current expenditures without amortization of debt	Regular revenues	Credit financing difference	
			Before	After
1950.....	519	514	-5	53
1951.....	691	668	-23	44
1952.....	733	704	-29	24
1953.....	931	839	-92	-15
1954.....	1,106	1,043	-66	177
1955.....	1,284	1,131	-153	44
1956.....	1,357	1,137	-220	-37
1957.....	1,322	1,227	-95	-80
1958.....	1,673	1,636	-37	108
1959.....	1,849	1,921	72	237
1960 ^a	2,330	2,135	-195	115
1961 ^b	2,660	2,482	-178	-----
1962 ^c	2,549	2,549	-----	-----
1963 ^c	2,677	2,677	-----	-----
1964 ^c	2,810	2,810	-----	-----

^a Estimate.

^b Budget.

^c Projected.

Source: Adapted from Colombia, Presidente, *Mensaje del Presidente y del Ministro de Hacienda Sobre el Proyecto de Presupuesto*, 1961, pp. 19, 20; Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, *Boletín Mensual de Estadística*, No. 199, February 1961, p. 112;

The austerity program of the Lleras government, combined with an increase in revenues through improved tax collection and changes in the tariff system, resulted in a surplus of some \$10 million in 1959. However, a deficit of some U.S.\$16 to \$20 million was forecast for 1961 as a result of a new and more progressive tax law (Law 81 of 1960) which may result in a temporary decline of government income, but should invigorate business and development activities in the long run by providing incentives to capital formation.

Because the entire economy is highly dependent on income derived from the sale of coffee abroad, the fluctuation of coffee prices on the world market had a marked effect on the volume of government revenue so long as indirect taxes constituted its major source of income. The gradual shifting of emphasis from indirect to direct taxation, apparent since World War II, has strengthened the stability of government income. Nevertheless, the influence of coffee prices will remain a crucial factor as long as the country maintains its single-crop export economy (see ch. 32, Foreign Economic Relations).

Expediency dominates the allocation of public funds, mainly in the area of direct government investments. In the absence of long-range planning and political stability, the distribution of public funds has been highly irregular, influenced mainly by personal or political interests of a partisan nature. As a result, public works started by allocations of funds in one year were often discontinued or slowed down to ineffective scales during the next year when funds were channeled elsewhere. During the 1950's for example, the annual investment of the public sector in agriculture varied between Col\$1.5 million and Col\$27.5 million, that in social and cultural development between Col\$8 million and Col\$84 million, and in communal development between Col\$11 million and Col\$77 million.

Long-range planning in the form of a four-year plan (1961-64) was proposed to Congress by the Lleras government. The plan emphasized a strict coordination of all public financial operations and a gradual increase of spending on economic development to achieve a 5 percent annual rate of economic growth. The total investment envisaged under the plan amounts to Col\$7,164 million, of which Col\$4,573 will be provided by the government, the remainder borrowed. The national government's investment in economic development amounts to 16 percent of its total receipts.

The combined expenditure of the national, departmental and municipal governments showed a somewhat greater acceleration of growth than that observed in the area of national income. Total public expenditures amounted to some Col\$3 billion in 1958, Col\$3.4 billion in 1959, and almost Col\$4 billion in 1960. Outlays of the national government seem to double every four to five years, whereas those of the local governments show a more modest increase.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The role of the public sector in the nation's economy was relatively insignificant before the beginning of the twentieth century. Changes in the size of the country and in the form of government and recurrent civil strife repeatedly altered the fiscal system. Only after the civil war of 1899-1903 did public finances assume a more stable form characterized by liberal centralism. Policies concerning the division of revenues and expenditures and the basis for local financial rights and responsibilities as against those of the national government were formulated early in this century and embodied in the Political and Municipal Code (Código Político y Municipal).

Before World War I, 75 percent of the national revenue was derived from customs proceeds, which made the available limited government services extremely sensitive to the fluctuations of international trade. World War I and its aftermath presented financial

crises. In 1923 the Colombian Government invited a United States mission of financial experts to prepare a survey designed to establish a sound fiscal system. The recommendations of the mission were promptly accepted by a special session of Congress.

They included the consolidation of two governmental departments responsible for fiscal affairs into the Ministry of the Treasury and Public Credit (*Ministerio de Hacienda y Credito Publico*), the creation of a government Accounting Department (*Departamento de Controloria*) independent from the Ministry of Treasury, the establishment of a central bank, the Bank of the Republic (*Banco de la Republica*), and return to the gold standard. Stabilization of government finances was further facilitated by the receipt of U.S.\$25 million from the United States for the Panama Canal, the inauguration of petroleum production and export and the strengthening of Colombia's international credit position (see ch. 2, Historical Setting).

Government income has risen through an increase in both foreign trade and internal taxes, reflecting a definite improvement in economic conditions. Current expenditures were moderate in the 1920's; savings and foreign credits were applied to capital investments, mainly in transportation, mining and other public works. Local governments vied with the national government during the same period for the acquisition of foreign credits in the form of straight loans or through the sale of bonds.

The intensive public investment policy of the 1920's had several beneficial results in the decade that followed and moderated the impact of the world-wide depression on Colombia. Protectionist tariffs, modified expenditure policies, tax reforms and the creation of quasi-governmental credit institutions also contributed to improved economic efficiency and fiscal stability in the 1930's.

The promotion of economic growth became government policy, and measures to stimulate private investment, along with increased public capital investments, characterized the 1940's. Quasi-governmental institutions, such as the Paz del Río steel mill, were created to promote key industries. Rising coffee prices stimulated the economy. Expenditures to carry out the social and educational functions of the government were neglected, however, and the agricultural sector received less attention than its importance in the country's economy deserved.

By the middle of the 1950's the public sector absorbed 15 to 16 percent of the national income, and registered an average annual growth of 5.7 percent, somewhat higher than the 5 percent growth of the gross national product. Excluding labor in public enterprises, the government had some 120,000 persons, or 3 percent of the economically active population, on its payroll (see ch. 13, Labor Force).

Table 5. *Distribution of Expenditures in Colombia in the 1961 Budget*
(in millions of pesos)

	Operating expenses	Transfer	Investments	Total	Percent of budget
Legislative Branch.....	8.1	0.1	-----	8.2	0.3
Total Legislative Branch.....	-----	-----	-----	8.2	0.3
Executive Branch:					
President's Office.....	2.9	-----	-----	2.9	0.1
Planning Office.....	2.5	0.5	-----	3.0	0.1
Statistical Office.....	13.5	-----	-----	13.5	0.5
Civil Service.....	2.6	2.1	-----	4.7	0.2
National Security.....	27.9	-----	-----	27.9	1.0
General Services.....	10.2	1.2	-----	11.4	0.5
Civil Aeronautics.....	5.1	0.5	-----	5.6	0.2
Ministries:					
Government.....	19.7	5.5	7.2	32.4	1.2
Foreign Affairs.....	30.0	4.5	-----	34.6	1.3
Justice.....	20.5	14.8	17.8	53.1	2.1
Treasury.....	70.2	57.9	-----	128.1	4.8
Treasury, Public Debt.....	-----	-----	-----	290.2	10.9
War.....	289.3	52.2	10.3	351.8	13.2
Police.....	111.9	3.0	4.5	119.4	4.5
Agriculture.....	19.6	12.1	57.4	89.1	3.0
Labor.....	9.0	48.7	11.6	69.3	2.6
Public Health.....	23.0	94.6	40.0	157.6	5.9
Development.....	7.2	1.1	138.0	146.3	5.5
Mines and Petroleum.....	7.8	0.3	45.0	52.9	2.0
Education.....	76.3	172.9	51.5	300.7	11.3
Communication.....	55.0	13.8	4.0	72.8	2.7
Public Works.....	40.9	1.7	560.9	603.5	22.7
Total Executive Branch.....	-----	-----	-----	2,561.8	93.3
Judicial Branch:					
Courts.....	64.9	-----	-----	64.9	2.4
Administrative Courts.....	2.8	-----	-----	2.8	0.1
Attorney General.....	4.5	-----	-----	4.5	0.2
Total Judicial Branch.....	-----	-----	-----	72.2	2.7
Comptroller General.....	18.2	-----	-----	18.2	0.7
Total Comptroller General.....	-----	-----	-----	18.2	0.7
Total.....	934.4	487.6	945.2	2,650.4	100.0
Percent of Total.....	35.1	18.3	35.7	* 100.0	-----

* Including 10.9 percent for the public debt.

Sources: Adapted from Colombia Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, *Boletín Mensual de Estadística*, No. 119, February 1961, p. 114.

BUDGET OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Expenditure Pattern

Expenditures of the national government fall into two main categories—operational expenses and capital investments. Operational expenditures cover administrative needs in terms of salaries, wages and purchases; capital expenditures are aimed at promoting economic growth and improving public services and, hence, contribute either directly or indirectly to the development of the national economy.

The composition of expenditures has altered little during the last 30 years. About one-third of the available funds is spent on wages and salaries of government employees, another third is invested in public works, and the remaining third is transferred to social security accounts and spent on the public debt.

In terms of government structure the executive branch disposes of about 96 percent of the expenditures, the judicial branch of about 3 percent, and the legislative branch and the independent office of the comptroller-general of less than 1 percent each (see table 2). Government agencies responsible for the internal and international security of the nation, such as the armed forces, the police, the office of national security, and the judicial branch of the government, spend about one-fourth of the budget. But the share of the Ministry of War declined from a high of almost 20 percent in 1954 during the Rojas Pinilla regime to 17.5 percent in 1960 and to 13.2 percent in 1961.

In contrast, relatively small sums have been spent on "improvement of human resources," as the government refers to educational and public health measures. Shortly before World War II the combined outlays for education and public health amounted to only 7 percent of the budget. In the 1940's the contribution to both activities increased but did not amount to more than 13 percent of the 1955 budget. More recently there has been growing concern about the inadequacies of funds allocated to education and public health. In fact, the junta that replaced General Rojas and reflected the thinking of a somewhat broader segment of the population added to the 1957 constitutional revision a provision that the national government must devote at least 10 percent of the budget to educational purposes. Although an increasing amount has been devoted to education in recent government outlays, it has still been less than 10 percent; however, 11.5 percent of the 1961 budget is earmarked for education.

Considering the heavy agricultural orientation of the economy, the 3 percent share of the Ministry of Agriculture seems to be rather low, though considerably higher than agriculture's share had

been in the 1940's when it had to divide a similar portion of the budget with the Ministry of Commerce.

Most investment expenditures are channeled through the Ministry of Public Works, but the Ministry of Development, mainly concerned with promotion of industry, and 10 other ministries spend part of their funds on capital formation. Taking into consideration also the investments of the local governments, it is estimated that about 50 percent of the public investments are channeled into transportation and energy projects, 13.5 percent into agricultural projects, 7 percent into industrial projects, and the remainder into construction and other branches of the economy.

A characteristic of public investments is that, although they are related to the fluctuation of revenues and current expenditures, their increase or decrease is strongly influenced by the availability of foreign loans and is therefore heavily dependent on the external debt of the country. Most recent figures show that the government has spent Col\$814 million on economic development in 1960, approximately twice as much as in 1958.

Revenue Structure

Taxes

Taxes provide nearly 83 percent of the revenue of the national government, other sources contribute 9 to 12 percent, and credit financing is utilized for the remaining 5 to 8 percent (see table 3). Government revenues, like government expenditures, have increased steadily. Higher public income, however, does not signify a higher per capita taxation but rather an increase in national income and a larger volume of money in circulation.

Continuous effort to give the tax structure a progressive character has brought about a more equal distribution of the public burden through an increased reliance on direct rather than indirect taxation. Direct taxes, which provided only about 4 percent of the revenue in the late 1920's, increased to 38 percent at the beginning of the 1950's, and gradually to about 43 percent over the past decade. In 1961 the national government expected to collect Col \$1,162 million (on April 30, 1961, the free dollar rate was Col\$8.33 to the U.S.\$1) in direct taxes, and Col\$1,025 million from indirect taxes, a ratio of 52:48.

Income taxes in various forms constitute the bulk of direct taxes. Income taxes were expected to produce Col\$979 million in 1961 as compared to Col\$63 million from property taxes. Income taxes include three basic taxes levied on natural persons and legal entities: an individual income tax, a "patrimony" tax, which is a kind of property tax, and a supplementary excess profit tax, based on

the relationship of income and property. In addition to these basic taxes there is a 3 percent surtax on income for the purpose of economic development.

Table 3. Structure of Income of the Colombian Government, 1961

	Amount (in millions of pesos)		Percent	
Direct Taxes.....	1,163		43.8	
Income and Property Tax.....		1,086		40.8
Inheritance Tax.....		55		2.1
Tax on Lottery Prizes.....		10		0.4
Land Registration and Title.....		11		0.4
Other.....		1		0.1
Indirect Taxes.....	1,027		38.5	
Customs Duties.....		703		26.3
Lubricants and Oils.....		3		0.1
Matches and Playing Cards.....		5		0.2
Engraved Paper and Stamps.....		78		2.9
Lotteries and Raffles.....		10		0.4
Liquor Consumption.....		24		0.9
Central Bank for Foreign Commercial Debts.....		117		4.4
Other.....		87		3.3
Fees and Fines.....	127		4.8	
Post and Telegraph.....		23		0.9
Ports and Piers.....		43		1.6
Other.....		61		2.3
National Enterprises.....	118		4.3	
Salt.....		10		0.4
Petroleum (concessions).....		70		2.6
Petroleum (sale).....		26		1.0
Other.....		12		0.3
Irregular Income.....	50		1.9	
Financing.....	178		6.7	
Balance of Treasury.....		48		1.8
Credit.....		130		4.9
Total.....	2,663		100.0	

Source: Adapted from Colombia, Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, *Boletín Mensual de Estadística*, No. 119, February 1961, p. 113.

Individual income tax has to be paid on all income derived from either domestic or foreign sources. The schedule ranges from 0.5 percent tax on an income of Col\$2,500 to 51 percent on an income of Col\$2 million or more. Thus, a person with a net taxable income of Col\$80,000 pesos (U.S.\$11,000) pays about 20 percent. Provisions are made for exemptions of Col\$2,500 for each taxpayer and Col\$1,000 for each dependent. Married taxpayers may divide per-

sonal income for taxation purposes. A flat 20 percent deduction or itemized deductions are granted for medical expenses, professional services other than medical, tuition, rent, etc., to those whose income is under Col\$36,000. Taxpayers in higher categories are granted 50 percent of the exemption if they support or educate 5 or more children. Among other cases of exemption are church emoluments obtained under the practice of the Roman Catholic religion.

The tax scale of partnerships, corporation and associations organized for profit has also undergone changes in recent years to favor small units as against big corporations. The tax on corporate income is 12 percent under Col\$100,000, 24 percent between Col\$100,000 and \$1 million, and 36 percent on the net taxable income over Col\$1 million. Income tax on dividends of foreign companies (in which 50 percent or more is owned by foreign nationals) not distributed in Colombia is 12 percent, and on corporations operating in Colombia through branch offices, it is 6 percent. Corporations operating under the Western Hemisphere Trade Corporation Act of the United States Government are compensated by a 14-point income tax deduction over the standard deduction in their United States income taxes.

"Patrimony" taxes consist of property taxes on net assets or patrimony owned in Colombia and measurable in terms of money. They are assessed on real estate, merchandise, machinery, raw materials, professional equipment, personal movables including vehicles, credit, shares of stock, interest in nonshare-issuing partnerships, and several other properties. Exceptions are made for unproductive assets and assets of a taxpayer who earns no taxable income except the normal return on his assets in an amount smaller than the patrimony tax assessed. Other exceptions include art objects and personal movables, except jewelry, under Col\$10,000; Indian reservations; the first Col\$20,000 invested in shares of stock companies, provided the taxpayer's income does not exceed Col\$48,000; and the first Col\$20,000 of any patrimony that does not exceed Col\$200,000. The tax schedule extends from 1 percent on Col\$20,000 to 15 percent on Col\$800,000 or more.

The supplementary excess profit tax is based on a projection of income against patrimony. It applies to net taxable income in excess of a certain percentage of the basic patrimony. The schedule of this tax ranges from 20 percent on excess representing 6 percent of the patrimony to 56 percent on excess representing 36 percent of the basic patrimony.

A 3 percent surtax for development of iron and power industries replaced the 4 percent surtax which was in effect before 1961. The income from this tax is equally distributed between the Paz del Río

steel mill and the Institute for the Utilization of Water and Electric Development, and taxpayers are given the option of buying stock or bonds of the Paz del Río steel mill in lieu of tax payments.

The present structure of direct taxation has a number of characteristics that are intended to stimulate economic development. In addition to the 3 percent surtax which is directly related to development, profits of foreign corporations and companies if reinvested in Colombia are exempt from the 6 percent corporate tax; large cities are authorized to levy taxes up to 4 percent on underdeveloped land in urban areas; construction of homes not exceeding Col\$60,000 in value are exempt from patrimony and building taxes; income from export of nontraditional export goods is also exempt; corporations may create tax-free reserves up to 5 percent of their profits to promote industries which produce goods that replace imports; airlines are exempt of income tax for 10 years if funds so saved are used for modernization.

Sensitivity to the world coffee market is reflected in the fact that various duties levied on foreign trade, in which coffee plays a dominant role, produce 33 percent of the total revenue (see ch. 32, Foreign Economic Relations). There is no general sales tax, but the production and consumption of certain goods and services is taxed and produces about 6 percent of the revenue. Specially printed stamped paper or separate stamps have to be used in executing legal documents. Taxes are levied on playing cards, matches, fuels and lubricants, cotton fibers, gold production, insurance premiums, admissions to amusements, services in hotels and boarding houses, etc. Inheritance and gift taxes are levied on individuals at rates ranging from 1.2 percent on the first Col\$3,000 to 9.6 percent on Col\$100,000 or more and on corporations at rates from 14.4 percent to 31.2 percent, respectively.

Income from Sources Other Than Taxes

About 83 percent of the income derived from other sources than taxes is from petroleum concessions and pipelines. It is estimated that about one-fourth of the expenditures of foreign oil companies in Colombia goes directly into the state treasury. Accounts of the operations of the emerald mines at Munzo and Coscuez are not published, and the income from mining is the smallest item in the revenue column of the budget. Salt extraction and government participation in other enterprises as well as public properties and services contribute less than 1 percent to the revenue.

Character of Taxation

Generally, the income tax scale is lower than in the United States. The tax burden of low-income groups is relatively light, and exemptions are equitable; taxes in the upper-income brackets are progres-

sively heavier. An overwhelming majority of tax returns, perhaps as many as 90 to 95 percent, originate in the low-income classes with less than Col\$10,000 annual income, but their contribution to the revenue does not amount to more than 20 percent of the total income from taxes. A similar pattern characterizes the revenues obtained from corporate taxpayers.

One characteristic of public revenue in the past has been the chronic undercollection of taxes. Assessment is based primarily upon the declaration of the taxpayer, who is not obliged to keep books and whose declaration is seldom scrutinized in the tax-collector's office, because of the inadequacies in personnel of the revenue administration. Consequently, underdeclaration of taxes has been common in all categories and nondeclaration among individual businessmen and business partnerships. A stricter application of tax laws and improvement in the number and training of the tax-collecting personnel have resulted in a considerable improvement in tax collecting under the Lleras regime.

Basic attitudes toward taxation have not changed with the improvement of tax administration. The lower-income groups have not demonstrated any unified resistance to the existing tax system, but the upper classes raised massive opposition on several occasions when reforms were imposed to tax accumulation of wealth. When, for example, the Rojas government imposed taxes on income from dividends of stocks and bonds in 1955, a strong opposition was organized by members of the upper classes who possessed sizable investments in such papers. It is believed that tax reforms affecting the upper-income groups played an important role in the downfall of Rojas (see ch. 2, Historical Setting).

The contribution of agriculture to government revenue is relatively small. The landowner is permitted to evaluate his own land for taxation purposes, and unrealistically low evaluations exempt many a large landowner from assuming his fair share of the public burden. Classification of land in terms of quality and utilization and graduated tax scales based on the classification have begun to equalize the tax burden. Simultaneously, incentives for agricultural development in terms of tax reductions, price support, and tax exemptions, such as the exemption of all persons breeding livestock from property and patrimony taxes, may gradually increase the share of agriculture in the public revenue.

In the industrial sector of the economy the textile, beverage and tobacco industries make the largest contribution to government revenues, but new metallurgical and rubber industries are contributing an increasing amount to the state.

Public enterprises, owned by the national, departmental and municipal governments, produced Col\$168.5 million income against

Col\$134.9 million expenditures in 1957. Water, electricity and telephone services produced 86 percent of this total income and 94 percent of the profit.

BUDGETS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Departments

Division of fiscal obligations and responsibilities between the national and local governments is not clearly defined; the present government has announced its plan to clarify the lines of demarcation.

Departments derive the bulk, in most cases 80 percent, of their revenues from taxes and monopolies. Various taxes, the majority of which were excise taxes on alcoholic beverages imported from other departments or from abroad and on beer and tobacco, made up 56 percent of the total departmental revenues in 1957. Income from monopolies, particularly from the production and sale of alcohol and distilled liquor, added 26 percent to the departmental income. The transfer of funds from the national treasury amounted to only 9 percent.

From the revenues the departments maintain their administrative agencies, spend about 22 percent of their funds on public works, 20 percent on education and promotion of cultural measures, 10 percent on public order and safety and about 10 percent on public debt.

The balanced revenues and expenditures of all 16 departments amounted to Col\$550 million in 1957. However, the budgets of the individual departments vary greatly in size according to their population and economic wealth. Thus the budget of the sparsely populated and underdeveloped Department of Chocó amounted to only Col\$3.7 million, while that of the highly industrialized Department of Antioquia to Col\$91.5 million. The combined budgets of only four populous and industrialized departments, Antioquia, Valle del Cauca, Cundinamarca and Caldas, constituted 56 percent of the total departmental revenues and expenditures.

Municipalities

The municipalities, about 805 in number, administer their own financial affairs. A small portion of their total revenue, usually about 6 to 7 percent, is derived from departmental and national government contributions, but most comes from real estate taxes, from issuing licenses to local enterprises, and from public services. In 1958, when the combined revenues of all municipalities amounted to Col\$680 million, taxes produced 33 percent, public services produced 42 percent and the contribution of higher governments amounted to 7 percent. Some economic activities, such as slaughtering livestock, is taxed by both departmental and municipal governments.

A fairly large portion of the local funds is absorbed by the administrative branch responsible for public finances. In 1958 the treasury departments of the municipalities spent 24 percent of the revenue, or 60 percent of all administrative expenses of the municipal governments. About 36 percent of the revenue was spent on public works, and only 3.4 percent on the public debt. Municipal governments spent 8.4 percent of their expenditure on education and about 12 percent on social benefits.

PUBLIC DEBT

The combined debt of the national, departmental and municipal governments amounted to Col\$1,886 million on December 31, 1958, of which Col\$1,481 million, or 79 percent, were the liabilities of the national government; Col\$228 million, or 12 percent, liabilities of the departmental governments; and Col\$177 million, or 9 percent, liabilities of the municipal governments. In addition, public enterprises added Col\$327 million to the debt of government bodies, thus raising the total public debt to Col\$2,213 million.

Both the national and the local governments have borrowed liberally from domestic and foreign sources to finance their budget deficits and to improve public services. As the national government gradually assumed a larger share of the responsibility for public works projects, particularly in the field of transportation and more recently in the area of energy production, local governments became less pressed for additional funds and were able to reduce their borrowing. In addition, borrowing on the local level has been restricted since 1928 by legislation which requires the approval of the national government for borrowings by the departmental and municipal governments. On the average about four-fifths of the public debt has been the responsibility of the national and one-fifth that of the local governments in recent years.

The source of domestic borrowing is mainly the sale of long-term government bonds and to a lesser degree of short- and medium-term securities. A few long-term bond issues with a maturity of 20 years or more, and an interest rate between 3 and 7 percent, constitute the bulk of domestic credit sources. The great variety of terms has produced an uneven treatment of bond owners, a condition which the government attempts to rectify by conversion and unification of several bond issues. Such a conversion took place, for example, in 1955 when Col\$355 million of the outstanding debt was unified into Consolidated National Bonds, an issue of 10-year maturity and 5 percent interest.

At present, over 50 percent of the bonds are in the hands of the central bank and the Stabilization Fund, and 30 percent is sub-

scribed by savings banks and insurance companies (see ch. 30, Banking and Currency System).

Because the return on government bonds is considerably lower than the potential profit margin on private business investments, the government has to promote the sale of bonds with the help of legislation. The compulsory purchase of bonds by a selected segment of the economy is secured through special decrees or through the incorporation of appropriate provisions into the law which authorizes the issuance of a specific government bond.

A 1940 decree, for example, requires all insurance companies to invest a minimum of 15 percent of their legal reserves into government bonds. In 1943 all urban enterprises employing 20 or more persons and possessing a capital of Col\$50,000 or more were compelled to maintain at least 5 percent of their legal reserves in Unified National Domestic Debt bonds. To finance the 1961 budget deficits and the first phase of the projected four-year investment plan, the government proposed to sell Col\$200 million worth of Economic Development Bonds on the open market, granting 8.5 percent interest and various benefits to the buyers.

Although the system of compulsory saving through the purchase of government bonds definitely assists the government in placing its debt, it discourages the development of a free market in bonds and affects adversely the development of private saving.

The external public debt amounted to only Col\$23 million in 1923. Between 1923 and the end of 1929, Colombia contracted some Col\$200 million worth of external debt, of which 48 percent was contracted by the national government, 37 percent by departmental governments, and the remaining 15 percent by municipal governments. The extensive borrowing abroad during this period was responsible for the relatively mild effects of the world depression, for an accelerated recovery, and for a strong impetus to industrialization during the late 1930's. But because of the financial difficulties caused by the depression and the hostilities with Peru, the government suspended servicing of its foreign debt in 1931 and did not contract new loans. Normal conditions were restored gradually, and by 1948 substantial new loans had been negotiated and contracted.

The placing of bonds on the private market abroad, which was the dominant method before World War II, has changed to the securing of loans from international financial institutions, such as the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). Between 1948 and 1953, Colombia contracted U.S.\$155 million worth of foreign loans, repaid U.S.\$47 million, and carried forward U.S.\$257 million. Between 1949 and 1960 it received about U.S.\$137 million from the IBRD, a

sum that represented about 16 percent of the Bank's Latin American assistance. The bulk of the loans was invested in the construction of highways, railroad, and power resources, some in agricultural machinery. Nonbanking international sources assisted in the financing of municipal public utilities.

The increased interest in development by the national government was revealed by the fact that by 1953 its share in the public debt had increased to 44 percent and that of autonomous agencies (quasi-governmental agencies) to 26 percent, whereas the share of the local governments had shrunk to 30 percent. By 1958 the share of the national government grew to 69 percent, and that of autonomous agencies and local governments decreased to 17 and 14 percent, respectively.

TRENDS

The present government, like its predecessors, firmly subscribes to the system of private enterprise; on the other hand, it has repeatedly expressed its belief that without the active participation of the public sector and direct intervention of the state the economy would not be able to develop at a sufficient scale. Hence, it is using the budget as an instrument to foster economic development. It attempts to stabilize its influence through long-range planning and increased public investment, while maintaining austerity in the area of administrative expenditures.

Long-range planning in the field of public finances as expressed in the 1961-64 investment and development plan promises a more economic utilization of the available financial sources. The plan proposes to increase the amount of public funds invested in economic development projects from 34 percent in 1961 to 37 percent in 1964 and simultaneously to increase the income received from capital sources from 5.4 to 6.7 percent. The fact that regional planning has preceded planning on a national level has caused difficulties in the integration of plans at both levels. When the general plan of public investments of the national government was drawn up, it proceeded to incorporate all regional programs into the general plan.

Signs of the growing concern over the "improvement of human resources" are expressed by a more permanent volume of funds to be allocated to education, public health and other social services. The Lleras government believes that social progress is dependent on economic development and that both have to be promoted forcefully even at the expense of the taxpayer by a larger participation of the public sector.

The passing of the new income tax law was a milestone in this direction, because it set forth more equitable tax provisions and

provided incentives to several types of development projects. Reforms concerned with indirect taxation, which have been in the planning stage since 1958, propose to levy gradual ad valorem taxes on the sale of goods according to their social usefulness, thereby directing private expenditures toward productive investment.

CHAPTER 30

BANKING AND CURRENCY SYSTEM

Colombia has nearly adequate banking facilities in urban areas, particularly in the large industrial centers, but lacks adequate services in rural regions. Including local branches of large national banks, there were 1,045 banking institutions in 1959, about twice as many as in 1949. The extensive geographical spread of banking facilities has been accompanied to a lesser extent by an extension of credit facilities to low-income groups. Because about half of the population does not share substantially in the money economy, credit operations have served a minority and have been used intensively only by firms and by persons of the upper-income brackets.

Conditions created by World War II resulted in an inflation of variable intensity which still prevailed in early 1961. The government which came into power in May 1957 took measures resulting in a limitation of the expansion of the money supply, but it could not completely halt inflationary trends.

STRUCTURE OF THE BANKING SYSTEM

The banking system consists of a central bank, 11 domestic and 5 foreign commercial banks, 2 mortgage banks, 2 savings banks and several specialized credit institutions. All banking activities are supervised by the Superintendency of Banking (Superintendencia Bancaria), an independent government agency.

Banks

The Central Bank

Colombia made several attempts to create a central bank before the present institution was founded in 1923. In 1890 the National Bank (Banco Nacional) was established, and its notes declared legal tender, but by 1894 it terminated its operations. In another attempt the Central Bank (Banco Central) was established in 1905, but it soon changed into a commercial bank and again left the country without a central bank.

Upon recommendation of a United States advisory group, the entire banking system was revised, and the present Bank of the Republic (Banco de la República) was established through the promul-

gation of Law 45 of 1923. Its contract with the government, projected for 20 years, was renewed in 1951 to last until 1973. The government is entitled to 75 percent of the bank's profit. The bank's structure and its relation to commercial banks have been established on lines similar to the United States Federal Reserve System. During the early years of its history, the bank's function centered around note issue and exchange stabilization.

When, under the influence of the depression of the 1930's the fiscal operations of the government became closely related to credit policy, several changes were made in the original charter, and the bank was vested with wide powers. It maintained its role as the bank of issue, continued to operate the mint and the salt and emerald monopolies, and was empowered to extend loans and rediscount facilities to other banks and governmental and quasi-governmental agencies. It also was used as an arm of the government in controlling inflation by regulating the reserve requirements of banks, determining interest rates and introducing other monetary devices.

The capital of the bank is subscribed by affiliated institutions. Commercial banks are required to invest 15 percent of their legal reserves and 5 percent of their time deposits in central bank stocks and are entitled to elect 3 of the 9 directors to the board. Three board members are selected by the government from panels proposed by commercial, industrial and agricultural associations, and one member is appointed by the National Federation of Coffee Growers. Private stockholders have no direct representative.

On December 31, 1960, the bank had deposits of Col\$1.4 billion (in April 1961, U.S.\$1 equaled Col\$6.70), outstanding loans, discounts, investments and other assets totaling Col\$2.6 billion, plus gold and exchange reserves of Col\$424 million (see table 1). At the end of the preceding year loans and discounts were distributed as follows: member banks, Col\$690 million; nonmember banks, Col\$14 million; individuals (includes such quasi-governmental agencies as the National Federation of Coffee Growers), Col\$664 million; and other official agencies, Col\$341 million. About Col\$180 million of the loans to member banks went to the Agrarian, Industrial and Mineral Credit Bank (Caja de Crédito Agrario, Industrial y Minero), a government-owned credit institution.

Illustrative of the expansion of the bank's operations is the fact that when, between 1940 and 1960, the index of money in circulation (inflation) rose from 12.3 to 314.7, the index of deposits rose from 16.8 to 441.7 and that of loans and credits from 17.0 to 423.5.

Commercial Banks

Among the 11 domestic commercial banks, the Bank of Bogotá, established in 1871, is the oldest. Other banks were founded in

Table 1. Balance Sheet of the Colombian Bank of the Republic, December 31, 1960

	Amount (in millions of pesos)
Assets:	
Gold and Foreign Exchange.....	423
Cash.....	9
Loans and Discounts.....	1,336
Investments and Public Debt.....	750
Other Assets.....	897
Total.....	3,915
Liabilities:	
Money in Circulation.....	1,662
Deposits with Banks, Internal Public Debt.....	1,235
Sight Deposits, Government.....	115
Private.....	5
Loans.....	81
Capital and Reserve.....	211
Other Liabilities.....	606
Total.....	3,915

Source: Adapted from Colombia, Banco de la República, *Revista del Banco de la República*, XXXIV, No. 400, 1961, p. 208.

subsequent years, but few survived the political disturbances and economic uncertainties which prevailed at the turn of the century. Their business centered around the issuance of circulating notes with little government supervision or restriction. Most of the institutions were owned by wealthy families which had their collateral in land or by individual businessmen with international capital. Unlike other Latin American countries, Colombia had few branches of foreign banks, perhaps for the same reasons that hampered the establishment of stable and permanent domestic institutions.

Between the end of the civil war of 1899-1903 and World War I, political tranquility and expansion of foreign trade created a more congenial atmosphere for economic development. In this period the foundations of modern Colombian banking were laid. The general banking law of 1923 codified all government measures pertaining to banking and credit and set firm rules for the establishment and operation of Colombian banks. Accordingly, commercial banks must possess a subscribed capital in proportion to the number of inhabitants of the location which they propose to serve, must maintain 20 percent of their capital as legal reserves and must submit to the periodic control of the Superintendency of Banking.

Nearly all commercial banks have branch offices in various parts of the country. The only United States bank which has a branch in Colombia is the First National City Bank of New York. Other foreign banks include the Royal Bank of Canada, Banco de Londres y Montreal, Ltda., Banco Francés e Italiano para la América del

Sur, and Banque Nationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie (of Paris).

On November 30, 1960, the 16 commercial banks had recorded gross assets of Col\$4,893 million pesos. Of this amount, cash in currency and deposits with the Bank of the Republic amounted to Col\$739 million, foreign assets to Col\$124 million, and loans to Col\$3,450 million. On the other hand, deposits constituted Col\$2,562 million of the liabilities: time savings and foreign currency deposits, Col\$763 million; foreign liabilities, Col\$153 million; capital accounts, Col\$644 million; and credit for the Bank of the Republic, Col\$544 million. About 43 percent of the outstanding loans were made to commerce, 30 percent to industry, including mining and construction, 21 percent to agriculture, and 6 percent to various other users. In 1950 banks were authorized to extend five-year loans (instead of one-year loans), and they are financing an important segment of the national economy.

Mortgage Banks

Mortgage banks were established with capital furnished mainly by the national government. After the functions of the earliest mortgage bank, the Agricultural Mortgage Bank (Banco Agrícola Hipotecario), founded in 1925, had been taken over by the Agrarian Credit Bank, only two institutions remained in this category: the Central Mortgage Bank (Banco Central Hipotecario), founded in 1932, and the People's Mortgage Bank (Banco Hipotecario Popular), founded in 1954. Their function is to supply long-term credit with gradual amortization to various areas of the economy. They can incur obligations up to 15 times their assets and give loans up to 50 percent of the value of the mortgaged property.

Savings banks must invest 40 percent of their deposits and insurance companies 15 percent of their reserves in mortgage bank bonds. There are few private holders of bonds, although they are listed on the Stock Exchange.

On December 31, 1960, the combined balance of mortgage banks was Col\$1,022 million. Mortgage bonds in circulation amounted to Col\$592 million, *cédulas de capitalización* (bonds paid for in installments, with a lottery feature) amounted to Col\$190 million, industrial bonds to Col\$89 million, and other liabilities to Col\$151 million. Assets consisted of mortgage loans of Col\$627 million, other loans of Col\$211 million, investments of Col\$83 million, and various other assets of Col\$101 million.

Savings Banks

For many years the government-owned Colombian Savings Bank (Caja Colombiana de Ahorros), founded in 1931, held a monopoly of savings operations. It established a wide network of some 200

branch offices and had over 600,000 accounts by 1950. In 1949, however, new regulations authorized commercial banks to open savings departments, and in 1955 the government merged its savings bank with the Agrarian Credit Bank.

On December 31, 1960, the total savings deposits in Colombia amounted to Col\$629 million, of which Col\$354 million or more than half of the total was held by the Agrarian Credit Bank, Col\$258 million by the savings departments of commercial banks, and Col\$22 million by the Workmen's Circle (Circulo de Obreros), a kind of credit union.

The Agrarian Credit Bank

The Agrarian, Industrial and Mineral Credit Bank has grown from a relatively modest beginning in 1931 to the major source of agricultural credit and development in Colombia. Its capital, owned by the government, has been increased gradually, and its activities have extended into fields other than credit operations. In 1955 the bank established its own savings department. It is the government's most important arm in the execution of development plans, such as land reclamation, colonization and irrigation, and plays a significant role in the purchase and distribution of farm machinery, fertilizers and farm supplies (see ch. 27, Agricultural Potential).

The Agrarian Credit Bank functions through its main office in Bogotá, 14 branch offices established in departmental capitals and 400 field offices. It grants credit on terms ranging from 3 months to 15 years, oriented mainly toward the small-scale farmers.

The average loan provided by the bank in 1959 was Col\$1,318 or less than U.S.\$200. The nearly 460,000 loans authorized by the bank during the same year amounted to Col\$606 million, or about one-sixth of the commercial bank loans. Since commercial banks extend about 21 percent of their credit to agriculture, the bank actually doubles the agricultural credit volume through its operations.

Big landowners and owners of cattle farms apply for credit to commercial banks or the Cattlemen's Bank (Banco Ganadero), another government-operated credit agency, established in 1956. On December 31, 1960, the combined balance of the Agrarian Credit Bank and the Cattlemen's Bank was Col\$1,795 million.

Other Credit Institutions

In addition to the Agrarian Credit Bank and the Cattlemen's Bank, several quasi-governmental credit institutions operate in the capital market and exert a marked influence on economic development.

The Stabilization Fund (Fondo de Estabilización) was established in 1937 to regulate and stabilize the government bond market.

Gradually it acquired new responsibilities and during World War II managed impounded foreign property. Since 1950 it has made loans to governmental and quasi-governmental agencies promoting specific economic development projects. Its funds come mainly from import deposits and are used to develop the steel and power industries (see ch. 32, Foreign Economic Relations). The financial operations of the agency are confidential.

In the field of agricultural financing the National Coffee Fund (Fondo Nacional de Café), established in 1940 and managed by the National Federation of Coffee Growers, plays a decisive role through purchasing and storing surplus coffee. Also founded and financed by the National Federation of Coffee Growers is the Coffee Bank (Banco Cafetero), which has the characteristics of a private bank and centers its interest on financing efforts likely to promote coffee production. Other institutions established to encourage economic development include the Cotton Institute (Instituto de Fomento Algodonero) and similar agencies specializing in the promotion of one crop or one type of livestock (see ch. 27, Agricultural Potential).

Similar patterns emerge in other areas of the economy. The Industrial Development Institute (Instituto de Fomento Industrial) plays a prominent role in securing financial means of establishing major industrial enterprises such as the Paz del Río steel mill; the Institute for the Utilization of Water and Electric Development promotes the power industry (see ch. 28, Industrial Potential).

The Territorial Credit Institute (Instituto de Crédito Territorial) was created to promote inexpensive housing through credit operations. It provides cash loans and material assistance to cooperatives and individuals who engage in such construction. It also supports local governmental housing projects and construction of housing to be rented to low-income families. The institute secured its initial capital partially through government cash contribution, partially through a 3 percent excise tax which now is channeled to the Paz del Río steel mill (see ch. 29, Public Finance).

The Municipal Development Fund (Fondo de Fomento Municipal) is actually not a credit institution but rather a quasi-governmental agency which allocates public revenue to special developmental undertakings. The fund is subordinate to the Ministry of Finance and directed by a joint committee composed of the heads of the ministries in charge of finance, education and social affairs.

The Stock Exchange

As of mid-1961 the Bogotá Stock Exchange (Bolsa de Valores de Bogotá), established in 1928, was the only such institution in the country; however, the founding of a stock exchange in Medellín was

decided upon late in 1960. The Bogotá Stock Exchange has played an increasingly important role in the economy. Its capital and legal reserves have multiplied 10 times since World War II, yet its position is not as central nor its influence as broad as that of similar institutions in more highly developed countries. In 1960, only 116 companies, including banks, registered their stocks, and only rudimentary provisions were made to accommodate the needs of new companies. Limitations on the stock exchange force new companies to reinvest their profits in their own operations and to obtain capital through personal contacts.

The capital of the Bogotá Stock Exchange has been kept at Col\$1.6 million for some years. Transactions amounted to Col\$326 million in 1960, as compared with Col\$312 million in 1959. Most transactions centered in the field of bonds, followed by industrial shares and a relatively mild turnover in bank shares.

Brokers are located in many of the larger industrial cities. Their activities, not unlike those of the Bogotá Stock Exchange, are controlled by the Superintendency of Banking.

Insurance Companies

The seemingly small volume of savings invested in insurance policies has become one of the largest sources of capital in Colombia. The gross assets of some 60 insurance companies amounted to over Col\$5 billion in 1958. The face value of the insurance policies in effect at the end of 1958 reached Col\$23 billion, of which Col\$12 billion were fire insurance policies, Col\$2 billion life insurance policies, Col\$5 billion transportation insurance policies, and Col\$4 billion other types of insurance policies. Domestic companies have written 75 percent and foreign companies 25 percent of all policies.

Insurance companies are required by law to invest 15 percent of their total assets in bonds issued by the national government, 10 percent in bonds of the Agrarian Credit Bank and 15 percent of their technical reserves in mortgage loans. In reality insurance companies invest about two-thirds of their funds in public and industrial bonds and stocks. Since World War II they invested about 45 to 50 percent of their funds in public securities and 23 to 27 percent in industrial and bank shares.

Cooperatives

The cooperative movement grew from a modest organization of 4 cooperatives, 1,087 members, and Col\$46,000 of initial capital in 1933 to a substantial network of 500 cooperatives, 250,000 members, and Col\$65 million of paid-in capital in 1960. Initiated and subsidized by the national or local governments and controlled by the Superintendency of Cooperatives (Superintendencia Nacional de Co-

operativas), the movement failed to produce skilled grass-root leadership and has lacked popular support. Some Colombian economists believe that if employers stopped deducting cooperative membership contributions from the wages and salaries of their employees, most of the cooperatives would collapse overnight. Because the movement did not grow from below but was imposed on selected groups from above, attitudes toward the leadership are characterized by distrust and sometimes passionate opposition which often results in liquidation of the unit. About as many cooperatives have become bankrupt since 1933 as were in existence in mid-1961.

The lack of initiative and voluntary cooperation on the part of the membership does not, however, reduce the utilization of services that the cooperatives offer. Perhaps as many as 80 or 90 percent of the cooperatives would qualify as credit unions rather than genuine cooperatives in the United States. They are dedicated to short-term credit operations and extend short-term loans to their membership even in excess of their capital reserves. When a cooperative needs additional funds, it usually borrows from commercial banks or from the National Cooperative Fund (Fundo Cooperativo Nacional), which was established to extend long-term, low-interest loans.

Some cooperatives, in which genuine cooperation and contribution have been exercised in terms of labor, material, equipment and cash of the members, have recorded notable achievements. Housing cooperatives have constructed several thousand housing units for the use of both members and nonmembers. Some rural cooperatives have been successful in agricultural production and marketing; others, such as cooperatives of 86 Antioquian municipalities, have engaged in the construction of public works projects.

Education for cooperative action and administration of cooperatives is promoted by both the government and the National League of Cooperatives with the assistance of the Organization of American States (OAS) and foreign aid.

FINANCING

The Credit System

Scarcity of capital, lack of coordination between the different credit sources pursuing their partisan or specialized goals and maldistribution of public and private funds in the capital market, all contribute to the multitude of credit policies which characterizes the Colombian system.

Interest rates vary greatly, depending on the source of credit and the qualifications of the borrower. The well-to-do with good securities find it easy to obtain loans on favorable terms from the major credit institutions within the limit of available funds, but the little man who can produce few tangible securities or only character ref-

erences may have to pay high interest rates if he succeeds in obtaining a loan at all.

Although agriculture is the sector in which the credit system is best developed, it suffers from acute capital shortage. This has been particularly true for the small farmer or new landowner. As social considerations gain influence in politics, government provisions are made to channel more funds to and liberalize credit for agriculture, particularly for the use of low-income groups. In the area of coffee production the credit mechanism has been successful, particularly against warehouse deposits, but the same conditions do not exist in other production areas. Most credit is still based on real estate or other property guarantees, although the terms and interest rates of the Agrarian Credit Bank are more liberal than those of commercial banks and show particular favor to new settlers in the designated areas of colonization and parcelization (see ch. 27, Agricultural Potential).

The distribution pattern of loans granted by the Agrarian Credit Bank in 1959-60 reflects the fact that the poor man still has great difficulties in obtaining credit. Of all loans, amounting to Col\$432 million, 83.5 percent was granted to landowners, 9.5 percent to tenants, 2.5 percent to settlers, only 1.4 percent to sharecroppers, and the remainder to cooperatives and others. An established farmer with collateral, however, can borrow up to Col\$40,000 for 1 year at 6 percent interest; for a 1.5- to 8-year period at 8 percent; and for 6 to 15 years at 9 percent interest. For construction of farm buildings loans are available at 5 percent interest, and other favorable rates are available for loans up to Col\$120,000 for farm machinery, up to Col\$200,000 for irrigation purposes, and so forth.

Commercial banks provide loans only on securities which the small entrepreneur seldom can produce. They provide 90-day loans at 6 percent interest, mortgage loans at 9 percent and more. Mortgage banks give loans at 7 percent interest, but deliver them in mortgage bonds which, when crashed, usually produce less than their face value, thus considerably increasing the cost of borrowing.

Continuous pressure is exerted on the government by interest groups and agencies involved in economic development for the liberalization of credit restrictions. It is expected that the government will increase the credit capacity of banks by reducing the percentage of their cash reserves against demand liabilities from the present 23 percent to 17 percent. The lending capacity of the People's Bank (Banco Popular) was expanded when it was permitted to maintain only 3 percent of its savings deposits in cash and devote 55 percent of its loan portfolio to loans up to Col\$25,000 (instead of Col\$15,000), and 30 percent to loans from Col\$25,000 to Col\$150,000 (instead of Col\$15,000 to Col\$50,000).

Industry is more favored in terms of available credit than any other branch of the economy. Foreign and domestic funds are available on reasonable terms to the industrialists, but the beginner encounters difficulties in obtaining loans and is more likely to succeed if he is affiliated with established enterprises. Existing enterprises often branch out into new fields, using their profits or family wealth as capital. Perhaps the greatest shortage of credit in industry exists in the area of public utilities, where rates have to be raised to offset the losses caused by inflation. Sociopolitical factors often make it difficult to raise rates, a condition which in turn endangers the profitability of the investment and thus diverts capital from public utilities. These conditions stimulate plans for nationalization of public utility companies.

The realization by the government of the acute shortage of low-cost housing gave rise to an extensive housing credit system. Various governmental and quasi-governmental agencies have been engaged in extending credit for housing, but according to foreign observers, their terms are still not low enough. The Territorial Credit Institute extends housing loans through other agencies or directly to farmers at 2 percent interest and constructs, sells or rents houses of its own. But basic conditions for obtaining a loan or the price of a home is still too high to be met by a subsistence farmer or agricultural laborer. The housing section of the National Federation of Coffee Growers, municipal housing programs and housing cooperatives also provide loans in cash and in material.

The volume of credit operations outside the established credit institutions is not registered and consequently is almost impossible to evaluate. It is common practice for commerce and industry to extend credit in their respective fields of interest at rates similar to or slightly higher than those of commercial banks when the borrower is a family member or trusted friend. The rural masses and a considerable segment of the low-income urban population do not participate in the institutional credit life of the economy, either as savers or as borrowers. In rural areas the landlord of a certain area is still the source of emergency loans for tenants, sharecroppers and subsistence farmers living on or near his land. In urban areas moneylenders occasionally charge as much as 36 percent on short-term loans.

Investment

An attempt at gradual elimination of underdeveloped conditions requires heavy investment not only in overhead and productive capital in the economy but also in social expenditures such as the construction and operation of schools and hospitals. Because the pressure for social investments has manifested itself considerably less than that for productive investment, Colombia has shown a

concentration in productive capital investment, which resulted in a higher rate of development than similar volumes of investment centered in social expenditures produced for other Latin American countries. According to United Nations estimates, from the increase in capital between 1945 and 1953, some 16 percent has been invested in housing, 18 percent in transportation, 31 percent in industry and 16 percent in agriculture.

The ratio of public to private investment in total gross domestic investment has been 1:3 in recent years. The heaviest public investment was concentrated in transportation and energy production, the lightest in industry (see ch. 29, Public Finance).

Capital Formation

The sources of investment and capital formation are private and public savings within the country and capital from abroad. Personal savings have tripled between 1950 and 1958, but they constitute a relatively small portion of the total savings because of the low general income level. Nevertheless, the combined savings of individuals, banks, industries and life-insurance companies made up four-fifths of all savings; government savings added one-fifth. Savings of business enterprises are the most significant. Because of the relatively low interest rates paid on cash deposits and on government bonds, business is inclined to reinvest its profits in existing or new enterprises which promise a higher rate of return. This practice results in an uneven distribution of investment which does not necessarily serve to promote over-all economic development.

The government devotes about 30 to 35 percent of its budgetary funds to investment (see ch. 29, Public Finance). Banks are authorized to use 4 percent of their legal reserves for credit, of which 50 percent may be granted for economic development, 30 percent for production of essential raw materials and 20 percent for regular bank loans.

CURRENCY

The monetary unit is the Colombian peso, a nonconvertible paper money divided into 100 centavos. The par value of the peso as approved by the International Monetary Fund on December 17, 1948, is 0.455,733 grams of fine gold. The official exchange rate of the monetary unit has changed, however, from Col\$1.95 to the U.S.\$1 in 1948 to Col\$6.70 pesos to the U.S.\$1 (free exchange rate to Col\$8.33) in April 1961. The currency is issued in 1, 2, 5, 10, 50, 100 and 500 peso banknotes and 5, 10, 20 and 50 centavos coins.

Evolution

The earliest monetary legislation after independence occurred in 1821 and ordered that new coins must have the same qualities as

those of the colonial period. Mints in Bogotá and Popayán produced gold and silver coins, and legally as well as in practice, a bimetallic system existed. Between 1849 and 1874, when the value of gold was low on the world market, silver coins were accepted at a premium over gold coins. In the 1870's the process began to be reversed. In 1871 the first paper money was issued, and banking was initiated.

In the late 1870's an intensive outflow of gold and silver, political unrest and uncontrolled issues of banknotes by private banks in addition to those issued by the short-lived central bank foreshadowed further economic and political difficulties which culminated in the 1899-1903 civil war. The war resulted in a soaring inflation because the national government, local authorities and even military commanders printed large quantities of banknotes. It is estimated that by 1903 the total of the various issues reached Col\$850 million, as compared with Col\$4 million in 1885.

In the years following 1903 a sound currency was re-established, and legislative measures to promote a stable and modern monetary development were passed. A legal tender was established, and paper money was accepted at a rate of 100 paper pesos to 1 gold peso. The gold peso was declared equivalent to the United States dollar. In 1909 the Conversion Board (*Junta de Conversión*) was established as a forerunner of the present central bank. Its main functions consisted of issuing coins, exchanging worn-out notes and administering a conversion fund which eventually grew to provide substantial backing for the issue.

In the course of the stabilization, English gold coins were made legal tender to supplement the paper money at the rate of £1 to Col\$500. New Colombian silver coins were put into circulation in 1911, and the Medellín mint started to produce gold coins in 1914. In 1916 new paper notes, the *billetes representativos de oro* (gold notes), slightly in excess of Col\$10 million, replaced the large issue in circulation since the civil war.

World War I had no lasting effects on the monetary system. A money shortage was met by various substitute papers rather than by an increase of the issue. *Cédulas hipotecarias* (mortgage bonds), bearing an interest of 2 to 4 percent and *bonos bancarios* (bank bonds) and *cédulas de tesorería* (treasury bonds), bearing a 2 percent interest rate, were issued. The postwar deterioration of foreign trade made necessary another issue of Col\$6 million worth of treasury bonds, but none of the emergency issue resulted in a pronounced inflation.

A new phase in the history of the Colombian currency began with the creation of the present Bank of the Republic in 1923, which became the fiscal agent of the government and the sole source of

issue. The gold standard was suspended and foreign exchange control initiated, and Colombia faced the end of the 1930's with a strong and stable currency.

Inflation

Inflationary forces have been at work for the last 20 years, but in somewhat milder form than in the rest of Latin America. The index of money in circulation rose from 11.4 in 1940 to 359.5 in 1960 (100=1952). During the same period of time the cost of living index changed from 25.3 to about 190. This inflationary development is only partially explained by the expansion of the economy. Scarcity of imported goods and the continuous inflow of export earnings during World War II resulted in an increased accumulation of purchasing power which was channeled mainly into stock and real estate speculations. In addition, coffee prices went up, and in 1942 the Export-Import Bank began to extend loans to Colombia. Thus, credit facilities increased, and consequently prices of consumer goods rose.

The trend continued after the war when a return to normal foreign trade relations gave impetus to the import of capital goods and to domestic investments. Bank credits were expanded to private and public borrowers, and the public budget grew.

One effect of the inflation was an increase in gross capital formation, but it also directed capital to areas where large profits were possible within the shortest possible time. Investments were not always congruent with the basic needs of the national economy, and they were responsible for the uneven development of the various branches of the economy. Vigorous anti-inflationary measures during and after World War II retarded the deterioration of the peso; the value accelerated again in the 1950's and took a sharp upturn after the coffee boom had ended, and the volume in imports was not adjusted to the reduced volume of available foreign exchange earnings. The crisis was aggravated by corruption in government, rural unrest and excessive military expenditure. By the end of 1956 the unpaid commercial debts of Colombia reached an estimated \$300 million. Hasty currency and import tax reforms brought no relief, and by the time the Rojas Pinilla regime was ousted in 1957, external commercial debts were nearly \$600 million. The peso lost 67 percent of its value between 1951 and 1957.

The rapid inflationary trend which almost got out of hand was arrested by drastic changes in currency control in May 1957. The new regime assumed the external commercial debts and initiated a more liberal exchange system based on two rates: a fluctuating certificate rate, the certificates of which were created by the surrender of exchange receipts from exports; and a free market rate (see ch. 32, Foreign Economic Relations).

These measures did not halt inflation completely, but aided by austerity in government expenditure, improved economic planning and foreign assistance, they have slowed it down considerably as shown by the changes in the free dollar rates: 1957, Col\$6.03; 1958, Col\$7.59; 1959, Col\$7.69; 1960, Col\$6.92; and on April 30, 1961, Col\$8.33.

During 1960 the peso remained relatively stable. The disquieting rise in the free exchange rate during the early months of 1961 is believed attributable to a temporary flight of capital after the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba in April, and it is believed that exchange rates will follow the annual pattern by falling below the spring level during the summer and fall.

Government Agencies of Control

The government exercises control over the different phases of banking and credit operations, as well as administering all currency activities through the Ministry of Finance. In carrying out its responsibilities it is assisted by the Bank of the Republic, by the Exchange Registration Office and by such agencies as the Superintendency of Banks and the Superintendency of Cooperatives.

CHAPTER 31

DOMESTIC TRADE

The contribution of domestic trade to the gross national product in 1959 was estimated at about 9 percent and that of transportation at about 5.4 percent, both figures representing increases of over 30 percent during the last decade. The increase has been caused by the growth of the total population, the development of domestic industries, changes in consumer habits, an increase in imports and an increased volume of foreign tourist traffic.

It is estimated that about 40 percent of the population participate in the market economy of the country or engage in the sale and purchase of goods to an economically significant degree. The remaining 60 percent contribute little or nothing to commerce. Trade is a significant source of income for about 260,000 persons, or some 5.4 percent of those affected by trade, and transportation is the main source of income for possibly as many as 170,000 persons.

Although the relative number of persons engaged in trade has not changed appreciably during the previous ten years, the volume of trade in relation to the number of persons engaged in it has grown considerably. Other statistical data relevant to domestic trade are largely unavailable or conflicting.

Domestic trade patterns have only begun to develop on a national level and still reflect the numerous and varied regional divisions of the country. Each region is to a large extent commercially self-contained. Most of the commercial products entering or leaving a region usually are a part of the nation's import-export trade. The development of a national market is closely geared to supply and demand in the field of foreign trade. However, raw materials for local industry in the various regions tend increasingly to flow through national trade channels.

High distribution costs, caused mainly by the inadequacies of the transportation system, a lack of adequate storage facilities, and a general desire for excessive profits, work to retard the expansion of nationally organized domestic trade.

The construction and maintenance of railroad and highway links between settlement clusters is unusually expensive, not only because of formidable physical barriers, but also because long sections must pass through areas either of low or no production which cannot

contribute to the volume of business. For this and other reasons progress in construction has been slow even though public investment in transport has been relatively high, in fact higher than the returns from it.

At present (1961), therefore, the country's surface transportation system, although greatly improved during the last two decades, remains more regional than national in character, and the movement of goods between major settlement clusters is small, slow and costly. The frequent transfer of goods from one form of transportation to another is accompanied by extensive breakage and pilferage, with resulting high insurance rates. These conditions, encouraging the development of new and better means of transportation, contributed to the creation in 1919 of the first commercial airline of the Western Hemisphere in Colombia, and the building of petroleum pipe lines in the 1920's (see ch. 28, Industrial Potential).

A lack of adequate storage facilities, particularly for perishable agricultural goods, forces a seasonal flow of produce to market, with consequent wide price fluctuations. It also works to limit both production and consumption and therefore causes the loss of millions of dollars in national income. Refrigeration for the storage of meat, dairy products and eggs is almost nonexistent. The scarcity of slaughterhouses, combined with inadequacies in transportation, causes great losses because of the need to transport beef cattle on the hoof. Crops such as coffee, barley, cacao, rice and oilseed, for which there is a relatively well-developed processing industry, are less affected.

Domestic trade has also been affected, as have other fields of economic endeavor, by the domination of single families, which often control entire enterprises or types of enterprises.

TRADE

Retail Trade

Retail trade takes many forms; it varies from house-to-house peddling to open markets, from wayside inns to large city department stores. Goods are bought or sold locally or brought to the centers of population clusters, but few cross regional boundaries to enter the national market. In remote villages, where subsistence farming is predominant, local trade is almost nonexistent, since almost everyone in the community produces the same type of goods. Vendors may pass through such villages selling some manufactured goods, and the farmer may buy some manufactured goods at wayside inns which carry a limited selection of merchandise, mainly beverages, tobacco, toilet articles and the like.

Most of the essential items not produced on the local farms are obtained at markets which are commonly found in larger communities or at trading posts scattered along the roads and mule paths. The farmer also sells his surplus at these markets and trading posts. The frequency of market days, the size of the market and the variety of merchandise offered depend more on the location of the market community than on its size. Communities off the beaten path have small and infrequent markets on such occasions as holidays or fiestas, while even small communities located along thoroughfares have at least one weekly market day and often a minor, second market day.

The small-scale marketing of farm products is usually the job of women, as is the buying of food and other items for the household. The few men seen in small market places are usually out-of-town merchants; men engage only in major transactions, especially those involving the sale and purchase of livestock.

Business is conducted on a cash-and-carry basis, and bargaining is almost compulsory. To make a good bargain, that is, to sell at a high profit, is viewed as essential for men; women attach less significance to the amount of profit as long as they have a good bargaining session with the buyer. Metric weights and measurements are used, and in case of dispute, an official of the municipality can be summoned to settle the argument with an accurate official scale, for a small fee.

Merchants pitch tents at market places, or, in larger communities, establish permanent stores on or near the market place. In addition to manufactured goods, they often sell the same local commodities that are elsewhere available at the market. Because the permanent stores keep open on other than market days, they only partially are subject to the competition of the open market, and their prices are usually somewhat higher.

To the extent that a national market has been developing, it has been especially stimulated by the recent development of railroad and motor transport. The resulting faster movement of merchandise has not only made more possible the distribution of perishable farm products, but it also has reduced the time required for distribution in general and thus allowed more time for production. Where highways have replaced mule paths the farmer can take his product to market and return to his home in a fraction of the time required before, and, although the higher transportation costs have raised the price of products, the farmer has been able to produce and market a larger quantity than before.

In large cities, modern specialty shops and large department stores offering a great variety of goods set a pattern of trade similar to that familiar in the United States. Some of the places of retail distribution are operated by wholesale houses and manufacturing

enterprises, but they are the exception rather than the rule. Retail enterprises are mainly family enterprises in which members of a family or larger kinship group cooperate more closely with each other than with outsiders and assume that their descendants will follow in their footsteps.

Wholesale Trade

Wholesale distribution enterprises sometimes engage in retail distribution. Firms engaged in selling on the retail level in large communities, for example, may act as wholesale houses for retailers in adjacent communities and supply general shops and vendors in outlying districts. They are able to do so because of their better financial position and storage facilities.

Some manufacturers take orders from and ship products directly to retailers, some with and some without the use of local salesmen or representatives. Such representatives are usually members of the family group which owns the industry or their trusted friends living in the target area. Most cement factories, of which there are very many located in most of the country's principal communities, sell directly to retailers or to customers. Most textile factories, on the other hand, are more thoroughly concentrated in specific areas and sell through local salesmen or middlemen. Petroleum companies maintain their own storage facilities and distribute their products directly to gas stations. Because of the general inadequacy of storage facilities, building up reserves on the wholesale level in most sectors of trade is the exception rather than the rule.

Organization of Trade

The establishment and operation of trade enterprises is regulated by the Código de Comercio Colombiano (Commercial Code) issued in 1887. Decree No. 2521 of 1950 amended and implemented previous commercial laws, especially those related to corporate enterprises. In accordance with the provisions of law, there are several forms of business enterprise, in addition to those of individual merchants, which are registered with local Chambers of Commerce.

The *sociedad colectiva*, which closely resembles the general partnership, may have two or more partners who enter into a contract executed before a notary public. The name of the business must contain the name of at least one of the partners and the words *y Compañía* (and company, or *e Hijos* (and sons) or *Hermanos* (brothers).

The *sociedad en comandita*, not unlike the limited partnership in the United States, consists of two types of partners: the *comanditario*, one who contributes capital and shares the liabilities to the extent of his contribution and whose name must not appear in the

name of the company; and the *colectivo* or *gestor*, who has the right of management. If the interest of the *comanditario* is in shares, the company is called a *sociedad en comandita por acciones*.

The Colombian counterpart of a company of limited liability is the *sociedad de responsabilidad limitada*, which is organized very much along the lines of the *sociedad colectiva*. The name of the firm must display the name of at least one member and the word *limitada*. Partnership is restricted to 20 members, the liability of each member being limited to the amount he has contributed.

The *sociedad anónima*, abbreviated S.A., has the same essential characteristics as a corporation in the United States. The liability to stockholders who subscribe its shares is limited to the extent of their share holdings. A minimum of five shareholders is necessary for the organization of such a corporation, which must register with and obtain a permit from the Superintendencia de Sociedades Anónimas or, if a financial institution, from the Superintendencia Bancaria (see ch. 30, Banking and Currency System).

There is no antitrust legislation, and large corporations, as well as small businesses, are generally family or family group enterprises. A few companies only, such as the Bavaria breweries or the Compañía Colombiana de Tejidos (Colombian Textile Company), have large numbers of shareholders. The administration of a corporation is entrusted to a board of directors who meet infrequently; directorships are coveted plums providing their holders with large incomes often irrespective of the profits or losses of the company.

Little discrimination is directed against foreign nationals engaged in business. Aliens may engage in all types of commercial activities if they subject themselves to the jurisdiction of Colombian courts and waive their rights to diplomatic representation. Alien participation is, however, restricted in coastal shipping and aviation companies, in which foreigners may hold not more than 60 and 51 percent of the shares respectively.

Cámaras de Comercio (Chambers of Commerce) are organized and function in the capital cities of all departments. Their membership represents both commercial and noncommercial sectors of the economy, including professional persons. Chambers of Commerce do not engage in promotion activities, but act as semiofficial agencies within their respective official areas of jurisdiction. All business establishments register with the Chambers of Commerce, which provide them with various necessary certificates and information, keep records of commercial establishments and activities, and set up arbitration tribunals.

Since the role of the Chambers of Commerce is semiofficial, both wholesale and retail tradesmen have united independently in the organization of an interest group called the Federación Nacional de

Comerciantes—FENALCO (National Federation of Traders), which, with its counterpart in industry, the **Asociación Nacional de Industriales—ANDI** (National Association of Industrialists), exercises significant influence in the shaping of national economic policies.

Consumer cooperatives, distributing food, clothing, tires, agricultural implements and many other commodities, have played an increasing role in the distribution of goods since 1932 (see ch. 30, Banking and Currency System).

The Role of Government

Direct government participation in trade is not extensive. The national government retains a few monopolies such as those on the sale of emeralds and salt; the local governments, that on the sale of liquor. In addition to its participation in production, the government participates directly in the merchandising of oil, iron, and several services related to trade, such as power, transportation and communication.

The indirect participation of the government is manifested through market and price regulations, and through the activities of quasi-governmental agencies in the buying and selling of certain commodities. The government imposed a fairly effective price ceiling on the principal foodstuffs in 1958 to retard inflation. Prices of items to which the ceiling applies have only risen slowly over the November 30, 1957 level, which constitutes the base ceiling. Only the ceilings on beef, vegetables and milk have since been raised.

The government also influences the market through the maintenance of price supports for certain goods, in order to promote the country's economic self-sufficiency. The spectacular increase of cotton output, which turned Colombia from a cotton-import to a cotton-export country within two years after 1958, resulted in part from government support of prices which, in 1959, was 18 percent higher than in the previous year. Soybeans, wheat, barley, cottonseed, rice and corn also enjoy price support.

The danger of price support based purely on domestic considerations is that goods so supported tend to become overpriced and thereby lose their ability to compete on the world market. On the other hand, goods for which price ceilings are established may turn up on the black market at higher prices. The government attempts to protect the domestic market from such irregularities by setting prices geared to those on the world market, and through the implementation of export and import regulations (see ch. 32, Foreign Economic Relations).

Quasi-governmental agencies, often more powerful than a governmental department, execute price control through the purchase,

storage and sale of selected goods. The most powerful of these agencies are the Corporación de Defensa de Productos Agrícolas—INA (Corporation for the Protection of Agricultural Products), the Caja de Crédito Agrario, Industrial y Mineros (Agrarian, Industrial, and Mineral Credit Bank), the Federación Nacional de Cafeteros (National Federation of Coffee Growers), and the Instituto de Fomento Algodonero—IFA (Cotton Institute) (see ch. 27, Agricultural Potential).

TRANSPORTATION

For centuries rivers were the best and, at places, the only avenues of transport. Eventually pack trails branched out from the settlement centers, establishing contact between production areas and urban cores, as well as with the principal river ports. On these trails goods moved by mule or, on steep grades, by block and tackle. Vehicles on wheels appeared in many regions only at the end of the nineteenth century, and in some regions have not appeared even yet.

In 1852 a macadam toll road was opened between Bogotá and Facatativá (toward Honda), but other roads were still mule roads. The first overland connection, established in 1866 between Cali and the Dagua River and hence with the Pacific Ocean, was no more than a mule road. The road that established contact between Cali and Palmira in 1869 was very much the same.

Railroad construction with government and private capital began in the 1870's but on a regional and sectional basis. Of 14 railroad lines in operation by 1912, the longest ran a distance of only 85 miles, and the total length of all lines was only 600 miles.

A journey between Bogotá and Medellín, a distance of 150 miles as the crow flies, took 6 days under favorable conditions as late as the 1920's. The traveler had to change means of transportation eight times: at Facatativá from meter-gauge to yard gauge trains; at Girardot from train to boat; at Honda from boat to train, to go around the rapids; at La Dorada again to a boat; at Puerto Berrío to a train up to the pass; to road transport for a journey over the Central Cordillera; and finally back to a train on the other side of the mountains to Medellín.

Direct railroad connections between Medellín and Puerto Berrío was established through a tunnel in 1929, and highway contact in the 1930's. Medellín and Cali, practically in the same valley, established railroad contact as late as 1942, while railroad connection between the interior and the Atlantic Coast was an achievement delayed until 1961.

Inland Waterways

Fourteen navigable rivers with 88 river ports have served the country since preconquest days as main arteries of transportation and communication. In the more remote regions their role has re-

remained unchanged. Surface transportation in eastern Colombia is almost exclusively restricted to the tributaries of the Amazon and Orinoco rivers; rivers still remain the main highways of the Chocó.

Along the valleys formed by the three ranges of the northern Andes, the Magdalena and Cauca rivers offered convenient natural routes to the Spanish settlers approaching from the Caribbean Coast toward the interior. They have remained significant routes of transportation for men, livestock and goods, although their use has been limited in most parts by seasonal fluctuation in the water level. The Magdalena River, which carried 95 percent of the recorded commercial inland water transport, or some 300,000 passengers, 200,000 head of cattle, and 2 million metric tons of cargo annually, may be navigated above Puerto Wilches only with difficulty during the dry seasons. These periods occur twice a year and last about three months each.

Many of the highland settlements have established links with the river through tributaries, feeder roads, railroads, cable lines and pipelines. Modern warehouses exist at such ports on the Magdalena River as Calamar, Puerto Wilches, Barrancabermeja, Puerto Barrio, Puerto Salgar, La Dorada and Honda. Above Honda, some 615 miles from the Caribbean, rapids interrupt navigation, which is possible above them only to Neiva for small shallow-draft vessels.

Transportation on the Magdalena is provided by a river fleet consisting of nearly 200 towboats and 300 barges with a total capacity of 170,000 tons. Three-fourths of the towboats and over half of the barges are owned and operated by the Magdalena Public Service Fleet. Oil companies own about 30 vessels and 100 barges; the remainder are operated by various private owners.

The 90-mile-long Canal del Dique, constructed during colonial times, connects the Magdalena River at Calamar with the Caribbean seaport of Cartagena. Some 50,000 metric tons of cargo pass along the canal in each direction annually. Because of heavy silt deposits, the canal must be dredged continuously in order to preserve the necessary 8-foot depth.

The recorded transportation on the Cauca and Sinú rivers each amounts to 2 percent of the national total. The remaining 1 percent represents the contribution of the Arauca and Meta rivers, as well as the token transport performed on the Guaviare, Jaquetá, Putumayo and six other navigable rivers. In the rain forests and jungles, rivers provide practically the only means of communication for the local people and their goods.

Seaports and Coastwise Shipping

Cartagena, on the Caribbean Coast, was founded in 1533. Although Barranquilla and Santa Marta, the other two large ports on

the Caribbean Coast, have at times surpassed it in volume of trade, its location secures it a monopoly as an outlet for goods produced along the Atrato and Sinú rivers. The Canal del Dique and a railroad line provide connection with the riverport of Calmar on the Magdalena. Its harbor is one of the best in South America, with a depth of 35 feet. It has adequate berthage to accommodate modern ocean vessels, a modern marginal quay, and wharves equipped with six concrete warehouses. Its annual transit of cargo amounts to some 200,000 metric tons. Some eight miles to the south at Mamonal lies the terminal of the longest crude oil pipeline of the country, capable of loading 9,000 barrels of oil per hour.

Barranquilla is situated on the Magdalena River some 12 miles inland from the Caribbean Sea. Early in its history Barranquilla served only as a river port, because the sand bars at the mouth of the Magdalena prevented ocean vessels from entering the inland waters. Since World War II, constant dredging and the construction of canals and breakwaters have made possible the entry of ocean vessels of up to 10,000 tons, but larger vessels still must be loaded and unloaded off Puerto Colombia which lies some 13 miles to the east and is connected with Barranquilla by railroad and highway. The port of Barranquilla has a marginal quay with mooring space for 7 ships and a wharf with 8 concrete warehouses. The cargo unloaded is in the neighborhood of 500,000 tons annually, a great portion of which is petroleum products. Coffee makes up a great part of the cargo loaded—some 150,000 tons annually.

Santa Marta, often referred to as the Banana Port, is the smallest and northernmost of the three principal Colombian ports on the Caribbean Coast. It has an excellent natural harbor, and its port facilities are highly mechanized. A short railroad line connects it with the adjacent banana-growing area of the Department of Magdalena; highways link it to Barranquilla and the eastern highway network. In addition to the constant flow of bananas, freight movements increase periodically when the utilization of Barranquilla becomes hampered by sand bars. Freight traffic through this port is expected to increase after the completion in 1961 of the Atlantic railroad line, which has Santa Marta as its terminal. Recent improvements of the port facilities have made a gradual accommodation of increased freight traffic possible. The volume in 1958 reached 243,000 tons of cargo loaded and 25,000 unloaded.

Other ports on the Caribbean of lesser significance are, from northeast to southwest: Manaure, Ríoacha, Ciénaga, Tolú, Coveñas (terminal of an oil pipeline), Turbo and Acandí.

On the Pacific Ocean, Buenaventura is not only the principal port of the coast, but in terms of volume of cargo handled, is the leading port of the country. It is situated on a bay some 10 miles

from the ocean, and is a natural outlet for the goods, mainly coffee, produced in the southern part of the country. It is also the main port of entry for goods imported into these regions. Petroleum products, for example, are more conveniently imported through Buenaventura than obtained by way of the long and costly overland routes from the domestic sources in the north. The port is connected by railroad and highway with Cali. It can accommodate seven ocean vessels and has some mechanical equipment, including oil and coal loading facilities. The heavy and irregular rains of the region tend to extend the time required for loading and unloading and consequently increase costs, making Buenaventura one of the more expensive ports on this coast. It handles some 400,000 tons of incoming, and 250,000 tons of outgoing cargo annually.

The relatively small port of Tumaco is also on the Pacific Coast. Situated on the island of El Morro, it handles cargo to and from the Pasto region. It is connected with the highlands by a combination of a railroad line, which extends from the coast to El Diviso, and a highway from the end of the railroad line to Pasto and to Ipiales on the Ecuadorian border.

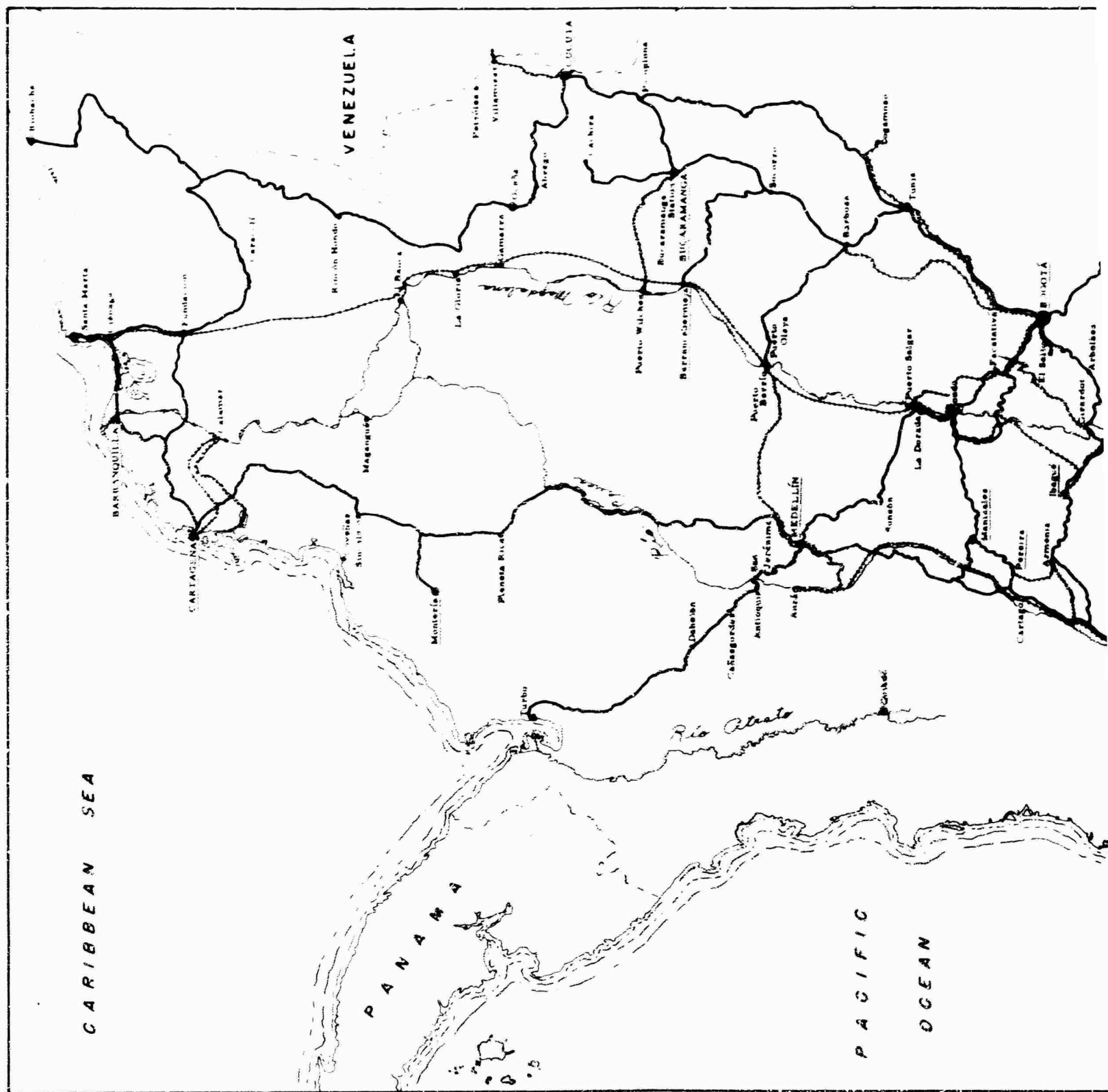
Coastal traffic between ports on either coast and between coasts through the Panama Canal is served by a variety of vessels ranging from large ocean-going ships belonging to the Flota Mercante Grancolombiana to small river boats which operate when weather permits. The disadvantages of overland transportation have contributed to the maintenance of a uniform annual volume of coastal shipping ranging in the neighborhood of 180,000 metric tons or 150,000,000 ton-kilometers of transported freight.

The Merchant Marine

The Merchant Marine, organized in 1946, includes vessels of three companies: the Flota Mercante Grancolombiana, which operates the largest number of seagoing vessels totaling over 50,000 deadweight tons; the Compañía Colombiana de Navegación Marítima Ltda. (COLDEMAR), which operates three vessels with a total of 6,340 tons; and the Compañía Nacional de Navegación, S.A. (NAVENAL), with one ocean-going and one coastal vessel. The vessels of the latter two companies provide services to the United States; the vessels of the Flota Mercante Grancolombiana provide service to other parts of Latin America, as well as to other continents.

Railroads

Colombia is one of the few countries which in recent years have engaged in major railroad construction. As a result, it possesses a network that connects the two coasts with the major settlement centers of the interior (see fig. 13). The completion of the Atlantic



A

Figure 13. Principal waterways, railroads, highways and airports of Colombia.

railroad line in the summer of 1961 established a link between the previously isolated western network serving the Buenaventura-Cali-Medellín area and the eastern network serving Bogotá-La Dorada-Ibagué, and connected them with the Caribbean port of Santa Marta. The construction of the 500-mile-long Atlantic railroad line cost over U.S.\$1 billion, of which about 40 percent has been provided by the International Bank, in the form of long-term credit.

Still isolated from this central network are three short lines: the Ferrocarril de Nariño providing connection between the port of Tumaco and El Diviso; the Ferrocarril de Cúcuta connecting the city of Cúcuta with the Venezuelan railroad system; and the short line connecting Cartagena with the river port of Calamar. All tracks, except those that connect Cúcuta with the Venezuelan railroad network, are of a yard gauge.

With the exception of some 200 miles of the Ferrocarril de Antioquia, owned by the Department of Antioquia, the railroads, originally built under concessions, have been gradually taken over by the central government and are now controlled by an autonomous agency, the Ferrocarriles Nacionales de Colombia (National Railways of Colombia).

The effect of the integration of the various railroad networks on the total volume of railroad transportation has yet to be observed. Before the integration, passenger traffic steadily decreased and freight traffic increased very slowly. The difficult terrain and climatic variations made the cost of construction and maintenance of railroads very high. Railroads also have had high maintenance costs because of landslides which often put lines out of commission for 4 to 7 weeks every year, antiquated rolling stocks, and labor laws which compel companies to employ many persons per mile. The average speed of freight trains is 8 to 9 miles an hour, including stops, and that of passenger trains, 17 to 18 miles an hour.

Competition by road and air transportation, especially for long distances, caused the annual number of rail passengers to fall to 10.8 million in 1959 from a peak of 18.5 million in 1946, and the passenger-kilometers to 651 million from 838 million during the same period of time. Freight traffic increased from 4.5 million tons in 1946 to 6 million tons in 1958, or from 558 million ton-kilometers to 654 million.

Road Transport

Vast areas of the country, formerly inaccessible except by mule paths, have now become linked with population centers by means of motor transport and, increasingly, by modern highways, but thousands of miles of pack trails still exist and serve as the only means of access to remote places nestled among the towering mountains. In the mule trains which travel along these ancient mountain

trails, each animal carries bales weighing up to 150 pounds containing local products bound for local markets or trading posts or manufactured goods going back to the villages.

In 1959, the highway network totaled some 18,000 miles of which slightly more than 2,000 miles were all-weather paved roads with concrete or bituminous surfaces. The remainder were macadamized roads. Two trunk roads cross the country parallel to the cordilleras from north to south (see fig. 13). The western trunk road runs along the Cauca Valley from the Ecuadorian border in Nariño through Pasto, Palmira, Medellín, to Cartagena. This road, which will constitute part of the Pan-American highway, has branch roads running toward the Pacific Ocean which connect it with El Diviso, the terminal of the Tumaco railroad line, and with Buenaventura through Cali. A branch road connects it with Neiva and the roads of the Department of Huila, which eventually also will be linked with the eastern trunk road running from Bogotá to Santa Marta, through Tunja, Bucaramanga, Cúcuta, Ocaña and Valledupar. The two north-south routes at present are connected by three roads: the east-west trunk road which runs from Puerto Carreño on the Orinoco River to Turbo on the Gulf of Urabá through Villavicencio, Bogotá, La Dorada and Medellín; a road in the South running between Espinal and Uribe; and a road in the North running between Honda and Manizales. The eastern trunk road also has several links with the water and railroad system of Magdalena Valley, as well as a branch road leading to Ríoacha on the Guajira Peninsula.

Highway construction has been stimulated by the increased import of motor vehicles. Between 1938 and 1958 the number of cars and buses increased six times, that of trucks nine times. In 1960 the registered vehicles numbered about 80,000 cars, 19,000 buses and station wagons with a seating capacity of 500,000 passengers, and 68,000 trucks with a total carrying capacity of 194,000 metric tons.

Other stimuli to the development of road transportation have been the relatively low initial investment and the greater possible speed, especially for short distances. The cost of motor transportation is nevertheless high. Macadam is not suitable for high speeds and deteriorates quickly under bad weather and heavy traffic. Such roads, and the vehicles using them, require constant repair, thus reducing the use and increasing the operating costs of both. Poor road engineering, often resulting in the layout of roads with grades many miles long of 8 to 10 percent and with hairpin curves on which heavy trucks and trailers cannot be used, in many places limits the use of roads.

Less than half of the road network is under the jurisdiction of the state; about one-third is operated by the various departments; the remainder is controlled by municipalities and private owners.

The government has made strenuous efforts during the last ten years to improve the highway system and, in addition to budgeted appropriations, has utilized three loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development totaling U.S.\$47.3 million (see ch. 32, Foreign Economic Relations). It also has signed an agreement with the Venezuelan Government in 1960 for the improvement of the road between Cúcuta and Venezuela. Revenues for highway construction and maintenance are derived from the gasoline tax and from special taxes on imports.

Air Transport

The long distances between settlements and the uncoordinated, slow, and costly nature of surface transportation have provided an ideal situation for the development of air transportation. With the assistance of German air force pilots discharged after World War I, Colombian and German capital established the first commercial airline of the Americas, the Sociedad Colombi-Alemana de Transportes Aereos (SCADTA), in 1919. By 1961, the country had over a dozen commercial airlines operating some 180 aircraft, and a network of some 200 airports ranging from international ports able to accommodate the largest jet planes to numerous small airfields scattered over the country. Moreover, many private individuals own planes, and large haciendas often have their own landing strips.

The same factors which motivated the initiation of commercial air transport have promoted the expansion of the services. After World War II, the heterogeneous fleet was more thoroughly standardized through the purchase of United States surplus aircraft, mainly DC-3's and DC-4's. Although airfreight traffic has shown only slow growth and a relative stabilization after the peak year of 1951, mainly because of high fares and the improvement in surface transportation, passenger traffic has soared from 300,000 passengers in 1946 to over 1.4 million in 1958. The growth in passenger-kilometers has been less spectacular, but it has been steady and has shown gains in years when the actual number of passengers did not increase.

The largest commercial airline is the Aerovías Nacionales de Colombia (AVIANCA), a successor to SCADTA. It is privately owned with the government holding less than 5 percent of the shares, but subsidizing it through donations of land for airports, the construction of airport facilities, and the grant of an airmail monopoly which includes the right to collect and deliver airmail and to sell stamps. AVIANCA is one of the world's leading air cargo carriers. It also flies international routes to the United States, Europe and some Latin American countries.

Another major domestic airline is the Rutas Aereas de Colombia (RAS) which, in addition to its domestic services, flies some in-

ternational routes to neighboring countries. The Lloyd Aereo Colombiano flies one route to Bolivia in addition to its passenger and cargo services in Colombia. Aerotaxi, owned by AVIANCA, and Burrito y Lia operate domestic services. Competition on lucrative routes is great, and service on less profitable routes is often neglected. In regions such as eastern Colombia, where commercial services are unavailable or infrequent, military aircraft occasionally supplement civil aviation with flights to the islands and the Guajira Peninsula.

Major international airports for both passenger and cargo traffic are located at Bogotá, Barranquilla, Medellín, and Cali; cargo is also shipped through Cartagena and Pereira. Almost half of the airports are privately owned; the remainder are in the hands of the national and the local governments. The Empresa Colombiana de Aerodromas (Colombian Airport Corporation), established in 1954, operates all government-owned civil airports and aviation communications systems. All other air-traffic control is operated by AVIANCA which charges government-approved fees to other airlines for its services. The National Airport Fund, established for the construction and maintenance of public airports in 1948, receives its revenues from an aviation gasoline tax, landing fees at public airports, etc.

The governmental authority pertaining to civil aviation is expressed in Law 89 of 1938, revised in 1947. It created the Dirección General de Aeronáutica Civil (Department of Civil Aviation) and charged it with the registration and supervision of aircraft and airports, the licensing of personnel, and the formulation of regulations for the supervision and organization of flying. The fact that the agency is subordinated to the Ministry of War and often pursues goals different from those of commercial enterprises makes its role as a regulatory agency frequently difficult. All other aspects of air transportation in the government are the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Works.

CHAPTER 32

FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Foreign economic relations have been closely linked with domestic economic growth since the country entered the international market early in the nineteenth century. Basically agricultural, Colombia depends heavily on the import of capital goods and selected raw materials for industrialization, and on the import of durable consumer goods.

To pay for the imports Colombia successively exported gold, emeralds, cinchona, and cattle hides until the end of the nineteenth century when coffee took the lead. In recent years exports have accounted for 13 percent of the gross national product, and coffee has remained the dominant export commodity, producing between 75 and 80 percent of the annual foreign exchange earnings. Export of petroleum, which began in the 1920's, accounts for about 15 percent, and minor export commodities for the remaining 5 to 10 percent.

Although coffee is the main item in the national economy, reliance on it as the major export is dangerous because of the price fluctuations on the world coffee market. A rise in coffee prices has a beneficial effect on balance of payments, but a delayed adjustment to falling coffee prices causes a disequilibrium which is often difficult to correct. The present (1961) state of Colombia's foreign economic relations is a direct result of falling world coffee prices which started to decline after the unprecedented peak year of 1954, heavily contributing to the almost \$.5 billion worth of commercial debts by 1957. To improve conditions, the Lleras government has instituted severe import restrictions on nonessential commodities, encouraged the domestic production of goods previously imported, and attempted to increase the number of export commodities in order to reduce reliance on coffee. It has also been compelled to import foreign capital in the form of government and private loans.

The direction of exports shows heavy dependence on United States purchase of Colombian coffee. Hence, the United States coffee consumer exercises a major influence on the Colombian economy. Dependence on foreign sources of investment, including the United States, has been less pronounced, because of fewer attractive investment opportunities and, to a lesser extent, because the Colom-

bian economy has been able to mobilize domestic capital more effectively than many other Latin American countries. The United States is looked upon as the major source of foreign capital, having supplied about 75 to 80 percent up to the present. It is also the most important outside source of technical know-how employed in Colombia.

Diversification of exports is making slow headway; new coffee markets are still being sought. Barter agreements with European countries, including some members of the Soviet bloc, are increasing and may eventually remove the United States from its dominant role to a more modest position. The country's economic leadership, which is the same as its political and social elite, has economic self-sufficiency as one of its main goals. The tariff system, which early in this century served chiefly as a source of income, has become strongly protective during the past 30 years. The most-favored-nation status of the United States gradually lost its significance, and it was formally discontinued in 1950 when the two countries were left without a formal commercial agreement.

TRADE

Composition of Trade

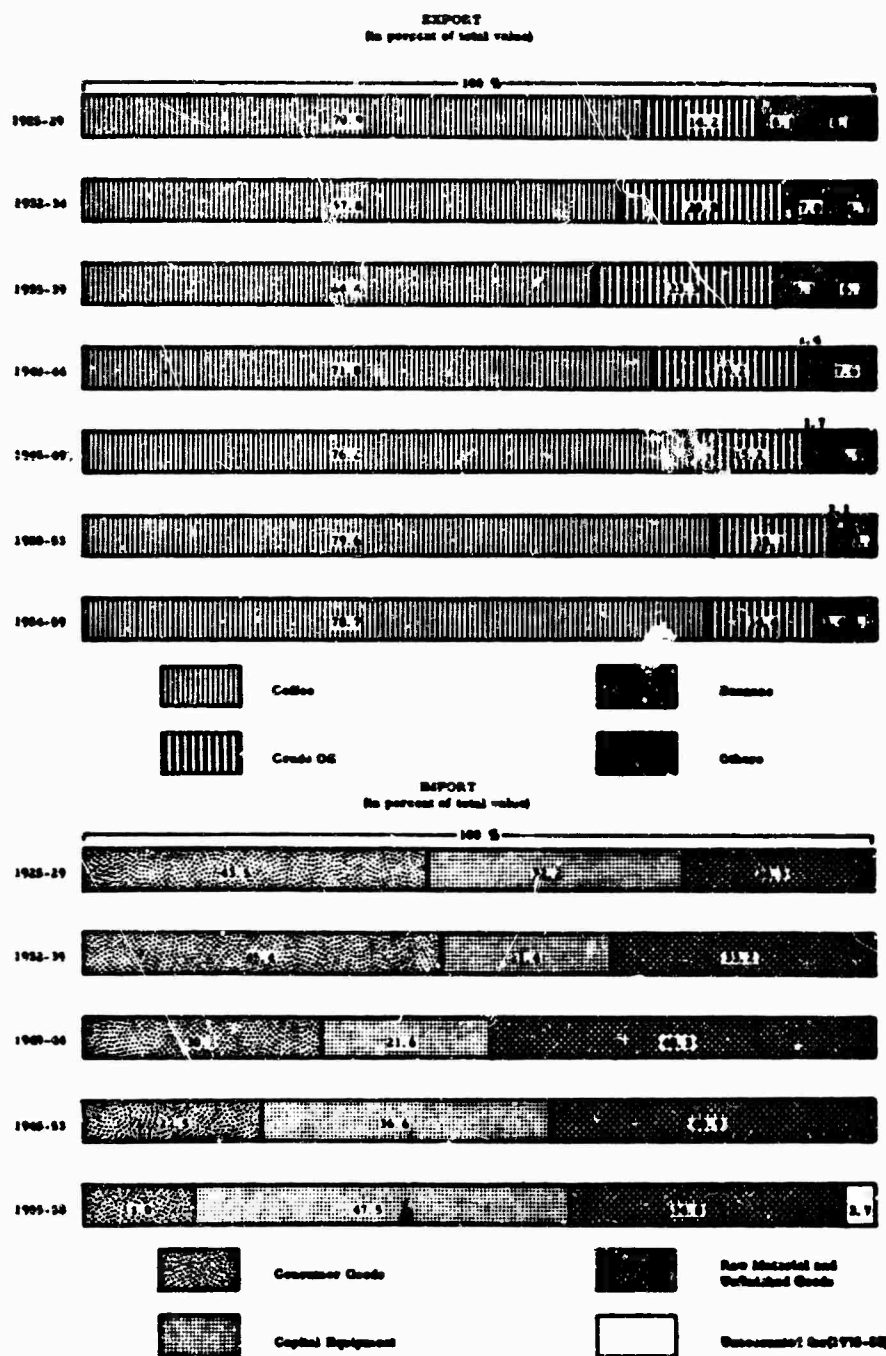
Exports

Following a long series of wildly speculative booms in several export commodities during most of the nineteenth century, coffee became the leading export crop of the country. It achieved international importance around 1880, and its flow has since fluctuated according to the volume of the harvest and to the conditions of the world coffee market. Nevertheless, its relative position in the total volume of export has not changed significantly since the turn of the century (see fig. 14).

Other primary products such as petroleum, gold, platinum, and bananas have supplemented coffee as export commodities. Manufactured industrial products, on the other hand, have accounted for a negligible portion of foreign sales.

The relative role of coffee as a principal earner of foreign exchange is even greater than its share in the export sector indicates. This is particularly true as compared to petroleum, since part of the foreign exchange gained through the sale of petroleum can be retained abroad by the foreign-owned petroleum companies.

During the past decades the volume of coffee-exporting has shown a slow but steady increase from an annual 260 million pounds in the 1920's to over 8 billion pounds in 1952 and a slight decline in 1960. Fluctuating world coffee prices have made it an unstable factor in the national economy. For example, prices of the Manizales variety of Colombian coffee moved from U.S.\$53 in 1950 to as high as



Source: Adapted from United Nations, Economic Commission for Latin America, *Analysis and Projections of Economic Development*, 22, The Economic Development of Colombia, 1957, pp. 34, 37; Colombia, *Boletín de la República*, *Industria* (1952-1953), II, p. 157, and *Industria* (1953-1954), I, p. 41; and Colombia, Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, *Exportación y Comercio Exterior* 1953, pp. 474, 480.

Figure 14. Composition of foreign trade of Colombia.

U.S.\$91 in 1954 and fell to U.S.\$45 in 1959. The effects of these price variations are implied in the fact that a change of only one cent per pound results in an U.S.\$80 million loss or gain of foreign exchange earnings at the present volume of export.

The rise of world coffee prices, in fact, shows a high correlation with the growth pattern of the Colombian economy. As world coffee prices began to decline after the peak year of 1954, so did the capacity of Colombia to pursue its course of development. The dropping of coffee prices had a signal effect on the balance of payments with the known political repercussions that characterized the years 1957-58 (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics). This development also made necessary the present austerity program of the Lleras regime.

In cooperation with 14 other Latin American governments, Colombia made strenuous efforts to stabilize coffee prices through the Latin American Coffee Agreement in 1958. The agreement aimed at price stabilization through an export quota system which assigned Colombia a quota second only to that of Brazil. As a result of the pact, prices of coffee produced in the participating countries remained fairly stable in the period 1959-60, but prices of coffee produced by nonparticipating nations, mainly African, suffered heavy losses. In 1960 the cartel-like pact was expanded into the International Coffee Agreement and signed by 15 Latin American and 13 African countries, all but five of the coffee-producing nations. The 28 participants now produce about 93 percent of the exportable world coffee.

The short-term agreement seems to have been successful in controlling the flow of coffee, but it has had little effect on the volume of coffee production. Over-production at present and the possible introduction of synthetic coffee are serious threats to the economy. Hence, plans for the diversification of the export sector have high priority in government economic policies. It is hoped that government efforts will result in the reduction of the share of coffee to 60 percent of the export sector by 1970.

Petroleum replaced gold in the 1920's as the second most important export commodity. Both the output and export of petroleum have gradually increased. But, primarily because of expanded domestic refinery facilities combined with increased domestic consumption, petroleum has shown a decline in its share of the total export picture.

Although the domestic consumption of petroleum products will doubtless continue to increase, new oil fields, enabling increased output, and enlarged processing facilities may also increase the export of refined products. This is particularly important, because

a higher income can be gained from the sale of refined products than from that of crude oil (see ch. 28, Industrial Potential).

The export of bananas, the third most important export commodity, also fluctuates according to the success of the harvest, which is heavily influenced by weather conditions and the health of the plants. Winds periodically destroy hundreds of thousands of the delicate banana trees. World War II also had an adverse effect on banana exports, and in one year, 1943, there was no banana export. Currently bananas constitute 3.5 percent of the export trade, less than half the corresponding share before World War II; the gradual expansion of nontraditional export commodities will still further reduce its position even if the volume of output is maintained.

Colombia possesses a wide variety of natural resources adaptable to exporting, but when coffee prices rise, domestic production for export in other than traditional commodities receives little encouragement. Rapidly declining coffee prices and a consequent deterioration of the balance of payments, on the other hand, drastically alter the situation, and nontraditional export commodities receive greater emphasis. The export of tobacco, cement, lumber, and seafood has recently increased under such circumstances. Other heretofore unimportant export commodities such as platinum, emeralds, straw hats, orchids, medical plants, and cottonseed promise to add increasingly to the country's foreign exchange earning. Cotton entered the export market in 1960 and brought in over U.S.\$14 million in the first ten months of that year. The export of some 100,000 head of cattle scheduled for 1961 should produce nearly U.S.\$10 million (see table 1).

Table 1. *New Exports from Colombia*
(in thousands of U.S. dollars)

	1958	1959	1960*
Cotton.....			14, 626
Tobacco.....	2, 022	2, 285	2, 528
Cement.....	1, 405	2, 720	2, 075
Lumber.....	1, 416	2, 121	2, 084
Shrimp.....	411	1, 211	1, 426

* Only January through October.

Source: Adapted from *Colombian News Letter*, No. 2, 1961, p. 2.

Imports

The composition of imports shows a wider diversification than that of exports (see fig. 14). This is partly the result of government import regulations encouraging the importation of goods for

industrialization—in particular, machinery, industrial raw materials, and semifinished products. As a result domestic products have increasingly replaced imports, and the import of finished consumer goods, especially luxury items, has been limited.

In the 1920's consumer goods constituted over 50 percent of all imports. The percentage was gradually reduced to 14 percent by 1959. At the same time, the percentage of machinery, transport equipment, and construction material imports has fluctuated in relation to the country's capacity to import; it has risen in good export years and dropped to a low level in bad ones. It was low during World War II in contrast to the prewar and postwar periods. Raw materials for industrial use, such as semifinished products requiring further processing as paper pulp, woolen yarn, leather, basic steel, and chemicals, as well as fuels and wool, show a steady increase which parallels industrial development. Nondurable consumer goods, mainly foodstuffs and beverages, as well as such durables as electric appliances, furniture, jewelry, musical instruments, books, and tires, lubricants, cosmetics, pharmaceutical products and so forth, constitute a relatively small and decreasing category. Because most of the merchandise imported illegally consists of durable consumer goods, data in official publications on this category may very well err on the low side.

Direction of Trade

The United States is by far the most important trading partner. In recent years it has absorbed about 70 percent of Colombia's exports and supplied 55 to 60 percent of its imports. In 1959 the United States purchased from Colombia some \$320 million worth of goods, mainly coffee, and sold to Colombia a variety of industrial products and agricultural and industrial raw materials totaling nearly \$250 million.

The United States held a prominent role as a trading partner before the 1930's. During World War II, however, the Atlantic blockade, shipping restrictions, and the loss of Colombia's significant German trade made the role of the United States predominant, if not almost exclusive. In 1942, for example, the United States received 91 percent of Colombia's exports, and in 1941 it supplied 74 percent of its imports. Although Colombia has been able to gain new trading partners since World War II, the positive trade balance it has maintained with both the United States and Canada has provided most of the hard currency (dollar) reserves needed to pay off trade deficits in Europe.

Europe has always sold more goods to Colombia than Colombia was able to export to European countries. Bilateral agreements re-

duced the disparity significantly during the 1930's, but after World War II the old pattern re-emerged. The excess of imports over exports was almost U.S.\$100 million in 1956, U.S.\$50 million in 1957, and U.S.\$30 million in 1958. West Germany ranks first among the European countries as a trading partner, absorbing about one-third of Colombia's European exports. It has regained its position of second to the United States in the total volume of its trade with Colombia, although it has not achieved the trade volume reached before World War II. In 1938, it was receiving 15 percent of the country's exports and delivered 17 percent of its imports. Trade with the United Kingdom, France, Sweden, and Italy make up the remainder of Colombia's European trade. Total trade with European countries amounted to 26 percent of all exports, and 27 percent of all imports in 1959.

Latin American countries increased their share in Colombia's trade during World War II. Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Peru provided agricultural raw materials, foodstuffs, fibers, and yarns, as well as a limited amount of manufactured goods. With the recovery of the European markets, Latin America's share had again decreased from a peak of nearly 30 percent in 1942-43 to about 3.5 percent of exports and 6.2 percent of imports in 1959. Ecuador and Venezuela are the two leading countries among its Latin American trading partners, but their combined import from Colombia amounts to only 0.5 percent of the country's total export, and about 1.5 percent of its imports.

Except for Japan, whose Colombian trade has grown suddenly in recent years, trade with other parts of the free world is negligible. Colombia has recently exchanged sugar and crude oil for Japanese manufactured goods. Moreover, in 1960, negotiations looking toward more intensive economic and commercial relationships between the two countries began. An economic mission from Taiwan also projected possibilities of significant trade with that country in the near future.

Colombia's trade with the Sino-Soviet bloc amounted to only 0.6 percent of the total in 1959. Trade in this direction has shown a slow but material increase with heavy accent on the use of private barter agreements, in which coffee is exchanged for manufactured goods. Czechoslovakia and East Germany have absorbed practically the entire export to bloc countries and have supplied about five-sixths of the goods imported from the bloc. Some trade exists with Hungary, but only occasional and negligible trade is conducted with Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union.

Illegal Trade

Uncontrolled illegal trade has always existed between Colombia and neighboring countries, but recent trade restrictions and the depreciation of the peso rate have made it more lucrative, and illegal exports have increased to an estimated annual total of \$60 to \$70 million, imports to about \$20 million. Coffee and cattle are the two main items smuggled out of the country; manufactured durable consumer goods are the main commodities illegally imported. Cattlemen claim that organized contraband operations annually smuggle between 100,000 and 300,000 head of cattle into Venezuela and a lesser number to Ecuador. An estimated 300,000 to 500,000 bags of coffee a year are smuggled from Colombia into Venezuela, to avoid export taxes and obtain unregistered foreign exchange. It is also smuggled directly into Ecuador, through seaports to other areas of the mainland, and through the free port zone of the San Andrés Archipelago. The International Monetary Fund estimated the value of illegal coffee exports to be about U.S.\$14 million in 1959.

Numbers of persons who cross the border between Colombia and Venezuela at Cúcuta and at points on the Guajira Peninsula for shopping, and the increasing number of tourists to Colombia, smuggle relatively small amounts of goods in and out of the country. The cumulative loss to the state from this illegal traffic, however, is significant. Contraband operations are not restricted to the borders of the north. Shipments to and from Ecuador, ostensibly legal, often contain concealed illegal goods. In a well-publicized case in the fall of 1960, 58 loads of dynamite were discovered packed in boxes containing foodstuffs.

The government is aware of the problem, and it attempts to reduce its loss through stricter enforcement of existing protective measures, as well as by initiating new legislation. With assistance of an adviser from the United States, an internal reorganization of the Customs was initiated in 1960. The press gave much attention to the extent of contraband activities and their effect on the national economy, highlighting the operations along the Guajira Peninsula and on the San Andrés Archipelago. The national government invested U.S.\$1.5 million in new launches and other equipment to combat smuggling. Liberalization of certain trade restrictions, such as freeing cattle for export beginning in 1961, is expected to reduce the profit earned through smuggling activities and assist in strengthening legal trade.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

The export and import figures reflect only the volume and value of trade in merchandise (see table 2). The movement of nonmonetary gold, income or expenses created by travel, transportation and

Table 2. Value and Volume of Foreign Trade of Colombia

Year	Value (in millions of U.S. dollars at current prices)		Volume Index: 1953=100	
	Export	Import	Export	Import
1935.....	69	67	n.a.	n.a.
1940.....	72	84	n.a.	n.a.
1945.....	140	160	n.a.	n.a.
1950.....	306	365	80	65
1951.....	463	419	87	61
1952.....	473	415	89	62
1953.....	506	547	113	86
1954.....	657	672	120	98
1955.....	584	669	100	100
1956.....	537	657	92	91
1957.....	511	483	87	70
1958.....	461	400	96	60
1959.....	473	416	111	63
1960.....	382	455		

Source: Adapted from Colombia, Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, *Anuario de Comercio Exterior de 1958*, p. 3; *ibid.*, *Boletín Mensual de Estadística*, No. 114, September 1960, p. 35; and United Nations, *Economic Bulletin for Latin America*, IV, No. 2, 1960, p. 83.

insurance costs of goods, the flow of income from foreign investments, and miscellaneous government expenses related mainly to diplomatic representations, are combined under the heading "invisibles" (see table 3).

The export of nonmonetary gold, in the past often large enough to overcome a balance of trade deficit, has averaged only U.S.\$12 million in recent years. Although tourism is increasing and in 1960 held fifth place after coffee, petroleum, bananas, and cotton in earning foreign exchange, Colombians traveling abroad have spent more than foreigners in Colombia. The transportation and insurance costs of merchandise also exceeded receipts gained from similar sources; the government spends more abroad than it gains at home in this category. A constant loss is added to the "invisibles" from the income of foreign investments, which usually leaves the country.

After coffee prices began falling in 1954, delayed adjustment of imports to the declining income from exports led to the deficits of the Current Account in 1954-56 and the loss of foreign exchange reserves. By the end of 1957 the accumulation of commercial debts had reached U.S.\$0.5 billion. The stabilizing measures initiated by the post-Rojas governments consisted of severe foreign exchange and import restrictions and arrangements from the refinancing and gradual repayment of short-term foreign debts. By 1958 the country had paid off a substantial part of its foreign debt and refinanced the

Table 3. *Balance of Payments of Colombia, 1954-1959*

(in millions of dollars)

	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
<i>Current Account</i>						
Export (f.o.b.).....	657.1	579.6	653.7	599.9	527.1	514.2
Coffee.....	550.2	484.1	529.2	408.9	366.2	377.3
Other.....	106.9	95.5	124.5	181.0	160.9	136.9
Import (f.o.b.).....	622.4	619.8	556.8	450.5	383.9	402.5
Balance of Trade.....	34.7	-40.2	96.9	139.4	143.2	111.7
Balance of Invisibles.....	-75.4	-101.4	-63.6	-68.5	-69.3	-54.5
Balance of Current Account.....	-40.7	-141.6	-3.7	-70.9	-73.4	-57.2
<i>Financing of Current Account</i>						
Private Capital Movement....	16.1	-14.3	9.4	-79.5	-13.3	20.1
Official and Bank Capital....	-12.1	145.6	78.5	29.4	4.6	-93.5
Donations.....	2.0	2.9	1.5	3.0	5.5	2.8
Errors and Omissions.....	-18.1	7.4	-80.7	-23.8	-41.2	13.4

* Includes estimated unregistered trade.

Source: Adapted from International Monetary Fund, *International Financial Statistics*, XII, No. 12, p. 279, and XIV, No. 4, pp. 84-87, 288.

remainder through government promissory notes. Its trade credit abroad had also been restored and a renewed inflow of capital began. The outflow of nearly U.S.\$80 million of incoming private capital in 1957 was reversed to a U.S.\$20 million favorable balance of payments by 1959.

The deflationary nature of the stabilizing measures has reduced economic output and made a slight increase in imports unavoidable. The combination of three factors, namely, reduced export earnings, increased imports, and amortization payments on foreign debts, forced the government in 1959 to obtain a U.S.\$25 million loan from the Export-Import Bank, a U.S.\$26 million loan from a group of 12 banks in the United States, and a stand-by credit arrangement of U.S.\$41 million from the International Monetary Fund.

The new government loans, added to the already existing obligations, increased the service costs dramatically and prolonged the liquidation of the short-term credits. The total service payments amounted to U.S.\$103 million or 21 percent of the country's total foreign exchange earnings in 1959. If no drastic changes occur in world coffee prices, and if imports can be held near the 1960 level of about U.S.\$34 million per month, it is projected that most of the backlog credits will be repaid by 1962, and service expenses will fall in that year to one-third of the 1959 level. Until that time, the

present austerity policy on imports may be continued. Moreover, Colombian government sources maintain that even if the present austerity program remains in effect and the income from increased exports grows, the country will still require an annual U.S.\$100 million of foreign credit until 1965 to finance its economic development program.

FOREIGN CAPITAL MOVEMENT

Data on foreign investments in Colombia and on Colombian assets held abroad are fragmentary. Capital from the United States has played the leading role, although the ratio of capital from the United States to that derived from domestic sources has been smaller than in other Latin American countries. There are practically no data available on foreign capital invested in Colombia in the nineteenth century, which was mainly used for extraction of precious metals, production of other valuable export commodities, and transportation and communication. In 1881 the French obtained control of the railroad concession in Panama (then part of Colombia). At the turn of the century United States investments constituted an estimated U.S.\$9 million of a U.S.\$350 million total invested in Latin America. United States investments were concentrated in railroads, river shipping, mining, agriculture, and submarine cables.

By 1914 United States investment had risen to U.S.\$21.5 million of which U.S.\$19 million was private capital. During the 1920's, the inflow of capital increased. It was derived from payments for the secession of Panama, investments in petroleum exploration and exploitation, and long-term loans obtained through the sale of bonds (see ch. 2, Historical Setting). Between 1923 and 1930 United States capital in Colombia increased from U.S. \$24 million to U.S.\$300 million, U.S.\$130 million of which was direct investment. The number of enterprises controlled by citizens of the United States reached 63 in the same year.

The depression had an adverse effect on foreign investments, but they began to increase again during and after World War II. In addition to direct private investments, the implementation of post-war development plans with the assistance of newly created international monetary institutions increased the inflow of foreign capital. A registry of foreign investments was begun in 1945, and since that date the relevant information is more detailed and more reliable.

Direct foreign venture capital, registered and unregistered, is estimated at about U.S.\$600 million, of which 75 to 80 percent originated in the United States. The registered value of reported United States direct investment at the end of 1958 was U.S. \$289 million of which U.S.\$91 million has been invested in petroleum, U.S.\$66 million in the manufacturing industry, U.S.\$45 million in public

utilities, U.S.\$49 million in trade, and U.S.\$38 million in other branches of the economy. A shift from petroleum to manufacturing has taken place in the distribution of foreign capital in recent years. At the same time, several enterprises, previously entirely foreign-owned, have sold stock to Colombian investors. Loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development totaled U.S.\$131 million between 1949 and 1960. Although sizable withdrawals of capital were made in the late 1950's, the refinancing of commercial debts led to the expansion of long-term government loans. About one-third of the capital required for the U.S.\$1 billion investment plan of the government for the years 1961 to 1964, submitted to Congress in December 1960, is expected to be obtained from abroad.

A continuous, but cautious, inflow of foreign capital at present seems to indicate that the attitude toward foreign investment, dividend payments, and re-export of capital has been only partially satisfactory to foreign investors. It is true that they are subject to the same rules as Colombians, except those who invest in coastal shipping and air transport, in which maximum holdings can be only 60 and 49 percent respectively. They may also purchase real estate and mineral concessions, engage in manufacturing or other industrial and trading activities under the same conditions as those applied to Colombians.

In practice, however, foreign investment is met with enthusiasm and tolerance only so long as it does not create competition for domestic business. Thus, the lack of precise regulations governing immigration of capital and the delay in official action providing exchange for repatriation of capital or dividends, added to the continuing rural unrest, have had restrictive effects on the inflow of investments.

Critical attitudes toward foreign companies, expressed openly by political minority groups, labor organizations, and the active domestic investment group, also constitute discouraging factors. The accusation found in propaganda that foreign investments drain the foreign exchange resources of the country through the retention abroad of high profit margins of foreign-owned companies is exaggerated; a considerable portion of the earnings of the foreign controlled enterprises in mining, the petroleum industry, manufacturing, etc., remains in the country. Moreover, the investments of the oil companies will eventually accrue to the state when, at the end of the concession period, installations and equipment, including refineries, become state properties, as in the De Mares concession in 1951 (see ch. 28, Industrial Potential). A United States mission to Colombia in early 1961 prepared recommendations for minimum guarantees and incentives desirable to attract more foreign investment.

ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

Tariff Policies

Government foreign trade policies are directed toward the achievement of a greater degree of self-sufficiency through diversifying and increasing exports, continuing an austerity program in imports, and maintaining a favorable balance of payments. In pursuance of these aims, the government applies strict exchange controls, tariff regulations, and a quantitative control of imports as a means of influencing domestic prices and production. In many areas domestic production must be consumed before imports are allowed. Thus, for example, the Ministry of Development decided that the Cia. Croydon del Pacifico, S.A., must absorb 54 percent of the domestic rubber production in 1961, since that was its share of rubber import in 1960.

All exports, except tourist items of Colombian origin, must be registered with the Exchange Registration Office of the government. Commodities are grouped into three categories: principal export commodities (coffee, bananas, hides, and precious metals), minor export commodities, and prohibited items, composed mainly of agricultural products in which shortages exist.

The principal exports are subject to a 9 percent exchange or import tax, minor exports to 2 percent, but the tendency is toward the abolition of both taxes. In addition, 17 percent of coffee produced must be surrendered in kind to the quasi-governmental Federación Nacional de Cafeteros (National Coffee Growers); as a lever to influence the world price of coffee, revenue from export taxes is invested in loans to producers of the various export commodities, as well as being devoted to financing imports and to making loans to semigovernmental agencies in their fields. Thus, part of the proceeds from coffee exports goes to the Coffee Fund, that from hides and livestock exports to the Instituto Nacional de Ganaderos (National Institute of Cattlemen), and so forth.

There are no export subsidies, but products that the government wants to export enjoy domestic price supports to enable them to compete favorably on the world market. Cotton and sugar at present belong in this category.

All imports, except personal luggage, books, magazines, and shipments valued at less than U.S.\$20, must be registered with the Superintendencia Nacional de Importaciones (National Superintendent of Imports) before the order has been placed. Importers must also deposit in advance a certain amount ranging from 1 to 130 percent of the value of the goods to be imported. This deposit is returned 45 days after the goods are cleared by customs. In order to stimulate import substitution, that is, the domestic

production of commodities which could reduce imports, the government classifies imports in three categories: (a) goods whose import is prohibited; (b) goods which require prior licensing; (c) goods with no quantitative restrictions.

The tariff system consists of specific and *ad valorem* duties to which additional excise taxes of 25 percent may be added for specified goods. The protective nature of the tariff system is also revealed by the fact that the duty on goods originating in certain countries may be raised above or reduced below the general tariff level.

In addition to the national tariff, a tax on cigarette imports must be paid to the Instituto de Fomento Tabacalero (Tobacco Institute); on liquor imports, to the local (departmental) governments; and on all goods, including parcel post entering Bogotá, to the municipal government of the capital city. Consular fees are reduced if goods are shipped by the Colombian merchant fleet.

Direct government participation in foreign trade is not extensive, although some governmental and semigovernmental agencies, such as the Corporación de Defensa de Productos Agrícolas (Corporation for the Protection of Agricultural Products) and the Caja de Crédito Agrario, Industrial y Minero (Agrarian, Industrial, and Mining Credit Bank), engage in large-scale foreign purchases of machinery, equipment, seeds, fertilizers, and other farming implements and distributes such goods among farmers. These agencies and government institutions pay no import duties, deposit only 1 percent of the value of import goods regardless of their classification, and pay no freight on the national railroads, and only 50 percent on the Antioquia Railroad. The government also purchases supplies and equipment for government projects and operations, such as pharmaceuticals, narcotics, and so forth.

The government is authorized to enter into international commercial agreements and to open up new markets for Colombian products, especially coffee. Officers of the Federación Nacional de Cafeteros are assigned to the various Colombian foreign diplomatic missions with full diplomatic privileges in prospective or actual market countries. They act in behalf of the Federation and are authorized to open credits to foreign governments for the purchase of coffee, hold coffee in warehouses abroad on consignment basis until it is sold, and so forth.

Control of Foreign Exchange

After about 25 years of exchange control exercised through the Banco de la Republica (Bank of the Republic), the government abandoned the firmly held exchange rate (Col\$2.50 equals U.S.\$1) in 1957 and is making dollars available now through a "certificate

market" and a free market. All income from exports, with the exception of that from petroleum and the registered capital of petroleum companies and of the mining industry must be surrendered on a fixed rate (Col\$6.70 equals U.S.\$1 in March 1961) for an exchange certificate of short maturity issued by the Banco de la Republica. These certificates are auctioned by the Central Bank to commercial banks and proceeds are used to pay for imports, for 80 percent of the freight and insurance on imported goods, for servicing external debts, and for payments of dividend and government obligations. When an exchange certificate is used for the purchase of a foreign exchange draft, a 5 percent tax must be paid. Unsold certificates are bought by the Banco de la Republica on maturity at a discount rate.

All other payments must be made with foreign exchange purchased on the free market and derived mainly from invisibles such as private investments other than petroleum and mining, tourism, and unregistered exports. The annual turnover on the free market is in the neighborhood of U.S.\$150 million. Payments made with free exchange are exempted from the 5 percent tax, and for this reason free market dollar rates are usually higher than certificate rates (7.44 to \$1.00 in March 1961). Foreign petroleum producers have an exceptional position inasmuch as they do not have to surrender their receipts, but they are not free to import dollars at the free market rate (see ch. 30, Banking and Currency System).

Foreign Assistance Programs

Several of the United Nations specialized agencies, the United States, and other governments, foundations, religious, and welfare agencies are engaged in a variety of economic assistance programs. The assistance of the United Nations, which amounted to over \$500,000 in 1960 (excluding the contribution of \$914,000 by the United Nations International Childrens Emergency Fund—UNICEF), is coordinated by the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), a branch of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, which participates in an advisory capacity in the planning activities of the national government. Technicians and specialists of the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) assist the Ministry of Agriculture and its agencies in agricultural planning, in the promotion of land reform and colonization, and in land use, improved nutrition, milk production, marketing, rural industries, forestry, and cooperative movements. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) participates in various educational projects. The International Labor Organization (ILO) provides assistance to the Ministry of Labor and to the Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje (SENA) in their efforts to pro-

duce reliable labor statistics; the World Health Organization (WHO) works on public health and sanitation projects, particularly on malaria, yellow fever, tuberculosis, and smallpox control.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has made grants in the field of nuclear research. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), in cooperation with the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), assists the national government on air traffic and water resource problems.

Another international body that is engaged in assistance programs in Colombia is the Organization of American States (OAS) which provides technical cooperation, scholarships, and direct technical aid. Because of financial limitations, the benefits derived from its assistance programs are estimated to be smaller than Colombia's total contribution to OAS operations.

The United States disbursed U.S.\$322 million between 1945 and 1960 in the form of grants, loans, and other types of assistance. This amounts to about 7 percent of the total of U.S.\$4,429 million in grants and credits given to Latin American countries during the same period. Military supplies and services amounted to U.S.\$31 million. Nonmilitary grants, comprising aid for educational development, technical assistance, straight relief, agricultural surplus commodities given through private agencies (including UNICEF), transportation of agricultural commodities, and contribution to the Inter-American highway system, amounted to U.S.\$29 million. Utilized loans provided by the Export-Import Bank Act and the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, and through the sales of overseas surpluses amounted to U.S.\$220 million. Other assistance totaled U.S.\$42 million.

The main instrument of United States government assistance has been the Servicio Técnico Agrícola Colombiano-Americano—STACA (Colombian-American Agricultural Technical Service), an agency directed by and composed of International Cooperation Administration (ICA) and Colombian government personnel. The United States spent a total of U.S.\$2,315,000 in 1960 of which public administration and management absorbed \$210,000; education, \$610,000; agricultural engineering, extension services, cacao and fiber development, forestry, agricultural credit promotion, and so forth, \$835,000; industrial development, \$110,000; transport, \$250,000; and health and sanitation, \$300,000. Projects were carried out directly by ICA personnel or through contracts with United States educational institutions and private business firms.

The Rockefeller Foundation has a long standing program which assists agricultural and medical research. It participates in the operation of six agricultural research stations located in the principal climatic zones of the country. Its expenses, and grants to schools of

higher education, particularly to the Medical School of the Universidad del Valle, and to various government and private research institutions and agencies, amounted to U.S.\$800,000 in 1960. The Ford Foundation is planning to extend its program into Colombia and, as a preliminary step, in 1960 made a survey of educational needs. The Committee for American Relief Everywhere (CARE) is instrumental in the distribution of United States surplus food. Its combined operation and assistance expenses amounted to almost U.S.\$2 million in 1960. The National Catholic Welfare Committee (NCWC) is engaged in agricultural and technical education, sponsoring eight technical schools; it spent U.S.\$858,000 in 1960.

Less ambitious, but nevertheless significant, are the programs of assistance carried out by the West German Government in geological studies and education. They totaled DM 1,231,000, or about U.S.\$300,000, in 1960. The French Government extends assistance within the framework of a bilateral economic cooperation program. Scholarships to Colombian youth and technical assistance in mining and petroleum to the Ministry of Mines and Petroleum, as well as in urban planning for the city of Bogotá, are the major French projects. A Japanese mission visiting in 1960 expressed interest in providing technical assistance in support of the four-year investment plan, especially in engineering and electronics.

International Commercial Agreements

Colombia has established formal commercial relations with several nations in three ways; by commercial agreements and treaties; by agreements between the Federación Nacional de Cafeteros and agencies of foreign governments; and by agreements extending the most-favored-nation position to certain countries.

Formal commercial agreements with some European and American countries, go as far back as the early part of the nineteenth century. Belgium, Luxembourg and Holland had commercial and navigation agreements with Colombia as early as 1829. Agreements with the United States originated in 1846, with Great Britain in 1846, with Spain in 1881, and with France in 1892. In an effort to expand its trade, Colombia signed agreements with Bolivia, Brazil, Denmark, Ecuador, Sweden, and Switzerland in the early part of the present century, and, shortly before World War II, with Argentina, Chile, Hungary, Italy, Norway, and Peru.

After World War II further efforts were directed toward the expansion of trade on the basis of bilateral agreements with West Germany, Finland, Portugal and Uruguay. These agreements usually contained payment provisions in dollars and liberalization of tariff regulations for one or more export and import commodities.

They were renewable after expiration either automatically or by exchange of letter, and several of them continue to be in force.

With Israel, Yugoslavia and the Soviet bloc countries no government agreement exists, but arrangements in the form of barter agreements between the Federación Nacional de Cafeteros and the appropriate agencies of the foreign governments have been secured. Agreements with trade agencies of Israel, Yugoslavia (1959), East Germany (1955), Czechoslovakia (1957), Hungary, Romania, and the Soviet Union (1959) are mainly concerned with the exchange of manufactured goods for coffee.

Colombia extended the most-favored-nation provision on a reciprocal basis to most of those countries with whom it signed formal commercial treaties. Most of these privileges have been terminated as tariff policies and have become more protective in nature. Consequently, these relationships have lost most of their significance.

Colombia is a member of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the International Finance Corporation, and the Inter-American Development Bank, but has not signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Economic integration in Latin America has been a topic of discussion and negotiation in more recent years, but no formal agreement has been achieved. The government appointed a committee in November 1960 to prepare a list of products available for a common Latin American market, should Colombia join with 19 other countries in the creation of a Latin American Zone of Free Commerce, promoted by the Economic Commission for Latin America of the United Nations.

Because of growing competition on the coffee market, there have been repeated government statements concerning the desirability of formal commodity stabilization agreements. In support of such end, Colombia associated itself with the International Coffee Agreement in 1960, and with the International Sugar Council in 1961.

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SECTION IV. MILITARY BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 33

THE ARMED FORCES

MILITARY HISTORY AND TRADITION

The Armed Forces of Colombia includes an Army of some thousands, a fairly strong Air Force and a small Navy. The size and character of the services have varied throughout the history of the country, from a mere militia stiffened by a few small professional units at the capital and other important points to a fairly strong professional force of long-service men. Truly Colombian forces date only from the wars of independence (1810-19), but the preceding 300 years of Spanish domination had their effect on the character of the Colombian people and their approach to military affairs (see ch. 2, Historical Setting).

The Conquistadors

The Spain from which the first European conquerors came, early in the sixteenth century, had but just, after centuries of intermittent warfare, finally conquered the last Moorish kingdom on the peninsula. The opening up of the New World furnished an outlet for the military energies generated by the wars and no longer employable in Spain. The tales of gold to be had for the taking in America attracted the adventurous and needy from an impoverished Spain.

Expeditions were undertaken by leaders who could fit out ships, provide arms, and attract followers. Initially, the Crown's participation, consisted of exercising the right to license expeditions, in return for a part (usually a fifth) of the proceeds. Leaders, variously designated as governors, captains-general, or *adelantados*, made up what were essentially military expeditions composed of ex-soldiers, artisans, tradesmen, and often debtors, criminals, and any sort of landless men, all of whom expected to return rich.

The accepted method was to land in the assigned area, establish a military camp, defeat any hostile Indians—in any case, to despoil them of any gold they might possess—and impress them for necessary labor, which the conquistadors would not perform themselves. Exploration of the interior was done under the stimulus of tales

told by the Indians of more gold or emeralds further on, whereupon an armed expedition would be fitted out to conquer new tribes and repeat the process. In this way Antioquia was founded; expeditions from Peru penetrated the Pasto region and the valley of Cauca, and Jiménez de Quesada pushed into the Sabana de Cundinamarca, eventually to found Santa Fe de Bogotá.

The period of purely military exploitation did not last long. Soon the throne established *audiencias*, courts having jurisdiction over the various areas of the New World. All administration, however, including military command, remained the province of the governors, responsible directly to the distant king. As the communities became more settled, military actions became limited to an occasional expedition to put down a warlike tribe or nearly as frequently an ambitious and rebellious Spaniard. For such service, the whole Spanish community was considered a militia, from which a party of the needed strength was drawn. All except priests were considered available, since all were trained in arms.

The Colonial Period

From the first Presidency (1564) to the revolt of the *Comuneros* in 1781, there was little change in the military system. Troops regularly under arms appear to have been limited to presidents' or viceroys' guards, small peacetime garrisons at coastal forts, and a few permanent guards at larger towns. In emergencies, troops were raised by a militia system.

Particularly in the earlier part of the period, a number of serious Indian uprisings took place in the Central Cordillera and in the Magdalena Valley. The coastal cities were subject to English raids in Elizabethan times. Sir Francis Drake took and ransomed Cartagena in 1586 and 10 years later destroyed Santa Marta and Riohacha. In the seventeenth century, buccaneer raids were frequent. In 1741, during the War of the Austrian Succession, the English Admiral Vernon made a massive but unsuccessful attack on Cartagena. These attacks were met by local militia reinforcement of the permanent garrisons. There was no war fleet worthy of the name.

The most serious disturbance of the colonial period was the Comunero Revolt of 1781, occasioned by resentment against excessive taxes. A truly popular armed uprising, it began in the Bogotá region and spread to the Magdalena Valley and Pasto. It was not a revolutionary movement, for the rebels proclaimed full loyalty to the King. Initially successful, it forced important concessions. The Viceroy, then resident in Cartagena, rejected the capitulations and sent a force of 500 troops to Bogotá, which was sufficient to overawe the poorly armed, untrained rebels.

The principal result of the revolt from the military point of view was army reform. For the first time, regular units other than the coastal garrisons were formed. Infantry, cavalry, and artillery units were raised, employing strong cadres of regular soldiers brought to strength by calling to the colors short term militiamen. Troops numbering about 9,000 in all were stationed in various parts of the country. At the capital there was a regular regiment of 900, plus the viceregal mounted guard, with a number of militia regiments.

The Separation from Spain

Colombia's struggle for independence from Spain lasted for more than 10 years (1810-24). No mere military campaign to drive out Spanish troops, it involved a brief success, followed by defeat and retaliatory repression, then a renewed campaign, again successful. It was further complicated by internal dissension between federalists and the advocates of strong central government, and also involved military action in all the countries from Venezuela to Peru. The revolution was facilitated in the first place by Napoleon's overthrow of the Spanish monarchy in 1808 (see ch. 2, Historical Setting).

The first act leading to separation took place in Bogotá, where mob action (which did not, however, result in bloodshed) brought into being a junta which, while asserting loyalty to the exiled King Ferdinand VII, set up a federated state of New Granada responsible to the King personally, but not through any peninsular Spanish officials. The Act of July 20 (1810), as it is called, marks for Colombians the second most important date of their history. Almost immediately, bickering started between federalists and centralists and even between cities of the same province, so strong was sectionalism in the country.

In only two places could the royalist troops maintain control: the regions of Popayán and Santa Marta. The Popayán area was promptly cleared of royalist troops in 1811, but lost again in 1812. Santa Marta controlled not only its own vicinity, but the lowland to the south as far as the Magdalena River. The campaign against it, successful in January 1813, marks the first appearance in Colombia of Simón Bolívar, who was to become the great liberator of all Spanish colonies as far south as Peru. His forces cleared the Magdalena region and crossed the cordillera to Cúcuta. From there, with some of the Colombian troops, he returned to continue the fight in his native Venezuela.

The years of 1813 and 1814 were marked by lack of patriot success everywhere. The southwest remained in royalist hands, and Santa Marta was retaken. The provinces remained at odds as to what form union would take. Bolívar, defeated in Venezuela, re-

turned and by threat of arms forced Cundinamarca into the federal union. He was, however, unable to get help in Cartagena to move against Santa Marta and left South America for Jamaica and Haiti to seek aid and arms.

Napoleon being defeated, Spain sent 11,000 men to subjugate Venezuela and New Granada. In December 1815, after a siege of nearly five months, Cartagena fell. Advance into the interior brought about the defeat of all the patriot forces, and Bogotá was taken in May 1816. Some troops escaped into the llanos; and others hid in the mountains. Guerrilla warfare was carried on by these small forces without conclusive effect. Meanwhile the Spanish repressive measures amounted to a reign of terror, as patriot leaders were hunted out and executed.

Bolívar returned to the mainland in Venezuela in 1816, and until the spring of 1819 occupied himself there, achieving the liberation of the Orinoco Valley and gaining contact with such forces as had escaped from highland Colombia and were operating in the plains of the western Orinoco basin. In May 1819 he decided to reinvade Colombia and by rapid marches arrived at the foot of the eastern slope of the Eastern Cordillera, where he began his climb through a little-used pass and reached the plateau without discovery by the Spaniards. Bolívar recruited additional forces from patriot veterans in the vicinity. Two battles served to defeat the Spanish forces (which had been greatly reduced in the years since 1816). The first of these afforded the patriots time for further recruiting and re-fitting, which was greatly aided by the surprise taking of Tunja. The second, a complete victory at a crossing of the Boyacá River on August 7, 1819, marks the most famous date in Colombian history. The Spanish commanders, disheartened by the victory and faced with patriot uprisings, evacuated nearly all of the highland area.

The early part of 1820 was spent in expelling the remaining Spanish troops. By February, the south, except for the Pasto region, was free of the enemy. On the northern coastal plain, all but the city of Cartagena was liberated by June.

In May, news was received of a revolution in Spain. One of its effects was an order for the cessation of hostilities and the negotiation of an armistice, which was completed in November 1820. The armistice, to run for six months, did not result in peace, because the new government of Spain had announced that any settlement based on independence would be "absolutely inadmissible."

The royalists were still in control of Ecuador, considered part of the Republic of Gran Colombia, and had not been dislodged from Peru. Campaigns were therefore necessary to liberate these areas, including Bolivia, then part of the viceroyalty of Peru. Colombian

troops were an important part of these expeditions, and their victories at Pichincha (Ecuador, 1822), Junín, and Ayacucho (Peru, 1824) are celebrated in Colombia.

Colombian military tradition rests strongly on the Bolivarian era. The names given to the battalions and squadrons of the Colombian Army are those of Bolívar and his generals and the victories of the liberation. Naval vessels' names also reflect the leaders and important dates of the war.

Military Affairs of Independent Colombia

Colombia's history since its liberation is one of internal disorder rather than of foreign wars. The rest of the nineteenth century saw no less than 80 armed rebellions, attempted revolutions and armed coups. None of these are considered by the Army to add luster to military tradition. The two most serious lasted three years each, from 1860 to 1862 and from 1899 to 1902. The "War of 1,000 Days," as the last of these is known, is said to have cost nearly 100,000 casualties in all parts of the country, an indication of the fierceness and mercilessness of the guerrilla war into which it degenerated.

The twentieth century has been free of serious armed revolts which can be characterized as civil war. The only foreign clash was the short jungle war in the Amazon basin occasioned by the boundary dispute with Peru in 1932-33. Ground action and river boat fighting were supported by the Colombian Air Force, less than 10 years in existence.

POSITION IN GOVERNMENT

Legal Basis

The establishment of armed forces is provided for in Article 166 of the Constitution and extended by Article 167, which authorizes the passage of laws to establish a national militia and a national police force. Their supreme command is placed in the hands of the President by Article 120, which authorizes him to make disposition of the forces, to appoint military officers in accordance with law, and if he deems it necessary, to direct personally military operations in time of war as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces (Jefe Supremo de las Fuerzas Armadas).

Recognition of Colombia's turbulent past is found in the requirement that the President preserve or, when necessary, restore public order. This clause appears earlier in Article 120 than that which directs the President to provide for the security of the republic against external enemies. The President declares war with the consent of the Senate or, if the country is invaded, may do so on

his own authority; he negotiates and ratifies treaties of peace, submitting the pertinent documents to the next session of the legislature.

The basic structure of the Armed Forces, including the police, was established by a decree of the Military Junta in 1957 and confirmed in law in 1960.

Involvement in Politics

The situation of the armed forces as a political power within the government has fluctuated according to circumstances. In the earliest times of conquest and exploration, every Spaniard, of whatever background (unless he was a priest), landed, so to speak, with arms in hand. Governors, whether called captains-general, presidents, or viceroys, had to be prepared to take the field against Indians or rival conquistadors at need. Although the Spanish crown imposed laws establishing a civil government by 1542, the tradition that a Spanish noble or a commoner aspiring to that rank was able to resort to arms to defend his holdings persisted into the colonial period.

With such a tradition and no essential change in the class which considered itself born to rule—composed first of Spaniards, then of Spaniards and their American-born descendants, the *criollos*, and finally after independence, the *criollos* alone—it is not surprising to find, through the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, a heavy preponderance of "general presidents." By no means were all professional soldiers, nor can the society be called militaristic, but any local leader who could raise a few hundred men found the title of general easy to assume and usually kept it for life. Wars and rebellions were so continual that the prestige of military rank generally overshadowed that of those who followed civilian professions. Most of the generals who became presidents were elected; only three seized power by military means and established dictatorships, and these ruled only briefly. (In Colombian terms, a dictator is one who attains supreme rule by unconstitutional means; behavior in office is apparently not a criterion.) Whatever the cause, however, persons of military rank apparently participated fully in the affairs of both the political parties—Conservative and Liberal—until the political stabilization which resulted in the major constitutional revision of 1886. Beginning about that time, the number of generals who came to occupy the post of chief executive markedly declined. From then until 1960, there were only three generals elected president, and but one who achieved dictatorial power by a coup (General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla—1953-57).

The time of origin of the existing tradition that military officers do not involve themselves in politics is unclear, but it must fall

within this period. Whether or not the idea had taken root previously, it received renewed and intensified emphasis as a result of the bloody civil war of 1899-1903, occasioned by a Liberal revolt which divided the officer corps as it divided the nation. In the period of 40 years which followed, political partisanship remained acute, but violence in support of it was absent. The suggestion has therefore been advanced that the army, steadily becoming more professional, came to recognize itself and to a degree to be tacitly accepted as the one national, as opposed to political or regional, force to serve the country when those always latent causes of violence threatened the peace. It could therefore afford a certain detachment. In general, the armed forces succeeded in staying out of active politics from the close of that war until about 1948 and in avoiding being used for political ends by the successive administrations during that period. An exception was the abortive attempt by a few officers to abduct President Alfonso López in 1944, but the act was rejected by the Army as a whole, and the President was restored to office.

Party affiliation is taken with deep seriousness in Colombia. Over the years since the formal establishment of the present Conservative and Liberal parties in the 1840's, affiliation has come to be virtually hereditary. Almost without exception, a man considers himself to be of the party of his father, and his grandfather before him. This extends, apparently, to all classes enjoying the exercise of suffrage. Whole villages belong to the same party, usually that of their *hacendado* (landlord), and are voted en masse by him, apparently without objection on their part. Hence, both officers and enlisted men consider themselves "born into" a party and so identify themselves, even though adhering to the tradition of inactivity in politics, in all but exceptional circumstances (see ch. 2, Historical Setting; ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

One of the amendments to the Constitution which the Codification of 1945 brought into force stated for the first time (Art. 168) that personnel of the Armed Forces and the National Police were prohibited from exercising the franchise or entering into political debate while on active duty. This had the effect of reinforcing the provision in effect since 1832 that their "essential duty was obedience," and that they had no power to deliberate and the provision of 1886 which constrained them from assembling "except on the order of competent authority" and from petitioning except in connection with internal subjects such as improved service and morale. No provision, however, prevented retired officers from being politically active, as they always had been.

The commencement of the downfall of the armed forces as a non-political arm of government was precipitated by the Bogotazo (the

riots and uprisings in April 1948, at the time of the Bogotá Conference of American States). The troops were at first called out in normal fashion to quell the rioting in the capital and later all over the country, as the disorders spread. There appeared to be little controversy about the Army's position, inasmuch as one of the first results of the rioting was the formation of a coalition government. As time went on, however, the coalition found it impossible to work together, and control, harshly exercised, fell again into the hands of the Conservative President Ospina. By April 1949 the restoration of order had degenerated into outright repression of all Liberal Party activities by police and military action. Liberal army officers complained about discrimination. Some deserted; others, followed by their entire units, took refuge in the mountains and forests and carried on partisan warfare against the Conservatives. Before the election of 1949, both police and army were ordered to enter Liberal villages and forcibly to register peasants as Conservatives. Conditions worsened under the next president, Laureano Gómez, who placed crippling restrictions on all sources of political opposition and in all practical effects made himself dictator.

Gómez broke with long-standing tradition by appointing a civilian Minister of War. The seeming assumption of civilian supremacy over the military had the effect, first, of rendering the service more subject to use as a political tool; and, second, by its breach of the historic practice of putting the senior military person into the Cabinet as a nonpolitical figure, it caused resentment and, where possible, cautious noncooperation even among officers of Conservative background. In general, the situation appeared to be one in which discipline enforced continued obedience to the orders of government, but the execution thereof was marked by increasing lack of zeal.

As has frequently happened in Colombian politics, particularly when one party has amassed a monopoly of power, the Conservative Party split into factions. That led by Ospina made overtures to the Army in the person of Lieutenant General Rojas Pinilla, the Chief of Staff. Meanwhile, in a constantly aggravated atmosphere of discontent, disorder, and partisan warfare in the countryside, Gómez planned to get rid of Rojas Pinilla, whom he had come to suspect of adverse political intentions. In a series of plots and counterplots Gómez overreached himself, and his orders for Rojas Pinilla's arrest resulted in the Army coup which deposed him and brought about the Government of the Armed Forces on June 13, 1953.

The inconsistency of the overt establishment of a military dictatorship with the professed desire of the military to remain outside the field of political action is instantly apparent and difficult to reconcile. On the one hand, United States Army observers who have

known Rojas Pinilla since before he became Chief of Staff have stated that he was cold, hard, and ruthlessly ambitious—in short, potentially a typical dictator. On the other hand, frustrated and helpless under the incipient totalitarianism of Gómez and wearied by years of partisan outrages, people and political leaders alike felt that the cohesive force of the military was the last resort available to suppress both disorder and Gómez' moves toward perpetuating arbitrary rule. There was, in short, a demand for the Army to act.

The bloodless military coup was greeted with public approval. Leaders of both traditional parties announced their satisfaction. Those who feared a typical military administration were reassured by the fact that Rojas appointed only 3 officers to his Cabinet of 13. He soon announced a general amnesty to the partisan fighters and *guerrilleros* and released political prisoners, acts which went far to reduce outbreaks of political murder, for the time being at least.

The fund of good will created by these early acts was soon dissipated, particularly insofar as the elite class—the “oligarchy”—was concerned. Rojas decreed tax reform, embarked on a program of public spending, and created a number of government controlled corporations in the fields of water power, petroleum exploitation, railroad, air, and highway communications, and low-rental housing. None of these ostensibly beneficial programs suited the moneyed elite of either party; one result was a renewed outbreak of party-inspired violence, even before the end of 1953. The Army was therefore saddled again with the unwelcome task of resuming anti-guerrilla warfare, a task for which they were neither organized nor trained, and they consequently had no lasting success.

Rojas' social, economic, and financial plans may have been good in theory, had the country been equipped with a sufficiently broad and stable economic base in the beginning. Colombia, however, was and is too dependent on its major export crop, coffee, and the considerable drop in world coffee prices in 1955 produced an increasingly unfavorable balance of trade. The resulting inflation, which was increased rather than alleviated by attempts at price support and “pump-priming,” eventually impoverished again members of the lower class which had initially benefited by Rojas' reforms and in the end lost him their support. In addition to their lack of economic base, many of the regime's projects were inefficiently and even dishonestly administered. Especially at the top, against Rojas, his family, and close supporters, there was evidence of corruption brought to light at the trials which followed his fall.

The effect of two years of Rojas' rule upon the two traditional parties was to bring them into closer relationship, a movement first promoted by Alfonso López. Alberto Lleras Camargo, a Liberal and former President (1945), was in 1955 the prime mover in pro-

moting the movement of union, which began to show progress as early as late 1955. The Civil Front, as it was first called, included virtually all the top echelon of Liberals and a considerable number of Conservatives. Lleras even went to Spain to secure the concurrence of the exiled Gómez, so deep was his conviction of the need for united opposition (see ch. 2, Historical Setting; ch. 21, Political Dynamics; ch. 26, Character and Structure of the Economy).

The Army backed Rojas' rise to power; the Army also deposed him. The exact motivation of the officers who forced his resignation has never been made clear. There were, however, several factors in operation which logically could have influenced the Army to reassert itself as the ultimate power in the state.

One of these factors was the progressively increasing conversion of the Army into a true political force—almost a party in itself—the result of the continual deferment by Rojas of opportunities to seek the popular will through elections. In the early years of his rule, at least, national elections would have returned the country to the old conditions of party strife and violence; nevertheless most officers did not want armed forces rule to be for long the alternative to normal political life. In the beginning, in 1953, the only claim to legitimacy that Rojas had was that he was accepted in the presidency only to fill out Gómez' term, which expired in August 1954. There was, however, both expressed and accepted, the proviso that the termination of military rule was dependent on the return of internal peace. Consequently, the resurgence of violence in the provinces, easily traceable to partisan agitation, caused the Army, which had to contend with it, to accept the continuation of military rule as simple recognition of the law of necessity.

The erosion of the Army's loyalty to the regime began during 1955. Certainly by this time a number of causes of dissatisfaction were evident. One group of related circumstances had to do with the Army's view of its own position before the nation. As time went on, it became more and more painfully obvious that Rojas was succumbing to the temptations of his autocratic position. He became surrounded by a close group of associates, military and civilian, who shielded him from realities and fed his vanity. Favoritism was open and blatant. As one officer put it, a colonel could never be sure that some major with palace connections would not inform against him and supplant him in command. More and more, the Army was finding itself the servant of his power instead of his collaborator in restoring normal conditions. Its own inability to succeed in suppressing partisan violence and banditry was bad for morale and prestige. Further, the Army, as an institution, became associated in the public mind with the doubtless highly justified accusations of graft and corruption leveled at Rojas and his top

level coterie. In defending themselves, they were not particularly helped by public knowledge that their perquisites had been substantially increased and that they had been able to build elaborate clubs for officers and noncommissioned officers and to enjoy other advantages that seemed to be evidence of undue favor. They were highly sensitive to the growing public opinion that they, the reputed saviors of national honor, were benefiting unduly while the country was still in crisis.

The most severe threat to the Army's still-cherished tradition of political nonparticipation came with the announcement by Rojas of a "Third Force" as the party of government, which he intended as a counterforce to the traditional parties. In 1954 and again the next year, such a force had been proposed in support of Rojas, but difficulties of organizing it and establishing its functions had caused the dictator to veto its establishment. In 1956, when the Civil Front of Lleras Camargo seemed to pose a real threat to him, Rojas set the anniversary of his coup (June 13) as the formal, solemn dedication of the movement, which he publicly referred to as the force of the "People-Armed Forces." The success of such a movement would have produced a party far outnumbering the Civil Front and not only would have made the election of Rojas in 1958 a foregone conclusion, but would irrevocably have placed the armed forces in the forefront of political action.

To the senior officers, and the military command and staff not involved directly with the presidency, the Civil Front of the two old parties must have seemed far preferable to any manipulated mass organization under Rojas' control. For one thing, because of social origin, the leaders of the traditional parties were more nearly the natural allies of the military service leaders. Perhaps more compelling was the probability that the alliance of the parties would have a strong effect in reducing partisan warfare and assassination; also, the existence of a coalition government gave promise of facilitating the forces' withdrawal from their forced political role.

The Third Force did not last long. The Catholic Church offered strong opposition to it, for it did not wish to see Church-sponsored groups, such as labor unions and youth groups, taken over for political purposes and considered inappropriate, if not sacrilegious, the oaths of support required of Third Force members. The opposition of the military, broadly based on the issues of tradition, misuse, and corruption, culminated in August 1956 in a meeting of senior officers with Rojas. By an appeal to their ingrained discipline, the dictator persuaded them not to withdraw support, but only in return for promises of reform. He agreed to drop the Third Force idea, to call a Constituent Assembly, to forego his

efforts for re-election and to do away with graft. Of these promises, only the first was observed—and the Church opposition had in fact already nullified the Third Force. Rojas did establish a packed Constituent Assembly, but only to assure his re-election.

From this time on, Rojas' actions seem to be those of a man with delusions of grandeur driven to the recklessness of desperation. All support was vanishing, economic conditions were deteriorating, and violence continued to increase. Open letters by Civil Front leaders stating that the re-election of Rojas would be unconstitutional were answered by a speech by the dictator that the Government of the Armed Forces would rule Colombia for the rest of the century. In late April, when the Civil Front candidate, Valencia, was nominated, Rojas issued an order for his arrest, which touched off student riots of such violence that the order was canceled.

Another act of folly bordering on insanity which took place on the first Sunday in May was a police attack on a crowd leaving a Bogotá church where an anti-Rojas sermon had been given. The actions of the police, tossing tear-gas grenades into the church and directing streams of dyed water against it, brought on a general strike in the city. Nevertheless, Rojas ordered out troops (actually as prepared to move against him as for him) and permitted his controlled Constituent Assembly to elect him President for the 1958-62 term.

This, the last straw, brought about the final arrangements for a military junta of top officers of the armed services and the establishment of full understanding and cooperation between them and the Civil Front. Before dawn on May 10, 1957, rejecting his final plea to be permitted to finish out his present term, they deposed Rojas and the next night, to save his life, had him secretly flown out of the country into exile.

The group which had put an end to the dictatorship collectively assumed responsibility as la Junta Militar de Gobierno (The Military Junta of Government) strictly on a temporary basis to fill out the current presidential term. Quite out of the tradition of Latin American military juntas, it did just that and no more. Still acting in cordial collaboration with the Civil Front, it decreed a plebiscite held December 1, 1957, which, itself in effect an amendment of the Constitution, provided for a return to normal elective processes, on the basis of an equal division of posts, elective and appointive, between the two traditional parties.

After elections held on this basis and after the inauguration, on August 7, 1958, of Alberto Lleras Camargo, the joint candidate for President, the Junta Militar relinquished its power, and its members retired from active service. In the new government, the only post held by a military man was that of Minister of War (see ch. 21, Political Dynamics).

ORGANIZATION

Top Control

As titular commander-in-chief, the President has as principal military adviser in his Cabinet the Minister of War, with supervisory functions over all three services and the National Police. The Minister is the senior general officer of the Army.

No explicit statement of the functions of the Ministry of War is available, except as is indicated by its organization, which comprises: the personal secretariat of the minister; the Procuraduría de las Fuerzas Armadas (corresponds most nearly to a Judge-Advocate General's Office for the Armed Forces, without legal advisory functions); a Secretariat-General, subdivided into several sections dealing with the budget and the management of various funds and a legal section; a department for Civil Aeronautics; the Military Industry division; and the joint service Military Club.

Budgetary allotments indicate that the Ministry's responsibility in the field of civil aeronautics is principally connected with the operation and maintenance of the National School of Civil Aviation. The Military Industry Division plans for the production of military items, but its functions, if any, in actual manufacture or procurement are unknown.

Two high-level councils are provided to advise the President at need. The Superior Council of National Defense, created in 1960, includes the ministers of Government, of Foreign Relations, and of Finance, and the Commanding General of the Armed Forces, with the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces as its general secretary. The other is the High Military Council, composed of all general officers normally stationed at or near the capital. It would include, in addition to the Commanding General and the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, the three service commanders, the commander of the Military Institutes Brigade, and the directors of the War College and the Military Industry Division.

Armed Forces Headquarters

The Commanding General of the Armed Forces (Comandante General de las Fuerzas Armadas) is specifically charged with responsibility for all the functions of command over the three military forces, the National Police, and the Directorate-General of Services. To assist him in these functions, he is provided with a chief of staff, who actually performs many of the functions of a deputy. The Armed Forces General Staff (Estado Mayor General) is divided into four sections (Departamentos)—D-1 (Personnel), D-2 (Intelligence), D-3 (Plans and Operations), and D-4 (Logistics)—the functions of which closely conform to the United States Army staff

procedure. The General Staff is specifically denied the function of command. Also within the headquarters are the Special Staff, the Adjutant General's Office, and the Superior Military Tribunal.

All four services, under the Commanding General, are assigned full command responsibility in their appropriate fields. The Director General of Services has administrative responsibility for the service echelons, which operate in accordance with plans developed by higher authority.

The Army

The Army (Ejército) has its own commander, headquarters and staff, in which the four general staff sections are designated E-1, -2, -3, and -4. Its major formations, the brigades, are called Operative Units and are composed of varying numbers of battalions of infantry and artillery, sometimes with a cavalry squadron (*grupo*) attached. In addition, under Army control are units of those services concerned with transport, communications, engineering, and supply. Schools and branch centers operate under central control, exercised through a headquarters called la Brigada de Institutos Militares—BIM (Military Institutes Brigade).

The Navy

The Navy (Armada) has its headquarters and naval staff at Bogotá. Its organization for operations takes due account of Colombia's 1,500-mile, two-ocean coastline, and its over 2,000 miles of rivers navigable by light craft. The principal naval base at Cartagena contains ship repair facilities, warehouses, and the Escuela Naval de Cadetes (Naval Cadet School). Other bases are located at Barranquilla and Buenaventura, with smaller ones at river ports on the Magdalena and rivers of the east and south. There is also a Corps of Marine Infantry (Cuerpo de Infantería de la Marina), units of which serve at the various bases and on river patrol duty.

The principal ships of the navy are destroyers and patrol escorts (frigates). Of two old (30 years) destroyers, one was, in early 1961, being cannibalized to keep the other in commission. It is to be replaced by a destroyer on ship loan from the United States. Also in early 1961, a 3,500-ton capacity floating drydock with sea-going tug was being provided on ship loan. There are two recently purchased destroyers built in Sweden.

The Air Force

The Air Force (Fuerza Aérea) headquarters, also in Bogotá, controls tactical units (fighter bomber and light bombardment), a transport unit, and 6 principal and several minor bases. The Air Force

Cadet School and basic flying school are near Cali, in the Department of Valle del Cauca. There is also an *Infantería de Aviación* (Aviation Infantry), which performs guard and other "house-keeping" duties.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE

The influence of foreign troops and foreign advisers began during Bolívar's wars of liberation. Being in need not only of trained soldiers to stiffen his raw levies but also of veterans who could train them, Bolívar asked his embassy in London to recruit volunteers from among the thousands of idle British veterans of the Napoleonic wars. Among those who responded, some were romantics, adventurers, or intriguers, but from the best of them were formed a foreign legion composed of separate British, Irish and Hanoverian units which performed well—in some cases magnificently. Others, individuals, he mixed into his own units as drillmasters; French, Italian, and Polish officers also came; but the main strength came from the British Isles.

After independence was secured, the use of foreign advisers seems to have diminished markedly, although arms were regularly purchased from European sources and from the United States. French influence persisted through the study of Napoleon's campaigns, and after German success in 1870, administration for the German staff system began to dominate military thinking. Specific knowledge of missions is lacking. There was some help from the United States in establishing the *Escuela Superior de Guerra* (War College) late in the century, and a French Army mission assisted in re-establishing the *Escuela Militar de Cadetes* (Military Cadet School) in 1890; the mission also conducted a tactical survey and trained a model artillery battalion.

In 1910, a military mission arrived from Chile, already heavily under German influence. It remained until 1918, and during the period, Colombian staff organization and procedures came more and more to resemble the German model.

Between the two world wars, various European missions were employed, among them Italian, French, Swiss, and German officers or ex-officers. A French mission founded the Colombian Air Force in 1921 and trained it until 1924, when a Swiss mission took over. The Naval Cadet School at Cartagena was founded with British naval help in 1935.

The first United States missions to the military services of Colombia were established in 1939 and have functioned continuously since that time. They have been concerned with organization and training matters and have facilitated the attendance of many officers at United States service schools, including the Command and General Staff

College level. Over the years, the missions have developed mutual relationships of friendliness and cooperation.

Colombia, which had severed relations with the Axis powers in 1941 and later proclaimed a state of belligerency, received limited Lend-Lease aid during World War II. In 1951, it responded to the United Nations call for troops to assist in repelling the Communist invasion of South Korea by offering an infantry battalion and the one frigate it then possessed. These units (the only South American forces offered) were accepted and, after a short period of intensive training with United States troops, served with credit in combat. They returned to Colombia enthusiastic about North American military methods and about the treatment received.

In 1952, a bilateral Mutual Assistance Treaty with the United States was signed and resulted in the arrival of a Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG), the duties of which are limited to the programming and provision of specified material aid (weapons and equipment) for certain designated units and to training only in the use of such material, including, on occasion, sending personnel to appropriate United States service schools.

SOURCE AND QUALITY OF MANPOWER

The basic source of military manpower, the young men of the country, is tapped by means of a conscription system which, though legally based on a theory of universal obligatory service, amounts in practice to a selective process. Noncommissioned officers, all of whom are career soldiers, are chosen from conscripts who volunteer for this service as they approach the end of their active duty. All officers except the relatively few in the technical and professional services are the products of the cadet schools and come exclusively from the educated classes. The initial process of selection for entrance into each group operates with considerable success to assure the forces an intake of the better qualified among those available.

Conscription

Under the present military service law, which dates from 1956, the period of military obligation is 30 years, during which at least one period of active duty must be served. The law is written so as to allow some flexibility in the active service period, according to the needs of the services, by setting the limit at 12 to 24 months. The period has been for some years set at 18 months.

The opportunity for selectivity inherent in the disproportion between the size of the total age-class and the number actually accepted for service enables the forces to induct men of satisfactory or better physical capabilities. Illiteracy, however, does not estab-

lish grounds for exemption; therefore, the illiteracy rate among conscripts approximates that of the country at large, or over 40 percent.

Procurement of Officers

Officer material originates almost exclusively from the upper middle and upper classes, for economic and social reasons. Virtually all of the line officers of the Army and Navy and pilot officers of the Air Force are graduates of the cadet schools, which require an academic secondary education for entrance. Only in the upper and middle classes is a secondary education (usually to be followed by attendance at a university) either a social must or an economic possibility. The government free secondary schools preparing for the *bachillerato* (the degree required for university matriculation) are in a small minority, and the private schools are expensive (see ch. 10, Education).

For entrance to the Military Cadet School at Bogotá, which educates cadets for commission in the Army and is the model for the cadet schools of the other services, a candidate, besides possessing the *bachillerato* (usually attained between 18 and 20 years of age), must be unmarried and of an "honorable family of moral status and good conduct." He must also pass a physical test and an academic examination of comprehensive scope for its level in mathematics, geography, history, Spanish and English.

The Air Force Cadet School, at Cali, allowing for difference in service interests, follows in essential pattern the scheme of the Army's school. The Naval Cadet School, at Cartagena, differs principally in that it accepts cadets between the ages of 16 and 20 and requires as background only four years of the academic secondary school course leading to the *bachillerato*.

Officers in certain staff and professional specialties (law, medicine, veterinary medicine, engineering, architecture, chemistry and physics) may be commissioned second lieutenants or the equivalent in the Navy before attaining their university degrees by taking a military orientation course at a service school. They must, however, present their university degrees within four years or be dropped for technical incapacity.

Procurement of Noncommissioned Officers

Noncommissioned officer candidates are carefully selected from each conscript class as it nears the end of its term of service. All must be volunteers, must be screened by a board of officers, and must pass a 20-week course of academic and practical military subjects before appointment in the lowest NCO grade.

TRAINING

Attention to the training mission occupies a major portion of the effort of commanders and staff from the highest headquarters to the smallest units. This basic mission is well understood by all, and apparently earnest effort is made to fulfill it.

The superior direction of the training system is highly centralized, and, on paper at least, fully standardized. In the Army, headquarters in Bogotá issues a directive prescribing the length of training and school courses for enlisted men. A presidential decree prescribes the kind and length of courses at service schools required to qualify an officer for each promotion in his career.

Brigades prepare their own training directives, based on the Army directive and elaborated to prescribe in further detail the training process in their own areas. Battalions submit plans for phases of instruction and reports of progress. Companies submit weekly detailed schedules and reports.

The far smaller Navy and Air Force maintain more concentrated training establishments than the Army, which is dispersed over the whole country. In general, the same principles of direction and standardization apply.

Individual Training of Conscripts

The 26 weeks of recruit training, divided into two equal periods of basic and advanced instruction, are thoroughly standardized within each service. In fact, basic instruction is markedly similar in content in all three.

After a week spent in processing and preliminary orientation and indoctrination, the recruit undergoes 11 weeks of intensive basic training; each training day is of 9 hours, with 6 on Saturdays (not including a 2-hour lunch period). The list of subjects covered presents no features very different from those stressed in most armies.

In the advanced training period, many of the basic subjects are continued progressively (for example, physical training, drill, combat formations and marches), and some rifle range practice is held. Specialist training receives 172 hours of the 618 available. Normally, recruits receive familiarization training and, where appropriate, crew drill in the basic and supporting weapons of the battalion to which assigned, and those destined for headquarters and service companies begin training in the special functions of such units.

Training in the methods and subjects of instruction is held for officer and noncommissioned instructors at least one hour per week-day during the basic course and two hours during the advanced. Such orientation is prescribed and its necessity highly emphasized

by the Army directive. Meanwhile those recruits who are illiterate or barely literate receive instructions in reading and writing.

Individual Instruction of the Professional Cadre

The system of professional qualification and advancement of officers and sergeants is completely standardized and centrally controlled. The basic document governing the requirements for officers' promotions is a presidential decree which covers all three services. For initial promotion to the grade of sergeant and all subsequent advancement, the requirements are laid down by the headquarters of the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

Officers

An officers' promotion, to include the grade of major (or lieutenant commander in the Navy), depends upon his time in grade and his successful completion of a course at a service school. Courses are progressive in scope and tactical level as the various ranks are attained. The Army's courses are held at the various branch schools; the Navy and Air Force each have only one. The prescribed lengths of courses are: from second to first lieutenant (ensign to lieutenant, junior grade), 12 weeks; from first lieutenant to captain (lieutenant, junior grade to lieutenant), 20 weeks; and from captain to major (lieutenant to lieutenant commander), 12 weeks.

All majors, and a few captains with superior records who have completed qualification for their majorities, take the General Staff Course at the War College, after passing an entrance examination. Members of all services attend the War College, and passing the General Staff course is a prerequisite for promotion to lieutenant colonel (commander in the Navy).

Besides time in grade and troop, sea or flying duty, the grade of colonel (captain in the Navy) is reached by presenting and orally defending a thesis before a board of senior officers. By a decree of 1960, a special course was set up in high command, strategy, national potential and the coordination of governmental problems as a prerequisite to entering the rank of general officer.

Noncommissioned Officers

The original appointment of second corporals (*cabos segundos*) and their promotion to first corporals (*cabos primeros*) is accomplished in the brigades. Successive promotion to the three grades of sergeant (second, vice-first, and first) is accomplished in a manner as standardized and centralized as the system of advancement of officers. Within a year of completing their time in grade for promotion, all not disqualified by reason of character or conduct are sent to the schools of their own branches for 12-week courses. In

addition to subjects pertinent to their own arms, they receive courses in administration, communications, Spanish, history, mathematics, and geography.

Specialists

Minor or "apprentice" specialists are developed through on-the-job training in their own units. Permanent and better-qualified specialists are produced at the schools of the special branches.

Navy and Air Force

There is great similarity in the systems of schooling and promotion in the other two services to that in force in the Army. Both services, however, lay relatively greater stress on the training of specialists in their appropriate fields.

Officers of the Professions

Those officers entering the service directly from the universities and commissioned in the appropriate staff branches and as professors in the cadet schools and War College are promoted through attending short courses at service schools, including the War College. They may not rise above the grade of lieutenant colonel.

Unit and Combined Training

In the Army, small-unit training (squad, platoon and company) follows recurrent cycles of 13 weeks, geared to the release to each company of successive increments of conscripts who have completed their individual training. Its conduct is handicapped by the demands of public order duty, by the detail of men on garrison special duty, and by the recurring absence of officers and NCOs at schools. In the course of a full year, however, most companies can attain a fair degree of proficiency.

The Army training directive required at least one battalion field exercise in 1960, to be preceded in each battalion by a command post exercise (CPX). It also prescribed the same for each brigade. Similar handicaps to full participation for companies exist, and further, unit field equipment and transportation sufficient for extended field duty are lacking, as are funds for gasoline and maintenance.

RANKS, PAY, AND UNIFORM

Ranks

Titles of rank in the Army and Air Force, from second lieutenant to lieutenant general, parallel those in most armies in both translation and indication of responsibility and status. Those in the Navy translate differently from the United States Navy system, but the

steps in grade are the same. In the Army, there is no grade higher than that of lieutenant general, and that grade has not had any incumbents since the deposition of President Rojas Pinilla, who held it. In the Air Force, the highest grade is brigadier general, and in the Navy, the senior officer is a rear admiral. In the Marine Infantry, grades are identical with those in the Army, but the highest is that of brigadier general (see table 1).

Noncommissioned grades show less correspondence to those current in the United States Army, both in terminology and number. In the Air Force, two separate categories are specified: technical NCOs and command NCOs. Relative rank and responsibility between them is unclear. Titles of naval ratings are unavailable. No conscripts or 18-month volunteers hold any rank or rating in any service.

Differences in social origin, education and tradition, reinforced by long-continued military custom, separate officers and noncommissioned officers of the career service. Each class knows and respects the place, values and functions of the other. The bonds which unite them as professional military men appear stronger than the disruptive factors of political partisanship which were at the roots of what has become known as the "violence problem."

In an army where all career soldiers are noncommissioned officers and all privates are conscripts who are in the service for only 18 months and do not even join their own companies for at least 6 months, conditions are created which result in a considerable gulf between conscript and regular. Very much of the individual instruction period is in the hands of the NCOs: for example, physical training, drill, initial familiarization with weapons, military courtesy and introduction into the regularity and discipline of barracks life. The standing of the recruit in the eyes of his officers is largely established by the opinions and reports of the senior NCOs, as is selection from among the volunteers for entrance into the career service.

Pay

Effective in April 1959, the services received their first pay increase since 1941. It resulted, on the average, in nearly doubling the basic monthly pay in terms of current Colombian pesos. This action by no means compensated for the inflation of values over the previous 18 years, but nevertheless was a substantial morale factor.

The differential between the base pay of the various grades is not large, but since longevity and family allowances are computed on a percentage basis, the "spread" is thereby increased (see table 2).

Table 1. Military Ranks in the Colombian Armed Forces

<i>Translation and United States Equivalent</i>		
<i>Title</i>	<i>Army and Air Force</i>	
Teniente General	Lieutenant General	
Mayor General	Major General	
Brigadier General	Brigadier General	
Coronel	Colonel	
Teniente Coronel	Lieutenant Colonel	
Mayor	Major	
Capitán	Captain	
Teniente	1st Lieutenant	
Sub-Teniente	2d Lieutenant	
Sargento Mayor	Sergeant Major	Sergeant Major
Sargento Primero	1st Sergeant	1st Sergeant or Master Sergeant
Sargento Viceprimero	Vice 1st Sergeant	Sergeant 1st Class
Sargento Segundo	2d Sergeant	Staff Sergeant
Cabo Primero	1st Corporal	Sergeant
Cabo Segundo	2d Corporal	Corporal
Boldado	Soldier	Private
<i>Air Force Technical Noncommissioned Officers *</i>		
Sub-Oficial Técnico Jefe		Chief Technical NCO
Sub-Oficial Técnico Sub-Jefe		Sub-Chief Technical NCO
Sub-Oficial Técnico Primero		1st Technical NCO
Sub-Oficial Técnico Segundo		2d Technical NCO
Sub-Oficial Técnico Tercero		3d Technical NCO
<i>Naval Officers</i>		
Contra-Almirante	Rear Admiral	Rear Admiral
Capitán de Navío	Ship Captain	Captain
Capitán de Fragata	Frigate Captain	Commander
Capitán de Corbeta	Corvette Captain	Lieutenant Commander
Teniente de Navío	Ship Lieutenant	Lieutenant
Teniente de Fragata	Frigate Lieutenant	Lieutenant, Junior Grade
Teniente de Corbeta	Corvette Lieutenant	Ensign

* Equivalent unknown.

Source: Adapted from Instituto Colombiano de Opinión Pública, *Factores Colombianos*, 1960, pp. 54-58.

Longevity allowances for officers do not begin until the completion of 15 years of service, when an increase of 10 percent of basic salary is granted, augmented by 1 percent per year thereafter. NCO longevity pay is computed on the same basis, but begins after 10 years of service. Family allowances for both officers and NCOs (married or widowers) are paid at the rate of 30 percent of base pay, plus 5 percent for the first child and 4 percent for each succeeding one. Various other allowances are paid, including flying pay and Navy diving pay.

Table 2. Basic Monthly Pay in the Colombian Armed Forces

Rank or grade *	Pay in pesos *
Teniente General.....	1,850.00
Mayor General.....	1,650.00
Brigadier General.....	1,550.00
Coronel.....	1,450.00
Teniente Coronel.....	1,350.00
Mayor.....	1,250.00
Capitán.....	1,150.00
Teniente.....	1,000.00
Sub-Teniente.....	900.00
Sargento Mayor.....	750.00
Sargento Primero.....	700.00
Sargento Viceprimero.....	650.00
Sargento Segundo.....	600.00
Cabo Primero.....	500.00
Cabo Segundo.....	400.00
Soldado.....	15.00

* Army and Air Force: Navy pay is the same for corresponding grades.

* At the free rate, U.S. \$1 equals Col\$7.00 (October 1960).

Source: Adapted from Instituto Colombiano de Opinión Pública, *Factores Colombianos*, 1960, pp. 57, 58.

Officers and NCOs may retire on 50 percent of base pay after 15 years, augmented by 4 percent a year to a maximum of 85 percent. They contribute to a retirement fund of 8 percent of base pay during active service and 4 percent after retirement.

A special provision which is extremely favorable for the individual, but because of its cost operates to reduce the number sent abroad to school, is that such personnel are paid at a rate of \$1.00 per peso of base pay. Even though allowances are paid at the peso rate, a considerable outlay is made for each officer sent abroad to school. Another special feature is a Christmas gratuity to all of half a month's pay.

Adequate data are not available from which to estimate adequacy of pay on a cost-of-living basis nor to compare salaries with those of equivalent position in society.

Uniforms

Combat, service and dress uniforms exist, but details of style, quality and adequacy are not available.

Officers insignia of rank for the Army and the Air Force are the same. Company officers wear one, two or three stars longitudinally on the shoulder strap. Field officers wear stars in the same pattern, but with a bar across the middle of the strap. Generals

wear a conventionalized sun with rays, and either one or two stars are added for major generals and lieutenant generals. All insignia are gilded. The Navy uses a system of bands of gold braid on the cuffs, similar to but with minor differences from the insignia of the United States Navy.

AWARDS AND DECORATIONS

The nine orders of honor to which military men are eligible all follow in general the usual European pattern of descending degrees. The highest have either a Grand Collar or a Grand Cross Extraordinary; all have the degrees of Grand Cross, Grand Officer, Commander, Officer and Chevalier; those of lesser importance also have a class of Companions. They are all entitled Military Orders, though some may be awarded to civilians.

The five types of medals, which take precedence after the orders, are awarded for excellence in military school courses, for length of service, for courageous conduct on public order duty, for service in the Korean War and for wounds received in international war.

Various badges are awarded to distinguish those who have excelled in activities such as marksmanship and other specialties. There is also a badge for enlisted men for good conduct and one for wounds received on public order duty.

Orders and medals are worn on the left, in the usual fashion. The large stars of the orders are worn on or below the left breast pocket.

Colombians are intensely medal-conscious and are proud to wear their decorations on all occasions of dress. Enlisted men are not neglected; most of the orders are awarded to enlisted men in the degree of *Compañero*.

MILITARY JUSTICE

In 1958, just before the inauguration of the National Front government, a new code of military penal justice, which had not been revised or recodified in many years, was enacted. The most significant aspect of change was a return to a more restrictive interpretation of the Constitutional provision (Art. 170) that courts-martial and military tribunals will take cognizance of offenses related to the military service or committed by military personnel on active duty.

In practical effect, the new code removes from military jurisdiction many crimes that fit the penal code of the country, except under conditions of war or a state of siege. With certain exceptions there remain in the military code only provisions relating to purely military offenses. With respect to military persons, the principal exceptions are serious felonies (homicide, mayhem) and

the major crimes against the state (treason, espionage, rebellion, sedition, riot, and conspiracy or incitation to commit the same). Civilians remain subject to military jurisdiction for crimes of a military nature or affecting the military forces, such as the illegal bearing of arms, larceny, robbery or smuggling of military equipment, armed attacks on troops, sabotage, and illegal use of the uniform; in time of war or state of siege, most crimes and breaches of order can be tried by courts-martial.

The action of the government of the Military Junta in thus reducing the special privilege of the military, in effect to consider itself above the provisions of the law governing the country as a whole and in fact, because of the long-continued state of siege, to impose the provisions of military law on large sections of the population, is a measure of the country's desire to reject completely the legal provisions which had over the years eroded the normal course of justice. It is the more remarkable in that the accretions to the military *fuero*, as such special privilege is traditionally known, might have been expected to be strongly defended by the Junta (see ch. 8, Social Values and Patterns of Living).

In the Army several levels of command have jurisdiction in first instance: the Army commander over his headquarters, its divisions and detachments, and the brigade commanders; the brigade commanders themselves over all their officers and those civilians in their respective zones whose offenses are covered by the military code; battalion commanders over their soldiers and civilian employees; and school commandants over all their personnel, including students. Minor offenses against military regulations are punished under the general powers of command without formal trial. Similar levels of jurisdiction apply in the Navy, Air Force, and Police.

A special type of courts-martial, called *Consejos de Guerra Verbales* (courts-martial following oral procedure), in time of peace and public order tries only serious cases of crimes against the nation and violations of discipline such as insubordination, disobedience of orders, or attacks on either superiors or inferiors in rank. In time of war or state of siege, the competence of these courts is unlimited, if the government so decrees.

As court of appeal in Bogotá, the Tribunal Superior Militar, is presided over by the Commanding General of the Armed Forces (also with the power of delegation) and composed of nine civilian judges. The decisions of the Tribunal are reviewed and may be modified or reversed by the (national) Supreme Court of Justice.

Courts of Honor

In cases not culpable under disciplinary regulations or the code of military justice, but where nevertheless conduct believed to affect

the honor of the officer corps is alleged, the commanders of Army brigades and corresponding levels of command in the Air Force, Navy and National Police are authorized to bring the suspected offender before a Tribunal of Honor. The commander himself is ex-officio president; he is assisted by two officers senior in grade and service to the accused. The only prescribed penalty is dismissal from the service, with the loss of all pay, rank, honors, and privileges.

Appeal may be made to the Chief of the Armed Forces General Staff, who if the case warrants may order a rehearing before a Superior Tribunal of Honor composed of generals and general staff officers, whose decision is final.

OTHER MORALE FACTORS

Rations

Service rations appear to be ample in quantity, but examination of sample menus shows considerable monotony, from day to day and week to week. Much starchy food is served, and beans in several forms are said to be a favorite item. Beef is served almost daily, as is some sort of salad greens. Fish is usually served once a week, but not necessarily on Friday. As a beverage, *agua de panela* (water flavored with unrefined sugar) is in great demand. In the menus seen, it was served twice daily, at dinner and supper. Despite the repetition of similar foods, similarly prepared, observers agree that in the case of most conscripts, the meals are probably better than the diet they had before entering the service.

Amenities

At most permanent posts there are well-constructed officers and NCO clubs. Pleasant rooms, excellent messes and bars, and facilities for sports, including usually swimming pools and sometimes a golf course, provide the social center for each of these groups. The Armed Forces Officers Club at Bogotá ranks among the best of the private clubs of the capital. Low-cost commissaries and exchanges are also provided.

The conscript is not entirely neglected. His Col\$15 (U.S.\$2.25) a month, termed a gratuity rather than pay, is hardly enough for pocket money, but he is required to spend nothing. Laundry, cleaning of uniforms, haircuts and toilet articles are provided; moving pictures and radio are free; sports are encouraged and equipment furnished, including swimming pools.

Religion

The Catholic chaplaincy is active in the services. One of the bishops is designated Military Vicar to the Services, with the

military rank and pay of a brigadier general. Priests join the chaplaincy as "Professionals" and are entitled Reverend Officers. They achieve regular promotion like other professionals, through recurrent military orientation courses. Chaplains are always available at posts and participate in the training schedule by inspirational talks on religious, moral, and patriotic subjects.

Other

In general, relations with adjacent civilian communities are good. Most married officers and married NCOs live off-post, and each group in its own class mixes with the population and joins social activities. Officers' clubs often offer membership to civilians of the community.

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